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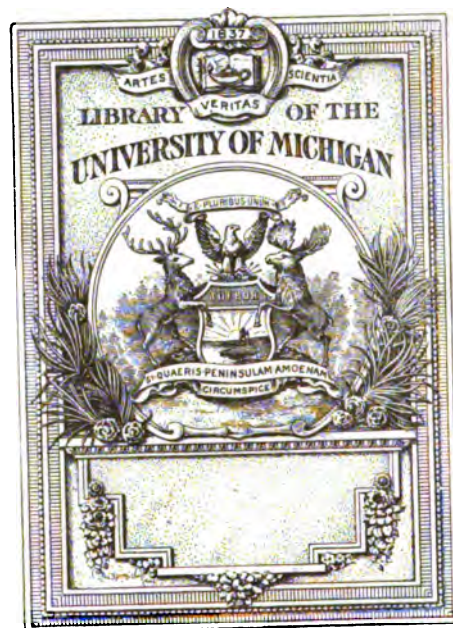
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HISTORY OF THE WARS

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

VOL. II.

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HISTORY

OF THE

A. D. Murray

WARS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION,

FROM

THE BREAKING OUT OF THE WAR IN 1792,

TO

THE RESTORATION OF A GENERAL PEACE IN 1815;

COMPREHENDING

THE CIVIL HISTORY

OF

Great Britain and France,

DURING THAT PERIOD.

BY EDWARD BAINES.

IN TWO VOLUMES.



EMBELLISHED

WITH PORTRAITS OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED CHARACTERS OF THE AGE,

AND

ILLUSTRATED BY MAPS, PLANS, AND CHARTS.

VOL. II.

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1818.

HISTORY OF THE WARS

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER I.

FOREIGN HISTORY: *Invasion of Naples by the French under Joseph Bonaparte—Battle of Maida—Policy of Prussia—She accepts Hanover from France, and shuts her Ports against British Commerce—Measures of Retaliation adopted by England—Prussia involved in a War with both Great Britain and Sweden—Indications of approaching Hostility between France and Prussia—Confederation of the Rhine—Renunciation of the Title of Emperor of Germany by Francis II—French Exposé—Act of Aggrandizement—The United Provinces erected into a Monarchy under the Government of Louis Bonaparte—Seizure and Execution of M. Palm, the Bookseller, of Nuremburg—Convocation of the Jews—Traits in the Character of Bonaparte.*

THE events of the campaign of 1805, consummated by the treaty of Presburg, had drawn round the eastern frontier of France a cordon of feudatory sovereigns, indebted to the Emperor Napoleon for their recent elevation, and bound to his service by the combined operation of policy and gratitude. Possessing too much collision of interest to unite in opposition to his authority, they exhibited a mighty bulwark against the attacks of his enemies, and seemed to free the empire of France from all the dangers of future molestation. The kingdom of Italy derived also from this treaty advantages in territory and population of the highest importance; and the iron crown of the Lombards was strengthened and enriched on the field of Austerlitz. But triumphant as was the treaty of Presburg to Bonaparte, in the same proportion was it humiliating to the house of Austria. Her losses were deplorable, and her influence in the affairs of Germany was drawing fast to a termination. Her splendid dependents, her mitred ecclesiastics, and the long catalogue of princes who formed the minor stars in the imperial constellation, were many of them forever extinguished; and with impaired influence in the west of Europe—influence which at that period it appeared scarcely possible she should ever regain, she seemed by this treaty retrograde from the world of civilization, and likely to be shut out from those political concerns, in which she had borne so commanding and pre-eminent a part for a succession of ages.

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The consequences of Bonaparte's successes against Austria were particularly unfortunate for the kingdom of Naples. A treaty of neutrality between France and that country had been concluded at Paris, on the 21st of September, 1805, and ratified at Portici, by the King of Naples, on the 8th of the following month. By this treaty, the Neapolitan court engaged to remain neutral in the war between France and the allied powers, and to repel by force every incroachment on her neutrality. But scarcely had six weeks elapsed after the ratification of this treaty, when a squadron of English and Russian vessels appeared in the bay of Naples, and were permitted, without opposition, to land a body of forces in that city and its vicinity. This gross violation of the stipulations of the treaty of Portici, was considered by the French emperor as an act of perfidy deserving of the severest punishment; and on the morning after the signature of the treaty of Presburg, Bonaparte issued a proclamation from his head-quarters at Vienna, in which he declared, "that the Neapolitan dynasty had ceased to reign." That no time might be lost in carrying this threat into execution, the French army, under Joseph Bonaparte, marched, in three divisions, against the kingdom of Naples; the right, commanded by General Regnier, proceeding against Gaeta, and the centre, under Marshal Massena, through Capua, while the left advanced through Istria, under General Lacy. On the 12th of February, Capua was invested by the French troops, and on the

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13th, a deputation from the city waited on Prince Joseph, and signed a capitulation, by which Capua, Gaeta, Peschieri, Naples, and the other fortresses of that kingdom, were surrendered into the hands of the enemy. But notwithstanding this capitulation, it afterwards appeared, that Gaeta was far from being conquered; and the Prince of Hesse Philipsthal, having been summoned by General Regnier to surrender, answered with heroic firmness, that it was his intention to justify the confidence reposed in him by his sovereign. The zeal and activity of the governor in defending the fortress committed to his charge was most distinguished. With slight intervals of rest and refreshment, he was occupied night and day in the fortifications, and by his exhortations and example he stimulated his troops to sustain the pressure of their situation with constancy, and to repel all attacks upon the garrison with heroism. The valour with which this place was defended, and the advantages obtained by the garrison over the besieging army, excited the attention and admiration of all Europe; and the spirit which animated the governor and the troops at Gaeta, began to diffuse themselves over the whole kingdom. Even within the city of Naples, the apathy which had in the first instance paralyzed the exertions of the inhabitants, and induced them to open their gates without resistance to the legions of the conquerors, gave place to more patriotic feelings; and the population of Calabria became at length actuated by so decided a spirit of hostility towards their invaders, that large unorganized masses of peasantry were led to oppose the disciplined forces of the conquerors of Europe. The ardour of patriotism was mingled with the thirst of vengeance; the first instances of opposition from the insurgents had been punished with inexorable severity; and these violent inflictions animated the spirit of opposition in the Calabrians, and increased the deadliness of their hatred. Mutual exasperation gradually led to the establishment, by the French, of military commissions at Naples, and throughout the country; the constitution of which was intrusted to Massena, a man whose feelings never warred against his interests, and whose long acquaintance with the trade of war had steeled his heart against the voice of humanity. The triumphant entrance of Joseph Bonaparte into his capital, to take upon himself the sovereignty of his kingdom, to which he had been appointed by his brother, to the exclusion of the recent dynasty, was attended by those acclamations and addresses which can always be procured by power. But these external demonstrations of joy could not conceal the real situation of his newly acquired conquests. The invader and the patriot were still in determined and active

hostility; and the feelings of the contending parties had attained the utmost paroxysm of rage. Military tyranny, mortified and incensed at the resistance of an enemy which it despised, gave free scope to its fury, in all those excesses which it has been the pride of modern warfare to mitigate. The brave Calabrians, maddened by the infliction of such horrors on men whose crime consisted only in the defence of their country, resolved, if possible, to out-do them in retaliation. The disposition to an exterminating contest seemed mutual. The excess of resentment seemed to destroy every feeling of humanity, and in the weaker party all regard to the chances against their success. Impulse superseded calculation; passion imparted energy to weakness; and the want of discipline often seemed supplied by the frenzy of revenge.

After the evacuation of Naples by the Russian and British troops, Sir James Craig had retired to Sicily with the English army, accompanied by the royal family of Naples, and had established his head-quarters at Messina. At this place he remained till the month of April, when bad health compelled him to resign his command to Sir John Stuart, who was soon after intrusted by his Sicilian Majesty with the defence of the eastern coast from Melazzo to Cape Passaro. The army continued at Messina till the end of June, without attempting any offensive operation against the enemy; at which period the English general, at the urgent solicitations of the court of Palermo, consented to land with a part of his army in Calabria, and to make trial of the loyalty and affection of the people to their former sovereign. The troops destined to this expedition amounted to about four thousand eight hundred effective men; with this small force, Sir John Stuart landed without any material opposition, on the morning of the 1st of July, in the gulf of St. Eufemia, near the northern frontier of Lower Calabria. The French General, Regnier, having been apprised of the debarkation of the English army, made a rapid march from Reggio, uniting his detached corps as he advanced, and anticipating, with his characteristic confidence, the defeat of the British troops. On the morning of the 3d, he advanced into the neighbourhood of Maida, about ten miles distant from the English army, and took up his position on a ridge of heights. His force at that moment consisted of about four thousand infantry, and three hundred cavalry, together with four pieces of artillery, and he was in daily expectation of being joined by three thousand more troops, who were marching after him in a second division, and who joined the French army on the night of the 3d. Perceiving that no time was to be lost, Sir John Stuart determined to advance towards the posi-

tion of the enemy; and having left four companies of Watteville's regiment, under Major Fisher, to protect the stores, and occupy the works that had been thrown up at the place of landing, at three o'clock the next morning, the body of the British army commenced its march along the borders of the sea, across the plain of Eufemia.* Sir Sidney Smith at this time took up a position with a small squadron placed under his command, to act as circumstances might occur; but from the situation of the two armies, no co-operation from the navy could take place, much to the regret of the gallant knight. A vast plain, extending from four to six miles in breadth, and flanked by chains of mountains, which ran nearly parallel from sea to sea, and which form the interior boundaries of the two Calabrias, seemed to favour the manœuvres of both armies, and afforded a fair opportunity for trying the skill and gallantry of the contending nations. Had General Regnier thought proper to remain upon his elevated ground, flanked as he was by a thick impervious underwood, no impression could have been made upon him; but quitting this advantage, and crossing the river Amato with his entire force, he descended from the eminence, and met the British army upon the open plain. After some close firing of the flankers, to cover the deployments of the two armies, by nine o'clock in the morning the opposing fronts were warmly engaged, when the prowess of the rival nations seemed fairly at issue before the world. The corps which formed the right of the advanced line of the British, was the battalion of light infantry, commanded by Colonel Kempt, consisting of the light companies of the 20th, 27th, 85th, 61st, 81st, and Watteville's, together with one hundred and fifty chosen battalion-men, of the 85th regiment, under Major Robinson; directly opposite to whom was the favourite French regiment, the 1st Légère. The two companies, at the distance of about one hundred yards, fired reciprocally a few rounds, when, as if by natural agreement, the firing was suspended, and, in close compact order, and awful silence, they advanced towards each other, till their bayonets began to cross. At this momentous crisis, the enemy became appalled. Their ranks were broken, and they endeavoured to fly, but it was too late, they were overtaken, and the most dreadful slaughter

ensued. Brigadier-general Auckland, whose brigade was immediately on the left of the light infantry, availed himself of this favourable moment to press instantly forward upon the corps in front; the brave 78th regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Macleod, and the 81st regiment, under Major Plenderleath, both distinguished themselves on this occasion. Advancing with shouts of victory, the enemy fled with dismay and disorder before them. General Regnier, finding his army thus discomfited on the left, began to make a new effort with the right, in hopes of retrieving the disasters of the day. This operation was resisted most gallantly by the brigade under Brigadier-general Cole. Nothing could shake the undaunted firmness of the grenadiers under Lieutenant-colonel O'Callaghan, and of the 27th regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel Smith. The French cavalry, successively repelled from before the front of these regiments, made an effort to turn their left; but at that moment Lieutenant-colonel Ross, who had the same morning landed from Messina, with the 20th regiment, and had come up to the army during the action, threw his regiment opportunely into a small cover upon the enemy's flank, and by a heavy and well-concerted fire, rendered this attempt abortive. This was the last feeble struggle of the enemy, who, astonished and dismayed by the intrepidity with which they were assailed, began precipitately to retire, leaving the field covered with their dead.

About seven hundred Frenchmen were buried upon the ground; the wounded and prisoners amounted to above a thousand men; and about the same number were left in Monteleone, and the different posts between Maida and Reggio, who signified their readiness to surrender, whenever a British force could be sent to receive their submission, and to protect them from the fury of the inhabitants. Never was the pride of the enemy more severely humbled than in the events of this memorable day. The total loss of the French, occasioned by this conflict, amounted to at least four thousand men, while the loss of the English did not exceed three hundred and twenty-six, of which number two hundred and eighty-two were wounded, and forty-four slain.† This splendid victory was attended with no permanent advantage, with

* The following is the detail of the British force :-

Advanced corps— { Lieutenant-colonel Kempt, with 2 four-pounders. Light infantry battalion. Detached royal Corsican rangers. Detachment of the royal Sicilian volunteers.
First brigade—Brigadier-general Cole, with 3 four-pounders. Grenadier battalion, 27th regiment.
Second brigade—Brigadier-general Auckland, with 3 four-pounders. 78th regiment. 81st regiment.
Third brigade— { Colonel Oswald, with 2 four-pounders. 58th regiment. Watteville's regiment five companies. 20th regiment, Lieutenant-colonel Ross, landed during the action.
 Reserve of artillery, Major Lemoine, 4 six-pounders, and two howitzers.
 Total—rank and file, including the royal artillery, 4,795.

† General Sir John Stuart's Dispatches, dated from the Plains of Maida, July 6, 1806.

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respect to the immediate object of the expedition; but the impression it was calculated to make in favour of the discipline and bravery of the British soldiers, was of incalculable importance. The pride of the enemy was mortified at seeing those of his troops most distinguished for high exploits, retiring before English bayonets; and, with all their experience and reputation in arms, yielding an easy victory to greatly inferior numbers. The laurels gathered at Lodi, Marengo, and Austerlitz, drooped on the plain of Maida, from whence sprung another, and perhaps a more brilliant wreath, to adorn the brows of British valour, in addition to those which had so recently been acquired on the shores washed by the waters of the Nile.

The complete subjugation of the Neapolitan territory by the arms of France, followed not long after this illustrious victory, which might somewhat delay, but could not prevent its accomplishment. The support of the British arms being withdrawn, the enthusiasm of the Calabrians abated, and they finally yielded to a fate which they had nobly resisted, without the least hope of success attending their gallant and persevering endeavours. Gaeta had firmly withstood the effects of all that force and skill on the part of the enemy could effect; but its garrison, originally small, was diminished by the fire of the enemy, and borne down by incessant exertions; its heroic commander was severely wounded; the works of the besiegers were completed; two practical breaches were made in the walls; and a signal was every moment expected for the assault. Under these circumstances, the commandant truly and wisely concluded that he had done enough for glory, and signed a capitulation, by which Gaeta was surrendered into the hands of the French general.

The conduct of Prussia, towards the close of the year 1805, had disappointed the hopes of all who wished to see a check imposed on the ambition and usurpations of France. The rivalry between Austria and Prussia, in ordinary circumstances, might be allowed to preclude cordial co-operation between the two powers; but a participation of danger seemed calculated to banish mutual jealousies, and to produce an union sufficiently firm to unite the two rival states in a combined resistance against a common enemy. Such, it was hoped, might have been the case with regard to the two great powers, Austria and Prussia, but the progress of the French arms extinguished these expectations, while the versatility and equivocation, the odious rivalry, and selfish rapacity of Prussian policy, became the theme of universal invective.

On the 27th of January, a proclamation was published by the King of Prussia, addressed to the inhabitants of Hanover, in which it was observed, that after the events which terminated in the peace of Presburg, the only means of preserving the country from the flames of war, consisted in forming a convention with the French Emperor, in virtue of which the states of his Britannic Majesty in Germany were to be wholly occupied and governed by Prussia till the return of peace; and all the authorities of that country were called upon to conform to the dispositions made for that purpose, under the civil and military administration of General Keeknert, and the commissioners chosen by him. The conduct of Prussia, in assuming to herself the civil and military administration of the electorate of Hanover, called forth an official note from Mr. Fox, under date of the 17th of March, addressed to Baron Jacobi, the Prussian minister in London, wherein he expressed "the great anxiety felt by his majesty at the manner in which possession had been taken of the electorate of Hanover," and desired him explicitly to inform his court, "that no convenience or political arrangement, much less any offer of equivalent or indemnity, would ever induce his majesty so far to forget what was due to his legitimate rights, as well as to the exemplary fidelity and attachment of his Hanoverian subjects, as to consent to the alienation of the electorate." Soon after the delivery of this note, his Prussian Majesty thought proper to drop the slight veil with which he had so ineffectually attempted the concealment of his real designs, by publishing, on the 1st of April, a proclamation, in which he stated the conclusion of a convention between himself and the French Emperor, for the exchange of Hanover in return for three provinces of his monarchy;* and as the Hanoverian states were possessed by France in right of conquest, he declared that the rightful possession of the electoral states of the house of Brunswick situated in Germany, had passed over to him, in return for the above cession on his part, that they were now subjected only to his power; and that henceforth their government would be administered in his name alone, and under his supreme authority. A proclamation, in the same spirit of injustice and aggression, was issued by the court of Berlin, on the 28th of March, in which it was declared, that in virtue of a treaty concluded between his Prussian Majesty, and the Emperor of France and King of Italy, the ports of the German Ocean (the North Sea) and the rivers which empty themselves into it, shall be shut against British shipping and trade, in the same manner

* The three Prussian provinces ceded by this memorable treaty, were Anspach and Bayreuth, in Franconia; Cleves, in Westphalia; and Neufchatel and Valengin, in Switzerland.

as was practised while Hanover was occupied by French troops.

No sooner had intelligence reached London of the actual exclusion of British shipping from the Elbe, and of the determination of Prussia to shut all the ports of the German Ocean against the British flag; than measures of retaliation were adopted.—Notice was given on the 8th of April to the ministers of neutral powers, that the necessary means had been taken for the blockade of the rivers Ems, Weser, Elbe, and Trave. A general embargo was laid on all Prussian vessels in the harbours of Great Britain and Ireland; and this order was extended, on the 16th of the same month, to all vessels belonging to the rivers Elbe, Weser, and Ems, vessels under the Danish flag only excepted. The English mission at Berlin was recalled; and a message from his majesty was presented to both houses of parliament, on the 21st, stating “the necessity in which his majesty found himself, of withdrawing his minister from the court of Berlin, and of adopting provisionally measures of just retaliation against the commerce and navigation of Prussia,” on account of acts “of direct hostility, deliberately pursued against him, which left him no alternative.” After stating concisely the particulars of the conduct of Prussia, which called for these proceedings, the message concluded by saying, that his majesty “had no doubt of the full support of his parliament, in vindicating the honour of the British flag, and the freedom of the British navigation; and that he would look with anxious expectation to that moment, when a more dignified and enlightened policy on the part of Prussia, should remove every impediment to the renewal of peace and friendship with a power with whom his majesty had no other cause of difference than that now created by these hostile acts.” On the 20th of the same month, a declaration was issued by his Britannic Majesty, in his capacity of Elector of Hanover, recapitulating instances of perfidy, insincerity, and rapacity, of the court of Berlin, and solemnly protesting, for himself and his heirs, against every encroachment on his rights in the electorate of Brunswick Lunenburg, and its dependencies.

In addition to her war with England, the subserviency of Prussia to France involved her in hostilities with Sweden. The Swedish troops, who occupied Lunenburg on behalf of the King of England, having opposed the entrance of the Prussians into that duchy, were compelled, after a slight resistance, to retreat into Mecklenburg; upon which hostile proceeding, the King of Sweden laid an embargo upon all Prussian vessels in his harbours, and issued an order, bearing date the 27th of April, for the blockade

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of all the Prussian ports in the Baltic. In order to counteract these hostile operations, Prussia commenced preparations for the expulsion of the Swedish troops from the states of Pomerania; but before this design could be carried into effect a new revolution in her politics took place, which gave a totally different direction to her arms. A large proportion of the subjects of Prussia were well aware of the abject degradation in which the subserviency of their government to the mandates of France had involved them; and the disaffection and discontents which ensued flowed naturally from the occasion. Expressions of loyal and devout attachment were suspended; conversations in public assumed a tone of animated comment upon public measures which had rarely been employed; and men of rank and station deplored the shade which had been thrown upon the character of the country. The military entered into the general feeling with ardour: this feeling was in some instances almost roused to phrenzy, and the attendants and relatives of majesty itself were bold enough to give intimations of their disgust in the royal presence. This spirit of high disdain, dangerous in any government, and peculiarly so in a military state, when those who are designed for the support of despotism, feel a stronger disposition to remonstrate than to obey, was thought not unworthy the notice of power. Several of the military officers of the staff were not only reprimanded, but cashiered, for the freedom with which they had expressed themselves on political topics; and a proclamation was published, prohibiting the discussion of the proceedings of government—measures which checked the ebullition of popular feeling, but confirmed rather than changed the public opinion. The queen, young, beautiful, and persuasive, listening to her indignation at the usurpations and insults of France, and jealous of her husband's honour and reputation, joined in the same cause. The ministers, weak and unprincipled, were unable to resist the torrent; after an ineffectual resistance to the popular voice, they united, or seemed to unite in the general feeling, and contributed to hurry the Prussian monarchy to its approaching humiliation.

Prussia has hitherto been contemplated, unsteady, and fluctuating in her policy, constant only in her duplicity; professing neutrality while she was meditating acts of hostility; and pretending to negotiate for the neutrality of Hanover, while she was appropriating that country to herself. We are now to behold her enraged at the disappointment of her ambitious projects, impatient of the contempt with which she was treated, and goaded on by the universal indignation of her subjects, seeking to retrieve

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her honour and character by resistance to France, but without wisdom or foresight in her plans, and constant to the last in her dissimulation.

The first public act of the cabinet of St. Cloud which gave serious offence and alarm to the cabinet of Berlin, was the investiture of Murat, a soldier of fortune, and a brother-in-law of Bonaparte, with the duchies of Berg and Cleves. But a deeper and more sensible injury awaited the Prussian government: while Laforest, the French resident at Berlin, was urging the ministers of that court to persist in the measures they had adopted for the retention of Hanover, Lucchesini, the Prussian minister at Paris, discovered that the French government had offered to the King of Great Britain the complete restitution of his electoral dominions. Thus, after the sacrifice of her honour and reputation, Prussia saw herself about to be deprived of the reward for which she had consented to act a part so mean, treacherous, and unworthy, without an opportunity of retrieving her character or of bettering her condition by resistance. Fortunately, as she then thought, the negotiation for peace between France and Russia, after preliminaries had been signed at Paris, was broken off by the refusal of the court of St. Petersburg to ratify the treaty concluded by M. d'Oubril. But this event, while it opened to Prussia the prospect of assistance, in case she should be driven to a war with France, disclosed to her further proofs of the secret enmity of the cabinet of St. Cloud, and of its readiness to abandon her interests. She was now for the first time apprised, that during the negotiations at Paris between France and Russia, distinct hints had been given to M. d'Oubril, that if his court was desirous of annexing any part of Polish Prussia to its dominions, no opposition would be interposed against such a project by France.

The peace of Presburg had left the forms of the Germanic constitution entire, and from some of the articles in that treaty it appears doubtful, whether the French Emperor entertained thoughts at that time of the speedy subversion to which this venerable empire was afterwards condemned. The residence of the French troops in Germany, in consequence of the procrastinated occupation of Cattaro by the Russians, matured a design suitable to the ambitious mind of the French Emperor, and seemed to suggest the establishment of a new confederation of princes, at the head of which he should himself be placed. This project, conceived in the early part of the month of June, was arranged in all its

details with extraordinary promptitude; and on the 12th of July the act of confederation was executed at Paris, by princes and ministers who were scarcely allowed time to read the deed to which they affixed their signatures.*

This portentous document, which, by a few lines of the pen, supported, however, by the power of the sword, subverted the complicated establishment of ages, commences with observing, that their majesties, the Emperor of the French, the Kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, the Archbishop of Ratisbon, the Elector of Baden, the Duke of Berg, the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, the Princes of Nassau-Weilburg, and Nassau-Usingen, of Hohenzollern-Hechingen, and Hohenzollern-Siegmaringen, Salm-Salm, and Salm-Kyrburg, Isenburg, Birckstein, and Lichtenstein, the Duke of Arensburg, and the Count of Leyen, being desirous to secure the peace of Southern Germany, which experience had long since proved could derive no guarantee from the existing constitution, had appointed certain plenipotentiaries to effect arrangements from which this guarantee would naturally and decidedly result. In consequence of the dispositions which had been agreed upon, and which were now ratified, the states of the contracting parties were to be for ever separated from the Germanic body, and united by an act called "the Confederated States of the Empire." The affairs of this confederation were to be discussed in a congress, which should sit at Frankfurt, divided into two colleges of kings and princes, where all disputes should be settled that might arise among the members, who could in no case enter into the service of any other power than the confederation, nor alienate to any other power their sovereignty or territory. The elector arch-chancellor was to preside in the congress, under the title of prince primate, and on the demise of any prince primate, the right of naming a successor should attach to the Emperor of France, who was to be proclaimed protector of the confederation. In the event of a continental war, which should involve either the Emperor of France or any other individual of the union, all parties should make a common cause; and in case of preparation for war against any one of the parties, his minister should be authorised to demand of the congress a general arming of the confederation.† The congress were to regulate the proportion of assistance to the exigency of the case, and the summons of the emperor to the parties was to be the signal for taking the field.

* Dispatch from Lord Yarmouth, dated Paris, July 19th.

† The contingent of troops to be furnished by each state was determined as follows:—France, 200,000; Bavaria, 30,000; Wirtemberg, 12,000; Baden, 3,000; Berg, 6,000; Darmstadt, 4,000; Nassau, Hohenzollern, and others, 4,000.

The house of Austria, thus stripped of its honours, was compelled to lay down the title of Emperor of Germany, and to yield the precedence to France; and by a formal deed of renunciation, bearing date the 6th of August, Francis II. resigned his office and title of Emperor of Germany, retaining only the more humble title of Emperor of Austria. The fallen fortunes of this august house, thus deprived of the brightest jewel in the imperial crown, presents an impressive picture to the imagination. It was a spectacle of no common interest, to observe the descendant of imperial chiefs through a long series of generations, degraded into a renunciation of his dignity in behalf of a man, who, by his talents and his sword, was enabled to trample on the neck of sovereigns; and by whom family honours, and political establishments, which had endured for centuries, were swept away in promiscuous ruin.

When these arrangements were communicated to Prussia, her acquiescence was purchased by the delusive hope held out to her by France, that she would be permitted to form a confederation of states in the north of Germany, under the protection of Prussia, as the confederation of the Rhine was under the protection of France.* But no sooner had Austria submitted to the loss of her ancient imperial dignity, and deposited the sceptre of the Othos at the foot of the modern Charlemagne, than Prussia, whose meanness was despised, and whose assistance was no longer wanted by Bonaparte, found herself condemned to another disappointment, aggravated by the reflection that she was indebted for this mortification to the want of wisdom and probity in her councils. She was told that Bonaparte could not permit her to include the Hanseatic towns in her plan of a northern confederation, and that he was determined to take them under his own protection.† He professed not to be adverse to her plan of a confederacy, but his regard to justice, and the respect due to the law of nations, would not allow him to see any compulsion used to force independent princes into this measure.

The *exposé* of the French empire was this year laid before the legislative body early in the month of March. In this document, which details the prominent events in the national politics from the period of the coronation of the emperor, it is observed, that each succeeding coalition formed by England, had only increased the power and territory of the French nation; by the first, she had gained Belgium, the boundary of the Rhine; the federation of Holland with

France; and the conquest of the states of the present kingdom of Italy. The second had procured Piedmont. The third had added to her grand federation Naples and Venice. But the *exposé* considered what had been done for the glory of France as but little compared with what remained. The emperor had exhausted military glory, and wanted none of those blood-stained laurels which he had been compelled to gather. He wished now to perfect the public administration, to promote the permanent and increasing happiness of his people, to render his acts a lesson and example of elevated morality, and to merit the blessings of the present and future generations.

On the 31st of March, the arch-chancellor of the empire was authorised to preside in the room of the emperor in the assembly of the senate, and presented for their sanction from his imperial majesty, an act, the first part of which was a code of regulations regarding the education of the princes of the imperial family. The city and territories of Venice were by the next section to be added to the kingdom of Italy. By the third, the pious affection of the emperor's brother Joseph for the head of his house, was to be remunerated by the throne of Naples, which in no case was to be connected with that of France. In consideration of the splendid services and virtues of Prince Murat, he was, by the fourth part of this act, to possess in full sovereignty the duchies of Cleves and Berg. The principality of Gunstalla, with some others, were conferred on the Princess Pauline, and her husband, the Prince Borghese; and by another part of this comprehensive act, the principality of Neuchâtel was conferred on Marshal Berthier, whom the emperor was pleased to designate as an officer equally fearless and intelligent, his old companion in arms, whose elevation, while it gave peculiar gratification to the emperor, would excite the sensibilities of every virtuous heart. From the inability which the emperor experienced to provide adequately for many who had distinguished themselves by the importance or splendour of their services, Parma, Placentia, Venice, and several other states of Italy, were, by the last article of the act, to furnish more than twenty titles of distinction, accompanied by appropriate domains, to be transmitted by these heroic men to their descendants. A message to the senate announced, at the same time, the marriage of the emperor's niece, Stephanie, to the hereditary Prince of Baden; and in another address to the same body, the emperor signified his wish to relieve his people of Italy

* Prussian Manifesto, dated October 9, 1806.

† Letter from the Emperor of France to the King of Bavaria, dated September 27, 1806.

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from that suspense which they must feel about their future destiny, by appointing to the hereditary throne of that kingdom, in case of failure of heirs to himself, his son, the existing viceroy. In connection with the establishment of the new Monarch of Italy, a new order of military knighthood was instituted by Bonaparte, to consist of two hundred knights of the *order of the Iron Crown*, which afforded an opportunity of rewarding many of his officers, and might be regarded as another evidence of his devotion to that class of merit from which he had derived such singular advantages.

A circumstance of gratification to the people of Paris was found this year in the arrival of an ambassador from the Grand Signior, expressly appointed to congratulate Bonaparte on his accession to the throne of France. The eastern style of hyperbolical address, which characterized his excellency's speech to Napoleon on his grand audience, was not so remote from the habits of the Parisians as to prevent their cordial sympathies. "The bright star of glory of the western nations; the greatest of the sovereigns in the christian faith; he, who graspeth in one hand the sword of valour, and in the other the sceptre of justice;" were designations which met with their complete concurrence, and served to keep in countenance the homage they were themselves accustomed to offer to the "resemblance of that invisible being who is known only by his power and benevolence."*

The embassy from Constantinople was followed by a deputation from their High Mightinesses of Holland. Bonaparte had no sooner abolished the name of republic in France, than he sought to extinguish that appellation in the other states of Europe. The Cisalpine republic he had transformed into the kingdom of Italy; the Ligurian commonwealth was absorbed in the great empire; the free cities of Germany were made over to the vassal kings, who approached the foot, or decorated the steps of his throne; and such was his thirst for harmony and regularity in the political edifice he was erecting, that even the people of the United Provinces, born and nurtured under republican institutions, were instructed to demand a king. Prince Louis, a younger brother of the Emperor Napoleon, and Constable of the French Empire, was selected to be the King of Holland, and unwillingly dragged from the gaieties and delights of Paris, to rule over a laborious and impoverished people, who had yet to teach their lips the accents of loyalty.† The new constitution which accompanied the king had no guarantee but the

will of its author, nor was it attempted to be disguised, that Holland, though governed by a separate king, was to be considered as virtually a province of the great empire, and subject in all inter-national relations to the will of its chief.

While the Emperor Napoleon was carrying into effect his projects of aggrandizement in Germany, the pressure of the French armies upon that country was extreme, and a spirit of resistance on the part of the inhabitants was summoned to its noblest exertions in a variety of publications, which soon attracted the notice of the French government. Orders were in consequence given for the apprehension of various booksellers in Franconia, Bavaria, and Suabia, and the offenders were carried to Braunau. Among these persecuted men, the fate of John Palm, a resident of Nuremberg, an imperial town of Germany, possessing laws and tribunals of its own, attracted particular notice. This person was the publisher of a pamphlet, entitled "Germany in the lowest state of degradation," a work written with considerable ability, and which had been read with great avidity. M. Palm was in consequence arrested by order of the French government, and dragged to Braunau, charged with the publication of a work libellous against the French Emperor, and tending to mislead the people of the south of Germany. On his arrival at the fortress, a court-martial was immediately summoned, consisting of General Berthier, seven colonels of French regiments, and an adjutant, with a reporter. After sitting for three days, M. Palm, who had not been present during the delivery of the depositions, was brought into court, on the 25th of August, when the evidence was read to him, and his defence heard; he was then ordered to withdraw, and the court, after some consultation, ordered him to be shot within four and twenty hours; which sentence was carried into execution on the following day. This sanguinary proceeding, though affecting only an obscure individual, excited considerable attention and indignation throughout the different countries of Europe: and although the chief of the French government did not personally appear upon the bloody stage, and although, by his distance from the scene of action, he was precluded from being made acquainted with the sentence of the court-martial before it was carried into effect, yet he did not escape that odium and execration which might naturally attach to the sovereign under whose authority the tribunal acted, and who had ever displayed a decided enmity to that freedom of the press which is cer-

* French Exposé, March 12th, 1806.

† Louis Napoleon was proclaimed King of Holland at the Hague, on the 5th of June, 1806.

tainly the most formidable foe to tyranny, and will eventually effect its extermination.

The attention of the religious world was this year drawn to some events which occurred in France in relation to the Jews. The situation of this people has, during a long succession of ages, interested those who have adverted to their universal dispersion through barbarous and civilized nations, without mingling in their course into the common mass, and sinking their national manners, language, and religion, to which with inviolable fidelity they have adhered, amidst that scorn and persecution which have been their only inheritance. Complaints had been repeatedly communicated to the emperor from various departments of France, of the fraudulent and usurious conduct of this degraded race, and on the 30th of May, an edict was published, convening a convocation from the principal cities of the empire, to be opened at Paris, on Saturday, the 26th of July. In virtue of this summons, the assembly met at the appointed time, and their meeting was stated to be pregnant with the most important consequences. The race of Abraham were now, for the first time, to be judged by a christian prince with fairness and impartiality. The convocation, in answer to several questions proposed to them, stated, that their law permitted polygamy, divorce, and intermarriages with christians, which were, however, modified by usage. That they could, in perfect consistence with their laws, render obedience to the civil institutions of the states in which they resided; and that their prohibition, and in other cases their permission of usury, related to charitable loans, and not to mercantile transactions. The answers of the convocation were so conformable to the wishes of Bonaparte, that a grand Sanhedrim was summoned to meet at Paris, for the purpose of considering the same questions, and giving a solemn opinion with respect to them, which should be placed by the side of the Talmud, and considered obligatory on all persons professing the law of Moses. The time fixed for the meeting of the Sanhedrim was the 20th of October, but the discussions were prolonged to the following year. The results of this assembly's deliberations were satisfactory, and tended to shew that the Jews were not debarred, by the peculiarities of their religion, from the enjoyment of the same

civil privileges as the members of other religious communities. The consequences anticipated from these events, respecting a nation, which, from its first bondage in Egypt, has been exposed to the perpetual abhorrence of the world, varied in different minds according to their respective habits of speculation or prejudice. Judicious observers, however, were gratified to behold evidences of that progressive reason, which, by slow but certain influences, ameliorates the affairs of the world, and to witness an effort to elevate a degraded race of men to usefulness, to estimation, and to dignity.*

At this moment the French Emperor was at the zenith of his power, and in the enjoyment of the utmost vigour of his faculties. Nothing seemed too vast for his comprehension, or too minute for his observation. His exertions were without a parallel among sovereign princes; he inspected every thing with his own eye; he laboured with more industry than any secretary in office; and his principal relaxation was in the variety of his business. He appointed to stations of distinction those only, who, by experience or talents, were qualified to discharge the duties of them, and he superintended the discharge of those duties with a vigilance which would not permit the approach of delinquency or inattention. No formidable adversary to any nation or individual ever yet existed from whom something valuable might not be learned, and the most effectual way to counteract the projects of an enemy is to follow his example in those judicious regulations which have led to his success. The industry of Bonaparte may be copied by those who detest the ultimate object of his labours. In his bestowment of honours upon merit, and in his inspection into the abuses of administration, he may be resembled, not only without disgrace, but even with honour; while that boundless thirst of power, which prevented the repose of Europe, and produced his final overthrow, receives all the reprobation which it merits. His temperance and energy, his steady vigilance, and his unwearied assiduity, may be praised and imitated; while he is justly condemned for his spoliation of peaceful states, his breach of the most solemn engagements, and the abject prostration to which he subjected his country's rights.

* The following return, shewing the number of persons of the Jewish persuasion in the different parts of the habitable globe, was made to Bonaparte by the Jewish Sanhedrim, assembled at Paris in 1807:—

In the Turkish Empire	1,000,000
In Persia, China, and India, on the east and west of the Ganges	300,000
In the west of Europe, Africa, and America	1,700,000

Constituting an aggregate population of 3,000,000

CHAPTER II.

FOREIGN HISTORY: *Continental Campaigns of 1806-7—Opening of the Campaign between France and Prussia—Disastrous to the latter—Battle of Jena—Death of the Duke of Brunswick—Mémorial—Fall of the Prussian Garrisons—Surrender of the Army under Prince Hohenlohe—Triumphal Entry of the Emperor Napoleon into Berlin—Berlin Decree—Arrival of the Russian Divisions on the Vistula—Battles of Pultusk and Golymin—The contending Armies take up their Winter Quarters in Poland—War in Silesia—War in Pomerania—Neutrality of Austria—Renewal of Hostilities in Poland—Battle of Eylau—Fall of Dantzic—War between the Porte and Russia—Situation of the Russian and French Forces previous to the Battle of Friedland—The Battle of Friedland—Armistice—Interview between the Emperor Alexander and the Emperor Napoleon on the River Niemen—Peace of Tilsit.*

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The discussions between France and Prussia had now advanced to a point which left no prospect of friendly arrangement. The court of Berlin, no longer influenced by a temporizing policy, had assumed a tone of firmness and decision: the troops were animated to a high degree of enthusiasm, by the expectation of hostilities, which they conceived the honour of the nation had long ago required; and the zeal of the people coincided with the sentiments of the army. The disposition manifested by the court, was equally approved by foreign powers, as by the subjects of Prussia. The King of Sweden was eager to cherish the prospect which seemed thus to be afforded of checking the power and aggrandizement of France; the Prussian vessels detained in the ports of Great Britain were speedily liberated, and Lord Morpeth was dispatched to the court of Berlin, with proposals to afford her every assistance and co-operation in the fourth coalition that was at this time forming against France.

The preparations of Prussia were met with equal vigour on the part of the Emperor of France, who was never behind his enemies in vigilance and activity. On the 24th of September, Napoleon quitted his capital to join the armies, infusing energy as he passed into the various parts of the service, and settling arrangements, adapted to all the details of that complicated and formidable machine, whose operations he was about to direct. In the mean time discussions were still continued, and even so late as the 5th of October, when both monarchs were

at the head-quarters of their respective troops, a dispatch was delivered from the Prussian outposts to the French army, which still afforded an opening for amicable adjustment.* Within a few days after, however, a declaration, stating the grounds of the war, was published by the Prussian cabinet. Both parties now conceived themselves ready for the conflict; and so confident was Prussia in her own strength, that on the 29th of September, just before the commencement of hostilities, she appears to have declined the offer of reinforcements made by other powers.

The French army had advanced in three divisions; the right, consisting of the corps of Marshals Ney and Soult, with a division of Bavarian troops, proceeded, by the route of Amberg and Nuremberg, to unite at Bayreuth, in Franconia, in their advance upon Hof, on the southern confines of Saxony: the centre, composed of the reserve, under the Grand Duke of Berg, with the corps of the Prince de Ponte Corvo (Bernadotte) and Marshal Davoust, and the imperial guards, marched by Bamberg, towards Culmbach, in Franconia, and by way of Saalberg to Gerra, in Saxony: the left, consisting of the troops of Marshals Lannes and Augereau, took their route for Schweinfurth, towards Coburg, and advanced to Saalfeld, in Saxony. The veteran Prussian army, having its right under General Blücher, its centre under the Duke of Brunswick, and its left commanded by Prince Hohenlohe, had taken a very strong position along the north of Francfort, on the Mayne. The campaign opened on the 9th of October, with the battle of Schleitz,

* By this dispatch it was required of France, that, as a preliminary to negotiation, the whole of the French troops in Germany should immediately re-cross the Rhine; that no obstacles should be raised by France to the formation of a northern league, including all the states not mentioned in the fundamental act of the confederation of the Rhine; and that the basis of the negotiation should be the separation of Wessel from the French empire, and the re-occupation of the three abbeys by the Prussian troops.

seven miles to the north-west of Fulda. Here three Prussian regiments sustained, with great firmness, one of the most spirited charges of the enemy's cavalry; but the efforts of the French were finally successful, and the Prussians were obliged to retreat, with a loss of seven hundred men, killed, wounded, and prisoners; and five hundred waggons, containing military stores, fell into the hands of the victors. On the 10th, the left wing of the French army, under Marshal Lannes, was equally successful at Saalfeld. After a tremendous cannonade, continued without intermission for upwards of two hours, the Prussian cavalry were cut off by the French hussars, and their infantry, being unable to effect an orderly retreat, were some of them obliged to take shelter in the adjoining woods, while others were involved inextricably in a marshy ground, where they were driven to the painful alternative of surrendering themselves prisoners of war. In this engagement Prince Louis of Prussia, brother of Frederick-William, was killed by Marshal de Logis, of the 10th regiment of the French hussars, with whom he was engaged in personal combat. The merits of this young prince rendered his death a great public calamity, and aggravated the other losses of this unfortunate battle, from which the French derived two thousand prisoners, and thirty pieces of cannon, while six hundred of the Prussian troops were left dead upon the field. This inauspicious opening of the campaign excited no slight sensation at the head-quarters of the Prussian army, the main body of which found itself placed on the 12th in a situation of considerable danger.

The object of Bonaparte had been to repeat the operation of the preceding campaign, and to interpose himself between the army of the enemy and their depôts and resources. The main body of the Prussian army occupied Eysenach, Gotha, Erfurt, and Weimar, and it was the intention of the Duke of Brunswick, to whom the chief command was confided, to have commenced hostilities by bearing down with his right wing upon Francfort, with his centre on Wurtzburg, and his left wing on Bamberg. The arrangements for the execution of this plan had been prepared with great minuteness, and several columns had been pushed on to Cassel and other places, to act upon the offensive; but the French army had by this time unexpectedly turned the extremity of the Prussian right wing, and obtained possession of the eastern bank of the Saal, occupying, within a very short period, Saalberg, Schleitz, and Gerra. Alarmed by these movements, the arrangements of the Prussian army were immediately changed. The detachments which had been precipitately urged forward, were recalled; and the head-quarters were removed through Weimar to Auerstadt, in the

vicinity of Jena, while General Ruchel occupied the position of Weimar. Such were the arrangements made by the Prussians previously to the 18th, in anticipation of the ensuing decisive struggle. On the same day, the Grand Duke of Berg and Marshal Davoust were with their corps at Naumberg, to which place the Prince of Ponte Corvo was in full march: Marshal Lannes proceeded to Jena, whither the Emperor Napoleon was also advancing, while his head-quarters were at Gerra. Marshal Ney was at Gotha, and Marshal Soult was proceeding on the straight road from Naumberg to Jena. In the afternoon of the 18th Bonaparte arrived at Jena, and from an elevated flat near the place, reconnoitred the position of the enemy. The importance of this elevation for the play of the artillery was so great, that, notwithstanding the extreme difficulty, and indeed seeming impossibility of its accomplishment, the herculean labour was at length surmounted, and before morning the artillery was actually planted upon the eminence.

The night of the 18th was sublimely interesting. The sentinels were almost close to each other; and the lights of the two armies were within half a cannon shot, in one case illuminating the atmosphere through an extent of front of six hours march, and in the other concentrated to a comparatively small point. On both sides all was watchfulness and motion. The divisions of Ney and Soult were occupied the whole night in marching, and at break of day all the French troops were under arms. Suchet's division formed the right; the imperial guards occupied the summit of a height; and each of these corps had their artillery in the small spaces between them. The morning was obscured by a fog, which continued to prevail for two hours, during which Bonaparte rode along the line, cautioning his officers to exhibit order and compactness against the Prussian cavalry, and reminding them of the similarity of the situation of the Prussian army to that of the Austrians in the preceding year, at Ulm, when they were driven from their magazines, and compelled to surrender. The light troops began the action, by dislodging the Prussians from an apparently inaccessible position on the highway between Jena and Weimar; and the success of this operation enabled the French troops to stretch out without restraint on the plain, where they now formed in order of battle. An army of fifty thousand men had been detached by the Prussians from their left wing, to cover the defiles of Naumburg, and to possess themselves of the passes of Coesen, in which they were anticipated by Marshal Davoust. The two other armies, one of which amounted to eighty thousand men, placed themselves in front of the French army, which now opened out from the

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level height of Jena. At this crisis the mist which had hung over the combatants began to dissipate, and both armies beheld each other within the range of cannon shot. After the first action of the morning, by which the Prussians had been forced to quit their position, the village of Hollstedt became the point of attack, and the Prussians were in full motion to dislodge the French from this station, when Marshal Lannes was ordered to its support. Marshal Soult attacked a wood on the right. The right wing of the Prussians made a movement against the left of the French, which Marshal Augereau was ordered to oppose, and in less than an hour the action became general. Every manœuvre on both sides was performed with as much precision as if it had been executed upon the parade, while two hundred and fifty thousand men, and seven hundred pieces of artillery, scattered death in every direction, and exhibited one of the most affecting scenes ever displayed on the theatre of the world. After a struggle of nearly two hours, Marshal Soult secured possession of the wood, from which he immediately moved forward, while, at the same instant, the division of the French cavalry in reserve, and two other divisions just arrived on the field of battle from the corps of Marshal Ney, were, by order of Bonaparte, brought into action, and so much strengthened the French line, as to throw the

Prussians into great disorder. By a striking effort of skill and bravery, this disorder was speedily retrieved, and the battle was resumed, and continued for almost an hour. At this crisis "there was room for a moment's doubt;" the fate of the day hung in awful suspense; but the reserve, under the Duke of Berg, precipitated themselves into the midst of the fight, and threw the Prussian troops into extreme confusion.* In vain did the cavalry and infantry form themselves into a square; the shock was irresistible, and this most dreadful charge completed their overthrow. On the right, Marshal Davoust not only maintained his ground against the great body of Prussians sent to possess the defiles of Coesen, but, advancing into the plain, pursued them for three hours in their retreat to Weimar. In this retreat, the confusion in the Prussian army was extreme, and the king, finding it necessary to quit the road, was obliged to retire across the fields at the head of his regiment of cavalry. The loss of the Prussians in this battle is estimated by the French at twenty thousand killed, and from thirty to forty thousand prisoners, besides three hundred pieces of cannon, and immense magazines of military stores and provisions: among the prisoners were more than twenty generals; Marshal Mollendorf was wounded, and the Duke of Brunswick and General Ruchel were killed.† The French

* FRENCH BULLETIN.—This document mentions a trait of character that should not be wholly omitted in a record of the battle of Jena. "The imperial foot guards," says the bulletin, "enraged at not being allowed to press on while every other corps was in motion, several voices among them cried out 'Forward!' 'What is this I hear?' said the emperor: 'this can only proceed from some heedless boy that will give orders independent of me: let him wait till he has commanded in thirty battles, before he takes upon himself to advise me.'"

† CHARLES WILLIAM FREDERICK, DUKE OF BRUNSWICK, was born on the 9th of October, 1735, O. S. and his ancestry is traced up to Albert Azzoni, one of the richest marquises in Italy, born in the year 996, and married to Cuniza, heiress of the ancient house of Guelphs, or Welfs, in Germany. From this stock sprung the royal family of England, which, having attained the electorate, soon added the regal crown to its arms. The Duke of Brunswick, like all the German princes of his time, was bred to the profession of arms from his cradle, and as he was descended from a house eminently warlike, he applied himself to war as a science with no common avidity. By the time he had attained the age of nineteen, the Hereditary Prince, for by this title he was called during the life-time of his father, experienced many opportunities to distinguish his courage and conduct in arms. The first exploit undertaken by the hereditary prince as a commander, was the capture of Kaya, towards the end of the year 1758. Flushed with success, the young warrior next advanced against Minden, so celebrated afterwards, on account of the battle in that neighbourhood, and having invested the village on the 5th of March, the garrison surrendered at discretion at the end of nine days. To this prince England and her allies were not a little indebted for the victory of Minden. On that memorable day he encountered and overcame the Duke de Brissac, and by that achievement prevented the Marshal de Contades from making his retreat by the defiles of Wittenkendorfstein. At the close of the campaign, in 1759, the hereditary prince was detached, with 15,000 men, to serve under his relation, Frederick the Great, and was afterwards present at the battle of Corbach; and although obliged on this occasion to retreat, yet he maintained all his former reputation. Prince Ferdinand and Marshal Broglie were at this period opposed to each other; and the former having conceived the project of cutting off the communication with France by the Lower Rhine, the hereditary prince was detached for that purpose. On this occasion he was anticipated by the Marquis de Castries, and obliged to re-cross the Rhine, but he effected a brilliant retreat with his prisoners, among whom was Dumouriez, at that moment an obscure subaltern in the French service,‡ but who was destined afterwards to check his progress in the plains of Champagne, at the head of a numerous army, and thus to give a new turn to the destinies of France and of Europe. During the campaign of 1762, the hereditary prince resumed his usual activity. On the 31st of August, having seized on the heights of Joannisberg, he endeavoured to

‡ Life of General Dumouriez, Vol. I. p. 29.

acknowledged a loss on their part of from four to five thousand men in this action; the victory, however, was complete, and the battle of Jena decided the fate of the campaign.

The Duke of Berg, who, in his operations, had so frequently proved himself worthy of his great preceptor in the art of war, on the 15th of October invested Erfurth, and on the following day, that fine citadel, to which General Mollendorff had retreated, was surrendered, with fourteen thousand men, into the hands of the enemy. The blockade of Magdeburg, which, being supposed perfectly out of danger, had been made a depot for the most valuable effects from Munster, Cassel, and East Friesland, amounting to a very great accumulation, was entered on the 20th under the orders of the same commander, while he proceeded towards Spandau, only three miles from Berlin. The garrison of this place surrendered on the 24th, and on the 6th of November,

Magdeburg itself, with twenty-two thousand prisoners, was yielded up to the enemy, presenting a singular instance of the effect of that alarm which had been excited by the success of the French forces, and the influence of which pervaded the most numerous garrisons and the strongest fortifications. Another effect of this complete dismay was the capture, by this active and successful commander, of Stettin, a fortress well calculated for defence, and which contained a garrison of six thousand men and one hundred and sixty pieces of cannon. This achievement was accomplished by one of the wings of the Duke of Berg's corps, while the other attacked a column of six thousand Prussians, who immediately laid down their arms.

Stettin was the fortress to which, after the fatal day of Jena, the Prince of Hohenlohe directed his course with the principal wreck of the army, having under him about sixteen thou-

prevent the junction of the armies under the Marshal d'Étrées and the Prince of Condé, but in this attempt he failed of success, and his cannon, and a large body of prisoners, fell into the hands of the enemy. He soon after concluded that his serene highness returned home to cultivate the arts of peace, and on the 12th of January, 1766, he married the Princess Augusta, sister of the present King of England. In 1780, the Duke of Brunswick died, and the hereditary prince, of course, succeeded to his titles and dominions. His first care was directed to the melioration of the affairs of his country, and so unremitting were his endeavours to promote the happiness and prosperity of his subjects, that he acquired, as he merited, the glorious title of the "Father of his people." On the death of the old King of Prussia, the title of Field-Marshal was conferred upon the duke by Frederick-William II. and being appointed to the command of the Prussian army, he succeeded in over-running Holland, and reinstating the stadtholder.

Soon after this event, when the successful revolt of a whole people from an oppression sanctioned by the practice of ages, had created the most serious alarm in all the courts of Europe, the Duke of Brunswick was looked up to as the only general capable of reducing the French nation within the pale of unlimited obedience. On this occasion the rival courts of Vienna and Berlin cordially united in the choice of the same leader, who, having assumed the command of the combined forces, in July, 1792, advanced from Coblenz to the heights of Valmy, where an obscure officer of cavalry § foiled the tacticians who had studied the art of war in the school of the immortal Frederick; || and that army which had marched forward in all the pride of triumph, denouncing vengeance and desolation against the French capital, was obliged to withdraw, by forced marches, to their own frontier, destitute of provisions, encumbered with baggage, exposed to the ravages of a dreadful dysentery, and completely bereft of all its glory. In 1793, the duke, who in the interval had redeemed some portion of that glory which he had lost at Valmy, by the capture of Mentz, retired from the command of the Prussian army in disgust, and was succeeded by Mollendorff, the companion of his youth and the rival of his old age. On quitting the duties of the camp his highness immediately returned to Brunswick, and occupied himself as usual in promoting the prosperity of his own dominions. Happy had it been for him and for his family, had he confined his cares to his sovereignty; but he was addicted to war from habit, and from disposition, and he pined for active employment in the field and at the head of armies. On the breaking out of the war in 1806, the command of the Prussian army was again confided to the Duke of Brunswick. He was almost the only surviving general of the *old school*, and it remained to be determined on the plains of Jena, whether the ancient art of war or the modern system of tactics was doomed to prevail. On the 13th of October the fatal conflict took place; and victory, as we have seen, declared for the French, under the Emperor Napoleon. While reconnoitring the enemy at an advanced post, with a telescope in his hand, the duke was wounded in the face by a grape-shot; and he was obliged soon after to have recourse to a litter, in which he was conducted to the capital of his dominions. On the approach of the enemy he left his little metropolis for the last time, and retired by easy journeys to Altona. There, in an obscure lodging, attended by his consort, the sister of the King of England, he heard that the royal family was fled; that nearly all his troops had been intercepted in their retreat; and that he himself was stripped of his dominions. In this melancholy situation, bereft of sight, overwhelmed with pain, and surrounded by misery, died a sovereign prince, who, until eclipsed by a new race of warriors, had been considered as the greatest commander of his age, and to whose talents, at one critical period, all the sovereigns of Europe looked up for safety and protection. The duke breathed his last on the 10th of November, in the 71st year of his age.

§ Dismouras.

|| Book I. Chap. III. p. 39.

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sand infantry, principally guards and grenadiers, six regiments of cavalry, and sixty-four pieces of harnessed artillery. In his attempt, however, to reach this place, he was anticipated by the arrival at Templon of the Duke of Berg, who, not doubting that the prince would, in consequence of this failure, bend his course to Prentzlow, without a moment's loss of time set off for that place, and, by a well-concerted attack, overthrew, in its suburbs, the cavalry, infantry, and artillery of the prince, and forced him, with great loss, to withdraw within the town, where he was immediately summoned. The gates being speedily burst open by the enemy, and no chance of effectual opposition to the attack remaining, the prince engaged in a treaty of capitulation, and the same day defiled his whole army before the grand duke, as prisoners of war.

The retreat and resistance of the gallant General Blucher are deserving of particular mention. His intention, after the defeat at Jena, was to gain the Oder, to effect a junction with the army of Prince Hohenlohe, and by affording employment to different divisions of the French troops, to allow time for the supply of some important fortresses, and for the junction of the Russian and Prussian troops. The reserve of the army, which, under the Prince of Wurtemberg, had suffered very materially at Halle, was confided to him on the 24th of October, and appears afterwards to have met with a corps under the Duke of Weimar and the hereditary Duke of Brunswick. It consisted of ten thousand five hundred men. After various attempts to join Prince Hohenlohe, in which his little army had several times separated, although they rejoined after a variety of difficulties, they were obliged to fight against very superior numbers, but often inflicting in these contests more injury than they experienced, he received the mortifying intelligence that the prince had capitulated. General Blucher had now no other alternative but either to take the direction to Hamburg or Lubeck, or to fight the next day, as the Duke of Berg was on his left flank, Marshal Soult on his right, and Bernadotte on his front, each of whose divisions was more than double the number of his own. His march to Lubeck was accordingly resolved upon. But here, to his unutterable regret and indignation, treachery combined against him, and afforded aid to the French troops, who soon filled the town. Here a contest took place, which in fierceness and horror has rarely been exceeded. The squares, streets, and even churches, were scenes of the most bloody conflict and carnage; war triumphed in this unfortunate place, in its full ravage; and the Prussian troops at length, obliged to yield to the superior forces of the

enemy, withdrew from the town. In this extremity, suffering from want of ammunition, with reduced strength, and reduced numbers, effectual resistance seemed absolutely impossible. After three weeks constant retreat, in which, from the incessant fatigue of marching five or six German miles a day, with only the most miserable means of subsistence, fifty or sixty men being frequently obliged to be left behind, but notwithstanding which, the whole corps had displayed a fidelity and courage which could never be exceeded, he felt it his duty, at the moment the French were about to attack him, to yield to a capitulation. The conviction of having discharged his duty might well support him under this disaster, and he may be considered as having derived more glory from his well-conducted retreat, than has attached in many cases to the most decided and important successes.

Marshal Davoust had, on the 18th of October, taken possession of Leipzig, where immediate notice was given to the merchants and bankers, that all English property would be seized in this grand *entrepôt* of British merchandise; and all persons were enjoined within twenty-four hours to send in a declaration regarding all such property in their possession, of whatever description; the non-compliance with this mandate to be punished by the summary process of military tribunals. Having ordered a bridge to be thrown over the Elbe at this place, Davoust proceeded to Wittenburg, and gained by surprise the bridges of that town, after which he moved forward to Berlin, which he entered at the head of his troops on the 25th, followed on the succeeding day by the corps of Marshal Augereau. On the 24th, Bonaparte arrived at Potsdam; where he visited the palace, and the tomb of the great Frederick. The sword of that distinguished warrior, the ribbon of the black eagle, the colours taken by him in the seven years war, and the scarf which he used during that critical period of his vicissitude and glory, excited particular regard and emotion; and Napoleon, seizing these trophies, exclaimed with transport, "Twenty millions shall not purchase them. I will present them to my old soldiers, and the Hotel of Invalids at Paris shall be their future depository." Within three days after his arrival at Potsdam, he made his public entry into Berlin, attended by his principal generals, and his foot guards. Various ambassadors from the powers with which he was at peace were here presented to him at the palace. He afterwards received the deputies from the Lutheran and Reformed churches, mostly the descendants of the refugee French protestants, driven from their country by the revocation of the edict of Nantes, to whom he promised the continued enjoyment of their privileges and worship.

Twelve hundred of the principal inhabitants were intrusted with the guardianship of the city; and to the management of eight of the highest reputation and consequence, was committed the superintendence of the police. The presence of the French scarcely discomposed the ordinary routine of business; and by the vigilance of the burghers, and the strict discipline of the army, the utmost tranquillity was secured. Berlin, at the time of its occupation, notwithstanding previous removals, abounded with military stores of every description, which the precipitate approach of the enemy, "the rapidity of whose march, outstripped that of their renown," had prevented them from removing. The supreme provisional government of the conquered country of Prussia was divided into four departments—Berlin, Custin, Stettin, and Magdeburg, and committed to the direction of General Clarke.

During the time in which the Emperor Napoleon was enjoying himself in comparative leisure and full tranquillity in the palace of Berlin, admiring the novelty of the scene, and the trophies of military greatness; the King of Prussia was experiencing all the horrors of exile, and the alarms natural to the loss of a kingdom, for the recovery of which he had reason to fear that he must be more indebted to the moderation of the conqueror, than to any remaining resources of his own. In the course of a few days his army had been completely dissipated and ruined. The army of Westphalia, under General Blücher; the left division, under Prince Hohenlohe; the reserve, under the Prince of Wurtemberg; and the army under his own immediate inspection; had comprehended a mass of military power which he had represented to his imagination as almost irresistible: yet nearly all had now disappeared. Of one hundred and fifty thousand men, comprehended in these divisions, a large proportion had been destroyed, wounded, or made captive, in the fatal contest of Jena. Of the rest, various corps, after wandering amidst inextricable difficulties, and exhibiting an enterprise and perseverance worthy of a better fate, had been obliged to surrender to the superior force of the enemy, while others, as if struck with consternation, and imagining themselves to be assailed by an enemy of more than mortal powers, yielded up, in succession, positions of the first importance, and capable of long-continued defence. The fortresses appeared as if incapable of affording resistance to the enemy, or protection to their own garrisons. The armies, the garrisons, and the magazines, were lost to the Monarch of Prussia, with such rapidity of successive disaster, that he might

doubt at certain moments the reality of his humiliation, and the testimony of his own senses. After the battle of Jena, his majesty retreated to Custin, but the approach of the enemy speedily produced the necessity of his further removal, and Königsburg became the place of his residence, and the rallying point for the wreck of the Prussian forces. Here, the last remnants of the Prussian monarchy, amounting to about fifty thousand men, collected around Frederick William, and awaited the accession of reinforcements, and the arrival of whatever assistance might be afforded by the Emperor of Russia.

Bonaparte, well aware that the Elector of Saxony had been forced into the service of Prussia, dismissed six thousand of his troops on their parole immediately after the battle of Jena. The Elector of Hesse was, on the contrary, deprived of his dominions; as was also the Duke of Brunswick, because he had encouraged a war "which he ought to have used his influence to prevent."* Mecklenburg was also taken possession of by the French; but its destiny was postponed, and left subject to be regulated by the conduct of Russia. Hanover was occupied by a detachment under the command of General Mortier. The siege of Hameln was intrusted to General Savary, who found a conference as efficacious as a grand assault. The desperate situation of the Prussian monarchy afforded no prospect of advantage from the protraction of a siege on the part of the commandant, who, under the influence of this persuasion, consented to sign a capitulation, by which this important fortress, with a garrison of nine thousand men, abundance of military stores, and provisions for six months, were delivered to the French general, whose troops amounted to only three regiments. In Hanover, the order and discipline of the French troops were strikingly observable; and a few days were sufficient to complete the conquest of that electorate. Fulda and Cassel were at the same time occupied by other corps of the French troops, and a perfect communication was opened and maintained with the grand army. The next object to be accomplished, and which was no sooner ordered than it was effected, was to take possession of Hamburg; and the transactions at this place, where all British merchandise and other property was placed under sequestration, flowed from a system of policy explained by a decree of the French Emperor, published at Berlin towards the close of the month of November. This edict, which afterwards became so memorable under the designation of the *BERLIN DECREE*, was introduced by a declaration, stating, that England had violated the laws of nations in

* Declaration of Napoleon.

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considering every individual belonging to a hostile state as an actual enemy, whether found on board vessels of merchandise, or engaged otherwise in the tranquil occupations of commercial agents, or as members of commercial factories. She had moreover extended her right of blockade beyond all reasonable limits—to places before which she had not a single ship of war, and even to whole coasts and kingdoms, where, with all her naval superiority, it was impossible for her actually to maintain it. This monstrous abuse of the right of blockade, as it was styled by the French Emperor, had no other object but to impede the communication between nations, and to aggrandize the commerce and industry of England by the ruin of the commerce and industry of the continent. All those who dealt in English commodities upon the continent, might, therefore, be justly regarded, whether intentionally or not, as seconding those views, and rendering themselves her accomplices. And that, as it was a right, conferred by the laws of nature and of nations, to oppose to an enemy the weapons he employs against his adversary; it was therefore decreed, that till the English government should abandon this system, the British isles should be placed in a state of blockade, and all commerce and correspondence with her interdicted.

The idea of blockading the British islands was at first treated as the phantom of a disordered imagination, but the ridicule cast upon the project was speedily removed by illustrative facts. In all the countries under the direct power and influence of France, British property, and the persons of British citizens, were divested of all security, and recognized as fair subjects of sequestration and imprisonment. The means of continental communication were extremely impaired; and the grand *entrepôt* of English commodities was completely cut off. The strictest orders were circulated through Holland, Switzerland, and all the other tributary governments of the French empire, to enforce these regulations, so as to effect, if possible, the utter exclusion of British intercourse with their dominions; and it was found, that although the French were inclosed by the British squadrons in their own ports, which they could quit only by the aid of storms and darkness, the idea of blockading the British isles was not altogether frivolous and illusory. Founded, as the system of commercial intercourse was, on the very basis of reciprocal wants and advantages, the British nation found that they were contending with an enemy whose grand object was to impair their resources, to harass their credit, to produce that failure of revenue which would operate most powerfully in support of his views of policy and vengeance; and for the accomplishment of which, the incon-

venience attached to Europe, and even to France herself, from the influence of the "continental system," would be cheerfully endured. The suspension of the regular course of payments from abroad soon proved fatal to many mercantile houses of distinction; while others, who had enjoyed the good fortune, in anticipation of these events, to dispose of their property, and settle their accounts abroad, but whose warehouses at home were crowded with merchandise, for which they could now obtain no market, were in a state little less to be deplored. The West India merchants, so large a portion of whose importations had found their way through long established channels to the continent, from which they were now excluded, particularly suffered from this cause: and the columns of the London Gazette, no longer adorned with the records of victory, were swelled with the names of those who had recently imagined themselves in a state of comparative opulence, but who were doomed to fall into decay under the weight of this unmarketable and depreciated merchandise.

Immediately after the battle of Jena, the King of Prussia made applications to Bonaparte for an armistice, and though this request was refused, he was encouraged to send a plenipotentiary to the head-quarters of the French army, charged with instructions to negotiate a peace. Lucchesini, the Prussian negotiator, arrived at Berlin on the 22d of October, and found that Duroc was named by the French Emperor to discuss with him the terms of the proposed treaty. The situation of his Prussian Majesty became every day more desperate by the capture of his armies, and the surrender of his fortresses, and a very short time was sufficient to shew, that no terms of peace short of unconditional surrender were to be obtained from the conqueror. An armistice was next proposed, and concluded on the 18th of November, but on terms so disadvantageous to Prussia, that the king refused to ratify the act of his minister, preferring rather to try still further the fortune of war, with the aid and under the banners of his Russian ally. Every exertion was made to give effect to this last effort, and considering the facility with which the slightest promise of favourable change is caught at by the unfortunate, it could not appear surprising that the approach of the Russian armies, and the expectation of a general rising among the Silesians, to whom the king addressed an energetic proclamation, should have inspired a hope of ultimate success, which was in reality the cause of the determination not to ratify the armistice.

The advanced guard of the Russian army, under General Benningsen, amounting to four thousand men, had at length crossed the Vistula, and arrived at Warsaw, on the 13th of November, from whence they pushed on by forced marches

to the river Drzura. Their reconnoitring parties however, on advancing along the road towards Thorn and the Wartha, soon ascertained the great superiority and the rapid march of the enemy, on which General Benningsen speedily retired across the Vistula; and entirely destroyed the bridge over that river, with a view to impede the enemy in his pursuit. About the end of the month of November, the first division of the French army arrived at Warsaw, and one of their first objects was to substitute a bridge for that which the Russians had destroyed. From the eastern bank of the Vistula a corps of Marshal Davoust's division pushed on towards the Bug, where they strengthened their position by a *tête du pont*, and afterwards proceeded to the village of Pomikow. The general-in-chief of the Russian army, Kamenskoi, having at length arrived at the camp, seemed to consider the honour of the army as tarnished by the retrograde movements of General Benningsen, and in order to counteract the impression made by this retreat, he ordered his troops to advance, and to fix their head-quarters at Pultusk, on the Narew, at a distance of thirty miles from Warsaw. No sooner was Bonaparte acquainted with the first indications of this disposition in the Russian general for offensive operations, than he quitted Posen for Warsaw; but previously to his departure, he published a proclamation, addressed to his soldiers, which may be considered as a summary of the Prussian campaign.* Marshal Ney had been for some time in possession of Thorn, from whence he united the different corps of his division at Gallup. Marshal Bessieres, with the second corps of the reserved cavalry, proceeded from Thorn to Biezun, which route was also pursued by Marshal Bernadotte, while Marshal Soult passed the Vistula opposite Plock, and Marshal Angereau, by indefatigable exertions, established a bridge over the Narew. These operations were succeeded by the battles of Maziesk and Lopackzin, fought on the 24th of December, in which the Russians lost sixteen

hundred men, and twenty-five pieces of cannon. In the mean time a Prussian corps, consisting of six thousand infantry, and one thousand cavalry, sustained a signal defeat at Scoldaw, by a corps of French troops under Marshal Ney; while Marshal Bessieres routed another detachment of Prussian troops, breaking their line, and driving them into the morasses, near the village of Carmeden. These successes were only preliminary to a battle of more importance, fought on the 26th of December, in the vicinity of Pultusk, and which closed the military operations of the year. In the morning of that day Marshal Lannes arrived opposite to Pultusk, where the whole corps of General Benningsen had assembled during the night. About ten o'clock the next morning the attack was commenced by the French, and received by the Russians with great firmness. The battle was fought with great obstinacy, and with various vicissitude, but at length French tactics triumphed over Russian courage, and General Benningsen, on whom the chief command of the Russian army had now devolved, was compelled to retreat. In the mean time, General Buxhoevden had assembled the different corps of his army at Golymin, to which place they were closely pursued by Davoust, who took up his position in an adjoining wood. About noon Angereau arrived, and took the Russians in flank, while another French corps deprived them of a point of support, derived from a neighbouring village, and at three o'clock the division of General Hendelet formed in line, and advanced against the Russians. The fire was conducted with great animation, and notwithstanding several impetuous and successful charges made by the cavalry of the Duke of Berg, the contest continued till eleven o'clock at night; when the Russian commander, finding himself unable any longer to resist the shock, ordered a retreat to Oströlenka. General Buxhoevden was now placed in a situation of extreme danger, and had not the unfavourable

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* PROCLAMATION.

"Imperial Head-quarters at Posen, Dec. 2, 1806.

"SOLDIERS!

"A year ago, at the same hour, you were on the memorable field of Austerlitz. The armed cohort of Russia fled, defeated, before you; or surrounded, laid down their arms at the feet of their conquerors. To the moderation, and, perhaps, blameable generosity, which overlooked the criminality of the third coalition, is the formation of a fourth to be ascribed. But the ally, on whose military skill their principal hope rested, is already no more. His principal towns, his fortresses, his stores and ammunition, magazines, two hundred and eighty standards, seven hundred pieces of cannon, are in our power. Neither the Oder nor Wartha, the deserts of Poland, nor the rude season of winter, have been capable of arresting, for a moment, our progress. You have braved all dangers—have surmounted them all, and every enemy has fled on your approach. In vain did the Russians wish to defend the capital of ancient and illustrious Poland. The French eagles hover over the Vistula. The unfortunate, but brave Poles, on contemplating you, fancy they behold the celebrated legions of the great Sobieski returning from a military expedition. Soldiers! we shall not lay down our arms until a general peace has confirmed and secured the power of our allies; until it has restored to our commerce its freedom, and given back to us our colonies: on the Elbe, and on the Oder, we have re-conquered Pondicherry, all our possessions in India, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Spanish colonies. What right has Russia to hope that she shall hold the balance of destiny in her hands? What right has she to expect she should be placed in so favourable a situation? Shall there be a comparison made between the Russians and us? Are we not the soldiers of Austerlitz?

(Signed)

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state. of the roads impeded the progress of the French troops under Marshal Soult, scarcely any portion of the Russian army could have escaped destruction. The loss in these actions, on the part of the French, was admitted by themselves to be little short of three thousand men; but that of the Russians was, on the same authority, stated to be twelve thousand killed, wounded, and taken; eighty pieces of cannon; and about twelve hundred baggage waggons. The retreat of the Russians was the signal for the French troops to enter into winter quarters, and the corps under Marshals Ney, Bernadotte, and Bessieres, were almost immediately cantoned on the left bank of the river Orege, while Marshal Soult, with the brigades of light horse, were stationed on the right bank of that river for their protection.

The King of Prussia, while all these disastrous events were taking place, was experiencing a state of suspense and embarrassment, which, although arising from his own culpable policy, could not but excite sentiments of commiseration. His queen and family, with a long train of attendants and nobility, sought an asylum, first at Dantzic, and afterwards at Memel, where the death of one of the young princes was combined with other circumstances of public and domestic affliction. In this brief, but decisive campaign, the successes of the French are almost unprecedented in the records of history. It cannot appear surprising that these successes should have operated upon a people peculiarly susceptible of every thing calculated to excite exultation, and to gratify national vanity; nor that the "illustrious head of the great nation" should, at the contemplation of that superiority which he obtained in these conflicts, adopt frequently a style of decided prophecy and dictation, approaching to the most consummate arrogance. The forces of an immense empire were under his uncontrouled direction, and he was able to avail himself of them to their fullest extent. There was no opposition to his projects, no collision with his interests. The decisions of his cabinet, or rather of his closet, instead of being obliged to await the forms of slow deliberation, and the fluctuation of remote caprice, sprang with all the bloom and vigour of youth into immediate action. In the coalitions which he had had hitherto to encounter, this simplicity in the midst of complication administered in a great measure to his uninterrupted success. In the case of Prussia, indeed, concert had not been formed till ruin was almost absolutely incurred, and her folly was only the more apparent from these defective arrangements, which had depended solely upon herself.

A suspension of hostile operations existed for some time after the battles of Pultusk and

Golymin, arising from the difficulty of procuring supplies, and the state of a northern region at this season of the year. Vigilance and preparations were on both sides connected with a state of comparative acquiescence; and no means were omitted by either army to qualify themselves for those approaching shocks, to which Europe now looked with painful suspense for the decision of its fate. A general armament was ordered by the Emperor of Russia to be raised, in a certain proportion to the existing population, according to which the force to be levied would amount to upwards of six hundred thousand men, who were, on any requisite emergency, to be ready to support the troops of the empire. Nor was the Emperor Napoleon by any means less attentive to the arrangements required by his situation. Levies were perpetually sent from the interior of France to the seat of war, and an anticipated conscription for the ensuing year was put in requisition, to be trained and disciplined, though not immediately to be marched to the theatre of war.

In the mean while Jerome Bonaparte was successfully conducting the operations of the army in Silesia. The proclamation of the King of Prussia to the brave inhabitants of this province, though by no means attended with those results that in the ardour of his mind he had expected, was not wholly inefficient. By the exertions of the Prince of Pless, who had been appointed to the government of the province, a considerable corps was collected from the troops stationed in the various fortresses, which appear to have derived some increase of force from the zeal and attachment of the people at large. The troops of the King of Wurtemberg and Bavaria were employed, under Prince Jerome, to reduce them, and about the beginning of the year, inflicted upon them a severe defeat. After this event, the best mode of disposing of the remainder of the army appeared to the Prince of Pless to be their rapid dispersion, by detachments into different fortresses; a plan which was immediately adopted, and in consequence of which he was obliged to abandon to the enemy some of his artillery, and a considerable portion of his baggage. On the 8th of January, the city of Breslau, which had been for some time regularly besieged, surrendered to the enemy, who had begun to batter in breach; the magazines of this fortress were considerable, and its garrison, consisting of five thousand five hundred men, defiled before Prince Jerome as his prisoners of war. The other fortresses in Silesia were in succession rapidly invested; Brieg capitulated in a short time, and Schwiednitz soon followed her example. The Prince of Pless, driven from the positions of Frankenstein and Neurobde by

General Lefebvre, took refuge in Glatz, and was soon after succeeded in the command by Baron Kleist. The activity and energy of the new commander kept all the troops under Jerome Bonaparte in sufficient employment; and an unsuccessful attempt was made under the baron to surprise and retake Breslaw. The siege of Niesse, before which the French Prince was encamped, occupied a considerable time; and although this and the other fortresses were at length forced to a capitulation, the bravery and perseverance of the troops and commanders employed in their defence, redounded to the credit of their firmness and loyalty. By the prolonged exertions in defence of these places, an object highly desirable was effected—the detention of a great body of forces from joining the French armies in Poland, and a striking contrast was exhibited to that precipitation and baseness with which, in other provinces of the unfortunate Prussian monarchy, fortresses, impregnable for their situation, and furnished with every means of protracted defence, had been surrendered almost upon the first summons.

While Silesia was thus in a state that must insure its ultimate reduction, unless the fortune of war should exhibit a most important reverse on the great theatre of hostility, the French armies were employed in prosecuting the sieges of Stralsund, Colberg, and Dantzic, the possession of the latter of which cities was justly deemed of extreme consequence. The idea of the restoration of the kingdom of Poland, if it had been ever seriously entertained, was now apparently abandoned. Whether it was, that, having been repeatedly deceived by sovereigns, their pledges were no longer received by the inhabitants of that country with any confidence; whether policy was speedily found to require the renunciation of a project by Bonaparte which he really had intended to accomplish; or whether the boasted constitution of Poland had no hold on the poor man's heart to nerve his arm for its recovery; it appears that few of the Poles contributed to swell the French armies; and that, for the restoration of Poland in its former integrity, was substituted a government of the Prussian districts of that country, accompanied with no specious pretensions to liberty and independence, though judiciously enough contrived as a provisional administration.

The representations of Austria, whose military establishments had been placed by the Archduke Charles on a footing of high respectability, could not, it may be presumed, be safely neglected. She had a formidable army in Galicia, convertible to the emergency of circumstances, and capable of almost indefinite increase, from the existing regularity, economy, and resources of her establishments. In the

situation of Bonaparte, the interposition of this force might be supposed capable, not merely of preventing the re-establishment of the monarchy of Poland, but of cutting off his retreat to France, and thus subverting for ever the fabric of ambition which he had been so many years in raising. But the perils and labours, the achievements and glories, of so long a period, were not thus rashly to be ventured for an enterprise, which to him was of trifling importance. On the subject of Austria it may be further observed, that the exertions of the Archduke Charles, in his chief military superintendence of the empire, were incessant and invaluable. Those whose conclusions were generally directed by their wishes, and whose wishes were ardent for the subversion of the colossal power which now threatened to bestride the continent, eagerly inferred that these exertions on the part of Austria, were intended for something more than to cause her neutrality to be respected, and every rumour of a reverse sustained by Bonaparte was followed by another, circulated with equal confidence, that the Emperor Francis was coming forward to complete the triumph of the allies. What might have been the result of those reverses, had they actually taken place, and how far they might have induced the Austrian government to deviate from its neutrality, it is impossible to determine. The secrets of cabinets are explored with difficulty, and their mere professions of attachment are certainly little to be relied upon. Austria, however, had felt what it was to fall under the weight of the energies of France. She might, at the same time, not bear so strong a spirit of revenge and antipathy as was imagined, against an enemy, who, after over-running her provinces and capital, by no means inflicted the extremity of vengeance, and who, though he retained much of his conquest, also restored much which he could never have been compelled to abandon. In addition to all these considerations, the ancient disgusts between the Austrian and Prussian states and governments must have been still extremely operative; and to this feeling of almost inborn origin, was added, by Austria, that retrospect of events, in the course of which she had been sacrificed to the timid policy, or rather grovelling interest, of the King of Prussia. Bonaparte, whose knowledge of human nature appeared little inferior to his military skill, might feel himself tolerably easy, with respect to the designs of Austria, though providence required that her motions should be observed with that vigilance which is ever alive to contingencies; and in the course of this campaign, she adhered steadily to her system of neutrality, taking no measures that could reasonably excite offence or alarm.

From the battle of the 26th of December,

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nothing material occurred between the grand armies, till the 25th of January. The French troops were in cantonments, and the emperor was at Warsaw, regulating every process necessary for the supply of their magazines, and diffusing order and animation, from this point of his residence, though every department of his government. The Prince of Ponte Corvo had taken possession of Elbing, and the country situated on the borders of the Baltic. Being informed that a Russian column had advanced to Liebotadt, beyond the Passarge, and had made prisoners a party of the advanced posts of the cantonments, he immediately quitted Elbing, and arrived at Mohrungen on the 26th of January, just as the general of brigade, Pieton, was attacked by the Russians. A village, defended by three Russian battalions, supported by three others, was immediately ordered by the marshal to be attacked, and the contest which ensued was extremely fierce and animated. The eagle of the ninth regiment of French infantry was taken by the Russians, who, in the early part of the day, had the prospect of obtaining a most brilliant victory. The sense of disgrace in which the final loss of their standard would have involved the French regiment, produced exertions which gave a turn to the fortune of the day. They precipitated themselves with inconceivable ardour on the Russians, who were unable to resist the shock, and in the rout which ensued, were obliged to abandon the captured eagle. During this transaction in one part of the field, the French line was formed in another, and attacked that of the Russians, which was advantageously posted on an eminence. The fire of the musketry was at what in the language of war is called point blank distance, where every shot takes effect, and the firmness and vigour of the action rendered the result highly dubious; when General Dupont suddenly appeared, and took part in the engagement. The right wing of the Russians was turned by this corps, and the impetuosity of the attack made upon them by the 32d regiment was irresistible. The Russians were obliged to fly, and were followed till the advance of night put an end to the pursuit. Several howitzers were left by them upon the field of battle, with about twelve hundred killed and wounded; and thirteen hundred Russians were made prisoners of war.

About the close of the month of January, Bonaparte quitted Warsaw, and joined his army; the corps of Marshal Ney was formed in order of battle on the left, that of Soult on the right, and that of Augereau in the centre, the imperial guard constituting the reserve. Gutstadt was the centre of the Russian magazines, and orders were given to Marshal

Soult to march towards it, and to make himself master of the bridge of Bergfried. General Guyot was accordingly dispatched with the light cavalry to Gutstadt, where he succeeded in capturing a great part of the Russian baggage, with sixteen hundred prisoners, and after an obstinate conflict the bridge of Bergfried was taken. Marshal Ney, in the mean time, made himself master of a wood, which covered the right wing of the Russians. An important position was gained also by the division of St. Hilaire; and several squadrons of dragoons, under the Duke of Berg, cleared the plain of the Russians in front. On the ensuing morning, the different corps of the French army were early on their march towards Landsberg, Heilsburg, and Wörmitt. In the course of this day, two regiments of Russian infantry were nearly all destroyed or taken, near Glandau, together with their cannon and colours; and Hoff, a place of such importance that ten battalions were appointed by the Russians to defend it, fell into the hands of the enemy.

These contests occurred early in the month of February, and the evening of the 6th came on while both armies were in presence of each other: during the night, the Russians resumed their retreat, and took up their position behind Eylau. At a short distance from this place there is a flat, at the summit of an eminence, which, as it commands the entrance into the town, it was deemed necessary by the French Emperor to gain. The Russian troops, who were in possession of this commanding position, were thrown into considerable confusion, by an attack made upon them under the direction of Marshal Soult; but, by a well-timed and admirably-conducted charge from a body of the Russian cavalry, some of the French battalions thus employed were completely thrown into disorder. During this vicissitude of fortune, the result of which was the continued possession of the eminence by the Russians, the troops came to action in Eylau. Several regiments had been posted in a church and church-yard, which were maintained by the Russians, with extraordinary pertinacity, and occasioned on both sides the most dreadful carnage till about ten o'clock at night, when they were abandoned to the French. The division of Le Grand passed the night in front of the village; that of St. Hilaire was on the right; Augereau was posted on the left; the corps of Davoust began its march early on the ensuing morning of the 8th, with a view to fall on the left of the Russians; while that of Ney was on its march to outflank them on the right. At day-break the attack commenced, on the part of the Russians, by a cannonade, directed against the division of St. Hilaire. Bonaparte commanded in person at Eylau, and stationed

himself at the church, which had been so obstinately defended the preceding day, whence he gave orders for the corps of Augereau to advance with forty pieces of cannon, and to cannonade the eminence which had before been unsuccessfully attempted. The Russian army was formed in columns, and only at the distance of half a cannon shot from the assailants; every ball took effect. To terminate the carnage occasioned by this dreadful cannonade, the Russians attempted to surround the left wing of the enemy. The corps under Davoust were at this moment perceived by the Russian commander to be in a situation highly favourable to an attack, and stood exposed to the danger of being fallen upon by the whole force of the Russian army; to prevent the disaster that must inevitably have ensued, Augereau advanced in columns across the plain to attack the centre of the Russians, and thus to divide their attention. The division of St. Hilaire approached on the right, and was endeavouring to form a junction with Augereau: during the manœuvres necessary for effecting this object, a heavy fall of snow intercepted the view of the French divisions; their point of direction was lost; and the columns deviating to the left, were exposed for a considerable time to extreme uncertainty and danger. On the conclusion of the storm, which lasted for more than half an hour, the Grand Duke of Berg, immediately perceiving the destruction to which the French columns were exposed, and from which nothing but the boldest manœuvres could rescue them, instantly advanced at the head of his cavalry, with Marshal Bessieres and the imperial guard, to the support of St. Hilaire's division, and attacked the main body of the Russians: by this vigorous and unexpected movement the Russians were thrown into disorder, and sustained the most dreadful slaughter; two of their lines were penetrated, and the third was preserved entire only by the support derived from an adjoining wood. This splendid and successful operation was, however, by no means decisive of the fate of the day; the Russian army still resisted, with a firmness and perseverance which rendered the contest long doubtful: for twelve hours, three hundred mouths of fire were scattering death in every direction on the scene of conflict and horror. The success of Marshal Davoust at length gave a preponderance to the scale on the side of the French army; his march had been retarded by several falls of snow, and the junction of his columns proved an affair of extreme difficulty, but at length he was enabled to out-flank the Russians, and to gain possession of the level on the summit of the eminence. This position was disputed with all

the vigour and ardour of military combat; and after the Russians had been obliged in the first instance to abandon it, they attempted to recover their lost ground with a vehemence bordering upon rage, and a perseverance approaching to desperation; their reiterated attempts were, however, found to be ineffectual, and they were obliged finally to quit the field, and to secure as orderly a retreat as possible.

The battle of Eylau appears to have been one of the most vigorous and obstinately contested battles in the history of the war; it was celebrated at Warsaw and at Paris, with the usual accompaniments of triumph, and the loss of the Russians was stated in the French bulletin at seven thousand killed, twelve thousand prisoners, and an equal number put *hors de combat*. On the same authority it is asserted that the Russians lost forty-five pieces of cannon, and eighteen colours; and that the French Emperor, neither in this, nor in any other battle where he commanded, ever lost any cannon. The loss of the French was admitted in their own accounts to be very severe, and General Benningsen estimates that loss at thirty thousand killed, twelve thousand wounded, and two thousand prisoners!* That the victory rested with the French can scarcely be doubted, as the possession of the town, and of the eminence which commanded it, remained indisputably with them, and they continued on the field of battle for some days after the Russians had found it expedient to retreat behind the river Pregel. That no considerable permanent or immediate advantages resulted from their success is equally clear, as, instead of passing the Pregel in pursuit of a routed army, and pushing on to Königsberg, they were content to retrace their steps to their former cantonments.

The havoc resulting to both armies from this sanguinary contest, occasioned great exertions to be made for reinforcements. The Emperor Alexander and the Archduke Constantine not long after joined the Russian army with upwards of sixty thousand troops; and the efforts of Napoleon to repair his loss, and accumulate a force equal to the great struggle which still remained, were unremitting. The greater part of the 8th corps of the grand army, which had been employed under General Mortier, in the north of Germany, was ordered to march to the more critical theatre of hostility; and from the different recruiting stations throughout France, and the conquered countries, reinforcements were continually dispatched to join the imperial standard on the Vistula.

The French army now bent its efforts with

* Russian official account of the Battle of Eylau.

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increased vigour against the fortress of Dantzic. This place had been for some time invested, but the siege was now urged with extreme pressure and perseverance. The garrison consisted of sixteen thousand men, under the command of the Prussian General Kalkreuth, an officer of tried loyalty and skill. The troops who surrounded the place consisted, in a great degree, of the auxiliaries of France, of different prejudices, habit, and languages, but whose efforts, under the direction of Marshal Lefebvre, were effectually combined by a happy union of encouragement and discipline, and who, in repelling the sorties of the besieged, and in advancing the progress of the works, displayed astonishing skill and alacrity. The exertions of the commander of the fortress were, on the other hand, no less striking and meritorious; and his vigilance and energy in this situation of high responsibility were in incessant operation. On the 24th of April the bombardment begun. On the night of the 29th, Marshal Lefebvre, having conceived the garrison to be sufficiently weakened, and the fortifications so much impaired as to justify the attempt, ordered the storming of the fortress. The governor, however, was well prepared to resist the assailants, whose stratagems were unable to deceive him with regard to the real point of attack, and repelled the effort made by the enemy, with the most dreadful carnage. This overthrow was far from preventing a renewal of the enterprise, and no less than three separate attempts were made on this fatal night to get possession of the citadel. The skill of the commander, however, and the exertions of the garrison, completely defeated each: after the loss of an immense number of lives the attempt was abandoned, and the assailants were obliged to take shelter under cover of their works.—An armistice of four hours was soon after agreed upon between the hostile commanders, and the work of destruction was suspended by a solemn pause for the burial of the dead. The struggles of the garrison were not viewed with indifference by the commanders of the allied armies, and two attempts were made to throw succours into the fortress and to raise the siege, but both of them without success. The moment was now therefore rapidly approaching, in which all the valour and exertions of the garrison would be unavailing; nearly a thousand houses had been destroyed in the town, and the distress of the inhabitants was extreme. The troops, exhausted by a series of efforts, interrupted only by short periods of repose, were not only thinned in numbers, but scarcely able to support any longer those privations and difficulties which daily increased. The works of the enemy were, in the meantime, proceed-

ing with rapidity; the covered way was now completed; the preparations for passing the fosse were finished, and on the 21st of May every thing was prepared for the assault—when General Kalkreuth intimated to the French commander that he was willing to capitulate, on the same conditions as he had himself formerly granted to the garrison of Mayence. This proposition was acceded to without hesitation; and on the 27th of May, the garrison, reduced from sixteen thousand to nine thousand men, with their general at their head, marched out of the fortifications with all the honours of war, and were permitted to go wherever their inclination and convenience dictated, engaging only not to serve against France for the ensuing twelve months. Dantzic, at the time of its surrender, possessed eight hundred pieces of artillery, and magazines and stores of every description. Its principal advantage, however, to the conqueror, lay in its constituting a place of the first order, for strength, on the left wing of the grand army, while the centre was supported by Thorne, and the right by Praga.

But it is time to advert to other incidents of the extended and destructive hostility in which Europe was now involved. The operations of the 8th corps of the grand French army in the north of Germany, under General Mortier, will be long remembered; their exactions and depredations on the devoted towns and territories of this country, left indelible horror on the minds of the unresisting inhabitants. After a system of violence and rapine had been sufficiently organized to proceed with little military impulse in Hamburgh, Lubeck, and the various other places, which, in their turn, became the victims of imperial plunder, the corps of Mortier was ordered to proceed against Swedish Pomerania, and to co-operate with Lefebvre in the siege of Dantzic. The attempts of Bonaparte to detach the King of Sweden from the confederacy had been such as would have seduced or terrified to his purpose men of less firmness and perseverance than were possessed by this young monarch, whose ardour however, it will be admitted, arose on some occasions to something not very different from frenzy, and who occasionally appeared as intemperate as he had been persevering. The failure of the overtures of the French government was, in January, followed by the seizure of Anclam. Grissewald was soon taken by the French troops, and Stralsund itself was invested. The Swedish army at Stralsund consisted of thirteen thousand Swedes, and four thousand Prussians; these the king was almost in daily expectation of seeing joined by a very considerable British force, which might qualify him to take the field for active operations against the enemy, instead of confining himself within

the walls of a fortress. A force was not long after landed in Rugen and Strasund, consisting of several thousand foreign troops, under a British commander, and constituting the first division of the expected armament; but the arrival of these reinforcements gave no immediate interest to the affairs of the north, and circumstances very speedily occurred which materially changed the aspect of the continent.

Towards the close of the year 1806, war had been declared by the Porte against Russia. The conduct of the Russian government with respect to the Crimea and Georgia, its reiterated attempts to recruit its force in the seven islands from the Turkish provinces in the Adriatic, and the interference of Russia in the provincial administrations of Wallachia and Moldavia, were stated in a manifesto, published by the cabinet of Constantinople, as the grounds of this hostility. The troops of the Asiatic provinces now poured into the capital, the people were animated by the exhortations of the ulemas, and the forms and influence of an impressive superstition, to resort to the standard of Mahomet, which was displayed against its mortal enemies; and an army was ordered to be collected under the Grand Vizier, with all possible expedition. The straits of the Black Sea were closed against all neutrals, Tenedos was put in a respectable state of defence, and the passage of the Dardanelles committed to the vigilance and guardianship of a Turkish squadron. In the meanwhile, the Russians were advancing in considerable strength, under General Michelson, through Moldavia and Wallachia. The arms of Russia met with little resistance in these provinces. Choczim, Jassy, Bucharest, and various other places, fell an easy prey, and magazines were established in them to facilitate operations, which might be required against the more vital parts of the Turkish empire. To promote the success of Russia, and oblige the Turks to accede to terms of accommodation, by which a force would be released from this southern warfare, and enabled to swell the Russian army in Poland, a British fleet, under the command of Sir John Duckworth, advanced through the Dardanelles, and on the 20th of March appeared off Constantinople. Instead of producing accommodation between Russia and the Porte, a new power only was added to the list of England's enemies; commercial relations with Turkey were, of course, immediately closed; the British agents and settlers in the Turkish territories were exposed to considerable annoyance, and the seizure and sequestration of English property at Smyrna, Salonica, and other places, were ordered by the Porte, with a promptitude which precluded all opportunity for precaution. The power of

France over the divan became materially strengthened; Sebastiani, the French ambassador at Constantinople, was consulted on almost every emergency, and his influence in the Turkish capital became predominant and irresistible. In this war between Russia and the Porte, the former was generally successful, and to add to the disasters of the Turks, an insurrection arose during its progress, owing to some new regulations in the dress and discipline of the troops, which terminated in the deposition and violent death of the Grand Seignior Selim III. and the proclamation of Mustapha IV.

By sea, the Russians were equally successful as by land, and in an engagement between the Russian and Turkish fleets, fought on the 1st of July, near the entrance to the Dardanelles, the Turkish squadron, consisting of eleven sail of the line, was nearly annihilated. Circumstances, however, occurred, which speedily led to a termination of these hostilities.

After the battle of Eylau, and during the siege of Dantzic, no exertions were omitted by Bonaparte which could add security to his positions. The left wing of his army was stationed on the Nogat, a river branching from the Vistula near Marienberg, and its position reached over Elbing and Brunsberg, along the left bank of the Passarge, up to Wormdit. The centre was placed somewhat upon the rear, round Liebstadt and Morengen. From Gutstadt the army stretched itself above Allenstein; and the right wing preserved a communication with the left of Massena's army, whose right was on the Bug, and thence to the mouth of the Narew. The right wing of the allied army was stationed near the Pische Haff, and stretched along the right bank of the Passarge to Wormdit. This wing consisted of Prussian troops, admirable for their loyalty, experience, and discipline. At Wormdit the position of the Russian army commenced, and stretched over Heilsburg, Bartenstein, and Schippendall. Each wing, as well as the centre of the Russian army, had before it an advanced-guard, and the left wing was commanded by Hettman Platoff, whose activity often led him to push his parties to Ortelsburg, occasioning not unfrequent skirmishes, while, in every other part, there prevailed silent vigilance, and solemn preparation. A considerable corps of Russians was also stationed not far from the Narew. On the part of the French, there were also various distributions of force, in addition to the grand army, whose positions have been mentioned. The corps employed in the siege of Colberg were the Germans' contingent and Italians, with a certain number of French. In Silesia, the troops of Bavaria and Wurtemberg were employed in reducing the fortresses of Neisse, Cosel, Glatz, and Silber-

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berg. Marshal Brune was collecting an army of observation, to consist of Spaniards, Frenchmen, and Dutch, near Magdeburg: another was formed on the borders of Italy and Germany, connected with a numerous force under Marmont, in Dalmatia. The surrender of Dantzic added considerably to the disposable force of the French, but did not appear to offer any immediate and effectual inducement to Bonaparte to quit his almost impregnable positions. Two mighty armies, however, when the season was favourable for their operations, could not be long, nearly in view of each other, without coming to the alternative of pacification, or sanguine and destructive hostility; and as the confidence still entertained by each party prevented any successful attempts at negotiations, circumstances soon occurred which drew on an obstinate and decisive conflict.

On the 5th of June the grand French army was attacked by the allies at different points of the line. On the right of the allies, and the left of the French, twelve Russian and Prussian regiments, forming two divisions, attacked the *tête du pont* of Spanden, on the Passarge, which was defended by a regiment of light infantry, strongly covered by intrenchments and redoubts. Seven different times they were repulsed, and as often renewed the attack. But immediately after the last assault, they were charged by a regiment of French dragoons, that had come up to the assistance of the regiment of infantry, and forced to abandon the field of battle, with a severe loss of killed and wounded. Two divisions, belonging to the centre of the allied army, attacked, at the same time, the *tête du pont* of Lomitten, which was defended by a brigade of a corps of Marshal Soult; and after a gallant struggle, the Russian general, with eleven hundred of his troops, fell in the action, which terminated in favour of the French. At the same time, General Benningsen, with the Grand Duke Constantine, the imperial guard, and three divisions of the other troops, attacked the French line at Aldkirchen, Gutstadt, and Wolfsdorf, and after a severe contest, obliged the French general to fall back to Akendorf. On the following day, the allies attacked the 6th corps of the French army, under the command of Marshal Soult and General Marchand, at Deppen, on the Passarge. The Russians, in the action of this day, lost two thousand killed, and more than three thousand wounded, while the loss of the French, according to their own statement, was extremely trivial, with the exception of two hundred and fifty prisoners, taken by the Cossacks, who, in the morning of the attack, got into the rear of the French army.

Bonaparte, informed of the movements of the allies, left Finckenstein on the evening of

the 5th of June, to place himself at the head of the French army, and on the morning of the 8th advanced to Gutstadt, with the corps of Marshals Ney and Lannes, accompanied by his guard, and the cavalry of reserve. Part of the rear-guard of the Russian army, comprising ten thousand cavalry, and fifteen thousand infantry, took a position at Glattau, and attempted to dispute his passage; but the Grand Duke of Berg, after some skilful manœuvres, drove the Russians from all their positions; and the French, after taking a thousand prisoners, entered Gutstadt, sword in hand, at eight o'clock in the evening. On the 10th, the French army moved towards Heilsberg, and on its advance to this place, came up with the rear-guard of the allied army, consisting of from fifteen to eighteen thousand cavalry, and several lines of infantry. An attack was immediately commenced by a division of the French dragoons, and a brigade of light cavalry. The French were repulsed again and again, and as often renewed the attack. At two o'clock, the corps under Marshal Soult was formed, two divisions marched to the right, and a third to the left, to seize on the edge of a wood, the occupation of which was necessary in order to support the left of the cavalry. Reinforcements of both infantry and cavalry were sent to the rear-guard from the main body of the Russian army, which was posted at Heilsberg, and repeated efforts were made by the Russians, supported by more than sixty pieces of cannon, to maintain their position before that town; but all their exertions proved unavailing, and at nine o'clock in the evening, the French troops found themselves under the Russian intrenchments. The fusileers of the French guard, commanded by General Savary, were put in motion to sustain the division of Verdier; and some of the corps of infantry of the reserve, under Marshal Lannes, attacked the Russians at the close of the day, and succeeded in cutting off their communication with Lansberg. Bonaparte passed the 11th on the field, in front of Heilsberg. He there drew up the different corps and divisions of the army in order of battle, that the war might be terminated at once by a decisive engagement. The grand army of the Russians was assembled at this place, where the magazines were established, and where they occupied a position, strong by nature, and further strengthened by the labours of four months. At four in the afternoon, Bonaparte ordered Marshal Davoust to charge in front, and push forward the left wing of his corps—a movement which brought him upon the lower Alla, and blocked up the road from Eylau. To every corps of the army was assigned its proper station, and thus the Russians found themselves blockaded in

their intrenched camp, and offered battle on the ground which they themselves had chosen. At the moment when the French were making their dispositions, the Russians shewed themselves ranged in columns in the midst of their intrenchments; but at ten o'clock at night they began to pass the Alla, abandoning the whole of the country to their left, and leaving their magazines and wounded to the disposal of the enemy. In the different actions, from the 5th to the 12th, according to the French accounts, which afford the only official records on the subject of this short campaign, the Russian army was deprived of about thirty thousand fighting men; the number of wounded, left prisoners in the hands of the enemy, amounted to between three and four thousand, while the loss of the French, as stated by themselves, amounted to no more than seven hundred killed, two thousand two hundred wounded, and three hundred prisoners. On the 12th, at four in the morning, the French army entered Heilsberg, where they found in the magazines several thousand quintals of grain, and an immense quantity of different kinds of provisions. A division of dragoons, and a brigade of light cavalry, pursued the Russians to the right bank of the Alla. In the mean time, the light corps of the French army advanced in various directions, in order to pass the Russians, and, by cutting off their retreat to Koningsberg, to place themselves between the Russian army and their magazines. At five o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, the French army had advanced to Eylau, and taken up their headquarters at that place. Here the fields were no longer covered with ice and snow, but on the contrary presented one of the most beautiful scenes in nature. The country was every-where adorned with woods, intersected by lakes, and enlivened by handsome villages. On the 13th, while the Grand Duke of Berg, and the Marshals Soult and Davoust, had orders to manœuvre before Koningsberg, Bonaparte, with the corps of Ney, Lannes, Mortier, the imperial guard, and the first corps, commanded by General Victor, advanced to Friedland. On the same day, the 9th regiment of hussars entered that town, but was driven out of it again by three thousand Russian cavalry.

On the 14th, the anniversary of the battle of Marengo, a circumstance of which the French Emperor did not fail to remind his troops, and which naturally produced the most enthusiastic recollections and exertions, the grand struggle took place: Ney was on the right wing, supported by the dragoons of Latour Maubourg; Lannes in the centre, with the dragoons of

Lahousaye behind him, and the Saxon cuirassiers; Mortier was on the left wing, supported by the cavalry of Grouchy; and the grand reserve was formed of the corps of General Victor, and the imperial guard. The Russian army was fully deployed, the left wing extending to the town of Friedland, and its right reaching a mile and a half in the opposite direction. The position taken by General Benningsen on the left bank of the Alla, presented to the eye the appearance of one continued plain, but it was intersected by a deep ravine full of water, and almost impassable. This ravine ran in a line between Domnow and Friedland, where it formed a lake to the left of that place, and separated the right wing of the Russians from the centre. A thick wood, at the distance of about a mile and a half from Friedland, on more elevated ground, fringed the plain of the Alla, nearly in the form of a semicircle, except at its extremity at the left, where there was an open space between the wood and the river. In the front of the wood, about a mile from the town, and nearly opposite the centre of the army, was the small village of Heinrichdorff. The field of battle lay between the left of this village and the Alla, to the south of Friedland.* Bonaparte, having reconnoitred the position of the enemy, determined to attempt the town of Friedland; and having changed his front, ordered the extremity of the right wing, under Marshal Ney, to advance to the attack. At half past five in the morning the battle commenced; the firing of twenty cannon from a battery forming the signal of attack. At that moment, the division under General Marchand, co-operating with Marshal Ney, advanced sword in hand. When the Russians observed Ney to have quitted the wood by which he had been supported, they endeavoured to turn his left by several regiments of cavalry, preceded by a multitude of Cossacks, but owing to the firmness of the dragoons of Latour Maubourg, they were repulsed. At this period of the battle the Russian cavalry made an impetuous and successful attack upon the enemy's cuirassiers, and pursued them as far as Heinrichdorff.† In the mean time a battery was erected by General Victor, in his centre, and pushed on four hundred paces by General Lennermont, to the extreme annoyance of the Russians, and which, by attracting their attention to its destructive fire, deranged those manœuvres, which might otherwise have defeated the operations of Ney. The Russian troops which attacked the right wing of this general were received upon the point

* Relation de la Campagne de Pologne, par un témoin oculaire.

† General Benningsen's Dispatch, dated Wehlau, June 15th, 1807.
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of the bayonet, and driven into the river Alla, where thousands perished in the stream, while numbers escaped by swimming. When the left wing of Ney, however, had nearly reached the works which surrounded the town, it was exposed to the most imminent peril. The imperial Russian guard, which had been here concealed in ambuscade, suddenly advanced upon the French, with an impetuosity which threw them into disorder, and had nearly rendered the efforts of the marshal abortive. The division of Dupont, however, which formed the right of the reserve, marched against the Russian guard, who performed prodigies of firmness and valour, but they were unable to resist this effort of the enemy; several other bodies were sent from the centre of the Russian army for the defence of the position of Friedland; but the impetuosity, and the prompt and skilful operations of the assailants, supported by an immense artillery, triumphed over all opposition. Friedland was taken, and its streets filled with the bodies of the dead. The centre, under Marshal Lannes, was now engaged, and the Russians made several attempts against this corps, similar to those which had failed on the right wing; but the repeated efforts of Russian bravery were unavailing, and served only to continue for a longer period the work of carnage. The battle lasted from half past five in the morning till seven at night. Both sides fought with extreme intrepidity and obstinacy, and the superior number of the French, with an impetuous direction of nearly all their force, towards the close of the day, upon the centre of the Russians, decided the fate of the contest. The Russians estimated their own loss at not less than ten thousand men. In the space of eleven days, the Russians lost no less than twenty-seven generals, upwards of eighteen hundred officers killed and wounded, and forty thousand men.* On the part of the French, the loss did not exceed five hundred killed, and three thousand wounded. Eighty pieces of cannon, a great number of caissons, and several colours, fell into the hands of the conquerors.† Night did not prevent the pursuit of the Russians, who were followed till eleven o'clock, after which, those of the columns which were cut off endeavoured to avail themselves of the fords over the Alla to pass that river, which exhibited to the victors, on the ensuing day, marks of the total discomfiture of the allied army. On the 15th the Russians continued their retreat to Wehlau, at the con-

fluence of the Alla and the Pregel, where the columns of the French speedily arrived, and obliged them to withdraw to the banks of the Niemen.

Near this river several newly formed divisions of the Russian troops had arrived; and General Benningsen still cherished the expectation that he should soon be again able to advance and to recover from the enemy the advantages which he had obtained.‡ This expectation was however grievously disappointed, for on the 18th of June the retreating army approached the town of Tilsit, and after transporting its heavy baggage across the Niemen, stationed itself on the great plain on the right of the town. All the bridges were destroyed immediately after the passage of the Russian troops, and all the magazines on the Alla were burnt or cast into the river. On the 16th Bonaparte threw a bridge over the Pregel, and took up a position on the eastern side of that river with his army. The defeat of Friedland served as a signal for the evacuation of Königsberg, and the garrison under Gen. Lestock succeeded, with extreme difficulty, in joining the main body of the Russian army, while the fortress opened its gates on the 16th to the French corps under Marshal Soult. At this place were found several hundred thousand quintals of corn, more than twenty thousand wounded Russians and Prussians, and all the arms and ammunition that had been sent to the Russians by England, including a hundred and sixty thousand muskets that had not been landed.

On the 19th, at two o'clock in the afternoon, Bonaparte, with his guard, entered Tilsit. The Russians, pursued after the battle of Friedland by the Grand Duke of Berg, at the head of the greater part of the light cavalry, continued their retreat eastward. The Emperor of Russia, who had remained for three weeks with his Prussian Majesty at Tilsit, left that place along with the king in great haste; and on the same day a suspension of hostilities was proposed to the chiefs of the French army by the Russian Commander-in-chief. In consequence of this proposition an armistice was concluded at Tilsit, on the 22d, by which it was settled, that hostilities should not be resumed on either side without a month's previous notice; that a similar armistice should be concluded between the French and the Prussian armies, in the course of five days; that plenipotentiaries should be instantly appointed by the different parties, for the salutary work of pacification,

* Lord Hutchinson's Speech in the British Senate, February 8, 1808.

† Seventy-ninth French Bulletin, dated Wehlau, June 17, 1807.

‡ General Benningsen's Letter to the Emperor of Russia, dated Schierupischken, June 17th, 1807.

and that there should be an immediate exchange of prisoners.

No sooner had the armistice received its ratification than Bonaparte put forth a proclamation to his troops, congratulating them on their brilliant successes, and pronouncing them worthy of their emperor and of themselves.*

On the 25th, an interview took place on the Niemen, between the Emperor Napoleon and the Emperor Alexander: at one o'clock, Bonaparte, accompanied by a number of his generals, embarked on the banks of the Niemen in a boat prepared for the purpose. They proceeded to the middle of the river, where General Lariboissiere, commanding the artillery of the guard, had caused a raft to be placed and a pavilion erected upon it, close to which was another raft and pavilion for his majesty's suite. At the same moment the Emperor Alexander set out from the right bank, accompanied by the Grand Duke Constantine, General Benningsen, and a number of the principal officers of his staff. The two boats arrived at the same instant, and the two emperors embraced each other as soon as they set foot on the raft. They entered the saloon together, and remained there during two hours. The conference having terminated with the happiest result, the two emperors embarked, each in his boat, and returned to the opposite shores. "The vast number of persons belonging to each army, who flocked to both banks of the river to view this scene, rendered it more interesting, as the spectators were brave men, who came from the extremities of the world.†" While arrangements were making for the preliminaries, the town of Tilsit became the abode of these imperial personages, who, together with the King of Prussia, cultivated mutual intercourse and politeness. Entertainments were given in rapid succession. The troops of Marshal Davoust were reviewed by Bonaparte, in the presence of his brother sovereigns, and

occasioned exchanges of compliments in the different parties, probably with feelings of a very opposite description. The guards of the respective monarchs, who occupied appropriate apartments in the town, vied with their sovereigns in marks of respectful attention. A magnificent dinner was given by the guards of Napoleon to those of Alexander and Frederick-William; at this entertainment they exchanged uniforms, and were seen in the streets in motley attire, partly Russian, partly Prussian, and partly French. During these interviews and attempts at conciliation, to which policy was presumed to be as much conducive as humanity, the arrangements of pacification were completed, and on the 9th of July a treaty of peace between Russia and France was ratified. The two emperors then separated with mutual expressions of attachment, and after exchanging the decorations of their respective orders. On the same day peace was signed between France and Prussia.

By the latter treaty Prussia was deprived of all her territories on the left bank of the Elbe, and of all her Polish provinces, except those situated betwixt Pomerania and the Newmarke, and ancient Prussia, to the north of the little river Netz. The elector, now become the King of Saxony, in virtue of a treaty entered into with the Emperor Napoleon, took also the title of Duke of Warsaw, and was to have free communication, by a military road, between Saxony and his new dominions, which were to consist of Thorn, Warsaw, and the rest of Prussian Poland, except that part which is to the north of the Bug, and which, under the idea of establishing natural boundaries between Russia and the duchy of Warsaw, was incorporated with the dominions of the Emperor Alexander. Dantzic was in future to be an independent town: east Friesland was added to the kingdom of Holland: a new kingdom, under the designation of the kingdom of Westphalia, was formed of the pro-

* PROCLAMATION

Of the Emperor and King to the Grand Army.

"SOLDIERS,—On the 5th of June we were attacked in our cantonments by the Russian army. The enemy mistook the causes of our inactivity. He found, too late, that our repose was that of the lion—he regrets having disturbed it.

"In the affairs of Guttstadt, Heilsburg, and the ever memorable one at Friedland—in ten days' campaign, in short, we took one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, seven standards; killed, wounded, or took sixty thousand Russians; and carried off all the enemy's magazines and hospitals. Königsberg, with the three hundred vessels that were there, laden with all sorts of ammunition, and one hundred and sixty thousand fusils, sent by England to arm our enemies, all fell into our hands.

"From the banks of the Vistula we have reached the borders of the Niemen, with the rapidity of the eagle. You celebrated at Austerlitz the anniversary of the Coronation—You celebrated this year, in an appropriate manner, the battle of Marengo, which put a period to the second coalition.

"Frenchmen, you have been worthy of yourselves and of me.—You will return to France covered with laurels, and after having obtained a glorious peace, which carries with it the guarantee of its duration. It is time that our country should live at rest, secure from the malignant influence of England. My benefits shall prove to you my gratitude, and the full extent of the love I bear you.

"Tilsit, June 22d, 1807.

(Signed)

"NAPOLÉON."

† Eighty-sixth French Bulletin, dated Tilsit, June 25th, 1807.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. II.

1807

vinces ceded by the Prussian Monarch, and others in the possession of the French Emperor. The recognition of Jerome Bonaparte, as the sovereign of this new state, also of the Kings of Holland and Naples, and of all the present and future members of the confederation of the Rhine, was yielded to on the part of Prussia, with the consent to close her ports and become a party in the maritime war against England. By the publication of the treaty with Russia, which was for some time delayed, it appeared that the two emperors mutually guaranteed to each other the integrity of their possessions, and of those of the other powers included in the treaty. The Kings of Holland, Naples, and Westphalia, were to be recognized by Russia; the offer of a mediation to effect a peace between France and England was accepted, on the condition that, within one month from the ratification, England should admit this mediation. It was also stipulated that hostilities should immediately cease between Russia and the Ottoman Porte; and the Emperor of Russia agreed to accept the mediation of the Emperor of France, for the conclusion of a peace between the two powers. The independence of Dantzic; the military high-way between Saxony and the duchy of Warsaw; the annexation of part of Russian Poland to the empire of Russia! formed also articles in the Prussian treaty. The restoration of the Dukes of Saxe Cobourg, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburg Schwerin, to the quiet possession of their dominions, was acceded to by France. The confederation of the Rhine was explicitly acknowledged by the Emperor of Russia; who engaged equally to acknowledge the princes or states that might hereafter be added to this union, on the communication of such change by the French government.

The great sacrifice to peace was of course made by the kingdom of Prussia, which was reduced at once from the rank of a primary to the situation of a secondary power of Europe; and all that had been done for the augmentation and aggrandizement of the monarchy by the Great Frederick, in the course of twenty years, was resigned in one day. The King of Prussia, by the peace of Tilsit, together with an immense territory, lost nearly the half of his yearly revenues, and five millions of his subjects. On the whole, Prussia was brought back nearly to the state in which she stood on the 1st of January, 1772, before the balance of Europe had been destroyed by the infamous partition of Poland. It could not but be noticed that no provisions were introduced into the published treaty respecting Cattaro; but by a secret treaty Russia agreed to cede Corfu, and the Seven Islands, to France, and became a party to that part of the treaty between France and Prussia, by which the vessels and trade of Great Britain were to be excluded from the ports of the Baltic. These circumstances rendered it clear, that at the time of the execution of the treaty of Tilsit, many of its provisions remained to be explored; and served to shew that the secret articles of treaties are not unfrequently of more importance than those exposed to public view.

The King of Sweden refused to accede to the treaty of Tilsit, and attempted the defence of Pomerania; but being abandoned to his fate by his continental allies, his efforts were unavailing. Gustavus, however, succeeded in withdrawing his forces from Stralsund before the enemy was apprised of his intention, after which he crossed the Baltic and returned into Sweden.

CHAPTER III.

BRITISH HISTORY: *Meeting of Parliament—Debates on the late Negotiation with France—Financial Statements—Lord Henry Petty's Plan of Finance—Bill for the better Regulation of Courts of Justice in Scotland—Mr. Whitbread's Plan for reforming the Poor Laws and amending the Condition of the Poor—Total Abolition of the Slave Trade—Catholic Bill—Change of Ministry consequent thereon—New Administration—General Election.*

THE first session of the third parliament of Great Britain assembled on the fifteenth of December, 1806, and was opened by commission in his majesty's name. The office of speaker again devolved by unanimous choice on the Right Honourable Charles Abbot, and the interval between the 15th and the 19th of December, was occupied in administering the usual oaths to the members. On Friday, the 19th, his majesty's speech was read by the lord chancellor. The object of the speech was to prepare the nation for the awful crisis then impending, and to animate them to adequate exertions against the formidable and increasing power of the enemy. His majesty acquainted his parliament, that his efforts for the restoration of general tranquillity, on terms consistent with the interest and honour of his people, and good faith to his allies, had been disappointed by the ambition and injustice of the enemy, who in the same moment had kindled up a fresh war in Europe, and of which the progress had been attended with the most calamitous events. Prussia, threatened by the near approach of that danger, which she had vainly hoped to avert by so many sacrifices, was at length compelled to adopt the resolution of openly resisting the unremitting system of aggrandizement and conquest pursued by France; but neither this determination nor the succeeding measures of hostility were previously concerted with his majesty; nor had any disposition been shewn to offer any adequate satisfaction for those aggressions which had placed this country in a state of hostility with Prussia. Yet, in this situation, his majesty did not hesitate to adopt, without delay, such measures as were calculated to unite their councils and interests against the common enemy. The speech extolled the good faith of his majesty's remaining allies; and concluded with a solemn appeal to the bravery and public spirit of his people. The address on his majesty's speech, which was moved in the house of lords by the Earl of Jersey, and seconded by Lord Somers; and in the house of commons by the Hon. Mr. Lamb, and seconded by Mr. John Smyth,

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called forth a number of observations from Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Canning, but was passed in both houses without a division. BOOK IV.

On Monday, the 22d of December, the unanimous thanks of both houses of parliament were voted to Major-general Sir John Stuart, and also to the Hon. Brigadier-generals Cole and Ackland, for the distinguished ability and valour manifested by them in the signal victory obtained over the French troops at Maida, on the 4th of July, 1806, and to the officers under their command; as well as to the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers serving under the same, for their bravery and good conduct in the glorious battle of Maida. CHAP. III.
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On the 2d of January, the subject of the late negotiation with France for the restoration of a general peace was brought under the consideration of the house of lords. The discussion was introduced by the prime minister, Lord Grenville, in a speech of considerable length; the leading points of which were embraced in the following motion:

"That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to assure him that this house has taken into its serious consideration the papers relative to the late negotiation, which he has been graciously pleased to lay before them, and that they see with gratitude, that he has employed every means to restore the blessings of peace, in a manner consistent with the interest and glory of his people, and at the same time with an observance of that good faith with our allies, which this country is bound to maintain inviolate. That while we lament that, by the unbounded ambition of the enemy, those laudable endeavours have been frustrated, no exertions shall be wanting on our part to support and assist his majesty in the adoption of such measures as may be found necessary, either for the restoration of peace, or to meet the various exigencies of the war in this most important crisis."

Lord Hawkesbury and Lord Eldon expressed their complete concurrence in the leading points of the address, but their lordships contended, that there was nothing in the whole of the papers laid upon the table, that proved that the French government, from the commencement of the negotiation to its close, had agreed to proceed on the basis of the *uti possidetis*—

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BOOK IV. the state of actual possession ; yet they most heartily acquiesced in the general result of the negotiation, and with this exception, joined in the address, which was carried *nemine contra-dicente*.
 CHAP. III.
 1807

On the 5th of January the same subject was brought under discussion in the house of commons, on the motion of Lord Howick, when his lordship said :—" In rising to perform the duty that now devolves upon me, I cannot but feel deep regret—a deep and poignant regret, at the failure of an effort, on our part made with sincerity, and pursued with good faith, to put an end to the war upon terms advantageous to this country, and to all Europe ; a regret, in any circumstances justifiable and becoming ; but at present, aggravated by the events which have lately occurred upon the continent, and which seem to render the attainment of that object more difficult and more distant than ever. But, besides these subjects of regret and of sorrow, I feel myself affected by painful emotions of a more private and personal nature. It is impossible for me to forget by whom, had it so pleased God, this important business would have been opened to this house. I cannot therefore present myself to your notice on this occasion, without being reminded of the infinite loss I have personally sustained, in being deprived of my friend, of my instructor, without whom I should have felt no confidence in myself ; and in reflecting upon the worth and the talents of Mr. Fox, the loss which the public have sustained is irresistibly forced upon my recollection. But, if any thing could support and encourage me in the discharge of the duty now imposed upon me, it is the knowledge I possess of the principles and opinions which Mr. Fox held upon this subject. In the last conversation I held with that great statesman, which was on the 7th of September, the Sunday before his death, three great cardinal points were insisted upon by him. 1st. The security of our honour, in which Hanover was concerned. 2d. Fidelity to our Russian connection. 3d. Sicily. The grounds on which the negotiations broke off were in direct conformity with these opinions. On this occasion he told me, that the ardent wishes of his mind were to consummate, before he died, two great works on which he had set his heart ; and these were, the restoration of a solid and honourable peace, and the abolition of the slave trade." The noble lord then proceeded to give a clear and detailed statement of the whole transaction concerning the negotiation, for the purpose of shewing, that on the one hand, the honour of the crown and the interests of the country were not committed by any unworthy concessions ; and on the other, that no means

were left unemployed, to obtain such a peace as might be consistent with the honour, the interests, and the prosperity, of this nation. With this view he shewed, first, that the overture for peace originated with France ; next, that the basis agreed upon for conducting the negotiation was that of actual possession ; and, lastly, that owing to the tergiversation and ambitious views of the French government, no terms could be procured that were consistent with the interests of Europe and the maintenance of inviolable good faith towards our allies. Having, as he hoped, established these points, his lordship concluded by moving an address similar to that moved in the other house of parliament by Lord Grenville.

Lord Yarmouth said, that in the communications he had held with M. Talleyrand, that minister distinctly admitted that the basis of the negotiation should be the principle of actual possession, and his lordship was well assured, that had it not been for the melancholy event of the death of Mr. Fox, no objection would have been started against that principle by the French Government.

Mr. Montague thought that the negotiation was objectionable both in its commencement and prosecution. The French minister had, he conceived, taken Mr. Fox on the weak side, and by impressing him with the notion that he was ready to treat on the basis of the *uti possidetis*, had " duped and bamboozled him."

Mr. Whitbread, after making some remarks on the extraordinary speech of Mr. Montague, proceeded to observe, that he could not, without experiencing the bitterest anguish, express his sentiments on this negotiation, commenced by one sincere friend, and conducted by others for whom he felt the greatest esteem. When he read the documents which were lying on the table of the house, and perused them most attentively, he found in them parts of which he highly approved, and others of which he greatly disapproved. All that part which preceded the political death, as it had been called, of that illustrious man, Mr. Fox, claimed his approbation and support ; but when death closed the career of his ever-to-be-lamented friend, he saw, between the beginning and the end of the negotiations, obvious characters which distinguished them. Adverting to the unfortunate words, *uti possidetis*, he said that the real ground of the negotiation in the first instance was the stipulation of honourable terms for both nations and for their allies ;* and next, that Russia should be admitted to the negotiation conjointly with this country. He considered it unfortunate that the noble Lord (Lauderdale) should have

* Mr. Fox's Letter to M. Talleyrand, dated March 26th, 1806.—Book III. Chap. viii. p. 524.

been sent over to Paris with the abstract basis of *uti possidetis*, and likewise that it should have been so peremptorily demanded. On the whole he was of opinion, that all the time which elapsed in the discussion of the abstract terms was completely wasted, particularly when the general ground had been already well explained and fully understood, namely, mutual exchange and compensation for cessions. He did not think that we were justified in saying that the negotiation had wholly failed in consequence of the injustice and ambition of France, and it was still his opinion, that peace was attainable. Under the influence of these impressions, he moved an amendment to the address :

“ To assure his majesty of our firm determination to co-operate with his majesty in calling forth the resources of the united kingdom, for the vigorous prosecution of the war in which we are involved, and to pray his majesty, that he will, in his paternal goodness, afford, as far as is consistent with his own honour, and the interests of his people, every facility to any just arrangement by which the blessings of peace may be restored to his loyal subjects.”

Mr. Canning expressed his surprise that no attempt was made by any of his majesty's ministers to answer the observation of the honourable gentleman (Mr. Whitbread) whose consistency he admired, though he differed from him widely in his conclusions. Adverting to the three points insisted upon in Lord Howick's speech, he said, he was now perfectly satisfied that the first overture for negotiation came from France ; with respect to the *uti possidetis*, the more he considered the subject, the more he was convinced that the papers on the table did not make out the charge against the enemy ; that he opened the negotiation on that basis, and that he afterwards departed from it ; and though he derived great satisfaction from observing the good faith which government had preserved towards our allies, yet he did not think that a concert so perfect in principle had been acted upon, either towards Russia or Prussia, as the nature of our relations with those powers would have entitled us fairly to pursue.

Mr. Perceval, from a review of all the circumstances connected with the negotiation, concluded, that the enemy were never seriously desirous of peace, and that ministers were the dupes of the artifice of the French government. He lamented that a man of Mr. Fox's great talents and incorruptible mind, had been betrayed into a private and confidential correspondence with such a man as the friend to whom he was attached,* Talleyrand. He blamed ministers for not having sooner put an end to the negotiations, and declared his firm conviction, that no peace

could take place with France, at least, such a peace as would be worthy of the acceptance of this country, so long as the force and councils of the enemy were directed by two such men as Bonaparte and Talleyrand.

Lord Howick observed, that some honourable gentlemen blamed his majesty's ministers for having done too much in the way of negotiation, while his honourable friend and relation, Mr. Whitbread, censured them for doing too little. But he thought it was not a little in their favour that they had steered a middle course between the two extremes. In this opinion the house seemed to concur, and Mr. Whitbread having withdrawn his amendment, the address was put and carried without a division.

On the 29th of January Lord Henry Petty, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, brought forward a statement of the supplies and the ways and means for the year, combined with a permanent plan of finance, which had for its object to provide the means of maintaining the honour and independence of the British empire, during the necessary continuance of the war, without perceptibly increasing the burthens of the country, and with manifest benefit to the interest of the public creditor. The total amount of the supplies for the year 1807, he stated at £40,527,065 11s. 8d. and the ways and means at £41,100,000.

The new plan of finance was adapted to meet a scale of expenditure nearly equal to that of the year 1806 ; and assumed, that during the war, the annual produce of the permanent and temporary revenues would continue equal to the produce of that year. Keeping these premises in view, it was proposed that the war loans for the years 1807, 1808, and 1809, should be twelve millions annually ; for the year 1810 fourteen millions ; and for each of the ten following years sixteen millions. Those several loans, amounting in the fourteen years to two hundred and ten millions, were to be made a charge on the war taxes, which were estimated to produce twenty one millions annually. The charge thus thrown on the war taxes was meant to be at the rate of ten per cent. upon each loan. Every such loan would therefore pledge so much of the war taxes as would be sufficient to meet this charge : that is, a loan of twelve millions would be pledged for £1,200,000 of the war taxes. And in each year, if the war should be continued, a further proportion of the war taxes would in the same manner be pledged. And consequently, at the end of fourteen years, if the war should be of that duration, twenty-one millions, the whole produce of the war taxes, would be pledged for the total of the loans, which would at that time have amount-

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* See Mr. Fox's Letter to M. Talleyrand—p. 524.

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ed to two hundred and ten millions. The ten per cent. charge thus accompanying each loan, would be applied to pay the interest of the loan, and to form a sinking fund, which sinking fund would evidently be more than five per cent. on such of the several loans as should be obtained on a less rate of interest than five per cent. As a five per cent. sinking fund, accumulating at compound interest, would redeem any sum of capital debt in fourteen years, the several proportions of the war taxes, proposed to be pledged for the several loans above-mentioned, would have redeemed their respective loans, and be successively liberated, in periods of fourteen years from the date of each such loan. The portions of war taxes thus liberated might, if the war should still be prolonged, become applicable in a revolving series, and might be again pledged for new loans; it was, how-

ever, material, that the property tax should not be pledged beyond the period for which it was granted, but should, in every case, cease on the 6th of April next after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace.

In the result therefore of the whole measure, there would not be imposed any new taxes for the first three years from this time. New taxes of less than £300,000, on an average of seven years, from 1810 to 1816, both inclusive, were all that would be necessary, in order to procure for the country the full benefit and advantage of the plan here described, which would continue for twenty years; during the last ten of which again no new taxes whatever would be required.*

"Important as are the advantages which this plan presents," continued the chancellor of

* FINANCES.‡

PUBLIC INCOME of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1806.

Branches of Revenue.	Gross Receipts.			Paid into the Excheq.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Customs	9,104,799	4	1½	7,192,889	15	11½
Excise	17,833,226	15	6½	16,332,885	10	10½
Stamps	4,194,285	12	10½	4,123,227	3	2
Land & Assessed Taxes	6,106,920	10	10½	6,261,778	19	4½
Post Office	1,446,073	4	6	1,237,004	19	10½
Miscel. Permanent Tax.	160,469	7	9½	146,072	1	1½
Hered. Revenue	122,723	19	2	157,573	11	10½
Extraord. Resources.						
War Taxes { Customs	2,639,229	15	9	2,632,147	19	10½
Excise	6,406,870	17	7½	6,360,229	13	9½
Property Tax	4,546,883	10	10	4,426,986	19	7½
Miscel. Income	2,470,288	6	8½	2,448,149	0	3½
Loans, including £1,450,000 for the Service of Ireland. }	25,130,404	19	6½	25,130,404	19	6½
Grand Total—	£80,172,176	5	8½	£76,469,460	15	4½

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, }
22d of March, 1806. } (Signed) N. VANSITTART.

‡ This Return, which was omitted in its proper place, is introduced here to perfect the series.

PUBLIC INCOME of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1807.

Branches of Revenue.	Gross Receipts.			Paid into the Excheq.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Customs	9,456,255	8	2½	7,774,049	4	9
Excise	18,979,151	5	3	17,377,215	11	4½
Stamps	4,422,198	0	4½	4,338,913	8	0½
Land & Assessed Taxes	6,310,797	2	1½	6,438,260	3	8½
Post Office	1,511,859	11	0	1,291,736	4	0½
Miscel. Permanent Tax.	161,098	19	5½	157,850	11	10½
Hered. Revenue	60,482	11	7	84,345	3	3
Extraord. Resources.						
War Taxes { Customs	2,923,728	10	11	2,779,244	15	0½
Excise	6,960,039	1	10½	6,248,509	3	2½
Property Tax	6,162,559	4	8½	6,000,057	13	6½
Miscel. Income	2,513,094	16	1½	2,491,855	10	1½
Loans, including £2,000,000 for the Service of Ireland. }	19,699,263	12	1	19,699,263	12	1
Grand Total—	£78,461,123	3	8½	£74,681,299	1	0½

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, }
25th of March, 1807. } (Signed) N. VANSITTART.

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1806.

Heads of Expenditure.	Sums.		
	£.	s.	d.
Interest	19,598,305	18	11½
Charge of Management	271,911	11	9½
Reduction of National Debt	7,615,167	7	9½
Interest on Exchequer Bills	1,478,316	3	3½
Civil List	1,827,184	10	6½
Civil Government of Scotland	86,918	15	2½
Payments in anticipation, &c.	646,000	14	7
Navy	14,466,998	3	5½
Ordnance	4,732,286	1	3
Army	10,758,342	12	11
Extraordinary Services	6,261,386	16	2
Ireland	5,211,062	10	0
Miscellaneous Services	2,846,728	7	11½
Deductions for Sums forming no part of the Expenditure of Great Britain. }	73,799,609	14	0½
Grand Total—	£70,588,547	4	0½

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, }
24th of March, 1806. } (Signed) N. VANSITTART.

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1807.

Heads of Expenditure.	Sums.		
	£.	s.	d.
Interest	20,410,716	8	1½
Charge of Management	292,127	9	10
Reduction of the National Debt	8,323,328	14	1½
Interest on Exchequer Bills	1,510,686	18	9
Civil List	1,582,572	2	8½
Civil Government of Scotland	83,750	14	3½
Payments in anticipation	534,261	0	11
Navy	16,084,027	17	10
Ordnance	4,511,064	1	7
Army	9,222,491	0	0
Extraordinary Services	5,828,999	7	8
Ireland	1,768,000	0	0
Miscellaneous Services	2,766,693	0	11½
Deductions for Sums forming no part of the Expenditure of Great Britain. }	72,778,718	16	9½
Grand Total—	£71,010,718	16	9½

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, }
25th of March, 1807. } (Signed) N. VANSITTART.

the exchequer, "its principal benefit consists in the impression which it must make, both in this country and out of it, where it will be seen that, without any further material pressure on the resources of the country, and by a perseverance only in its wonted exertions, parliament now finds itself enabled to meet with confidence all the exigencies of the present war, to whatever period its continuance may be necessary, for maintaining the honour and independence of the empire.

The favourable impression made by the new method of supply (which was ultimately agreed to by the house) was immediately obvious upon the funds, which advanced very considerably, and gave the minister an opportunity of negotiating a loan on terms highly advantageous to the public, and yet by no means unproductive to the contractors.

On the 16th of February, Lord Grenville, conformably to a notice given by his lordship in the last session of parliament, introduced into the house of lords a bill for the better regulation of the courts of justice in Scotland, and for instituting in certain cases the trial by jury in civil causes. The bill which his lordship had to offer made no alteration in the law of Scotland, but related solely to the manner in which the law ought to be administered. The general outline of the change now proposed, related to three objects :

1st. To divide the court of sessions, which consists of fifteen judges, into three chambers of five judges each, having concurrent jurisdictions.

2d. To introduce, or rather to revive in Scotland, the trial by jury in civil actions of a certain description, namely, those which relate to personal rights; all questions relative to landed property being left to be decided on in the usual manner.

3d. To constitute an intermediate chamber of appeal between the court of session and the house of lords. In forming this chamber of appeal it was proposed to make one new lord of session, and also to make the lord chief baron a member of the same court, in order that he might also sit in the chamber of revision. These judges, and one member from each of the other three chambers, would make five judges for the chamber of revision.

It was his lordship's intention to propose, that the bill should not be read a second time until three weeks after this notice, that further time might be afforded for considering the subject.

Lord Eldon and Lord Hawkesbury gave their approbation in general to the measure, but reserved to themselves the right of proposing alterations in the detail of the bill. Lord Ellenborough declared his decided approbation of the bill, and stated with great energy the inestimable advantages derived by this country from the trial by jury in civil cases, and the

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great boon which its introduction into Scotland would confer on that country. The bill was then read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time at the period proposed by Lord Grenville.

This measure, which, under certain modifications, was calculated to produce the most beneficial effects in the administration of justice in the sister kingdom, and to diminish the immense number of appeals that are continually flowing into the house of lords from that part of the united kingdom, was arrested in its progress by the dissolution of parliament, which soon after occurred, and which, for the present, defeated the object contemplated by the framers of the bill.

Three days after the introduction of Lord Grenville's bill in the house of lords, for the better regulation of the courts of justice in Scotland, Mr. Whitbread moved for permission to bring a bill into the house of commons for amending the condition of the poor in England. "I rise," said the honourable gentleman, "to submit to the consideration of this house, one of the most interesting propositions which ever occupied the attention of any deliberative assembly upon earth. I wish to engage you in an attempt at the solution of one of the most difficult of all political problems; namely, how to reduce the sum of human vice and misery, and how to augment that of human happiness and virtue, among the subjects of this realm." Mr. Whitbread then proceeded to state, that by the abstracts then upon the table of the house, which were made up in the year 1803, it appeared, that upon a population in England and Wales (exclusive of the army and navy) of eight millions eight hundred and seventy thousand souls, not less than one million two hundred and thirty-four thousand were partakers of parochial relief; and that in the year ending in Easter, 1803, the sum of £4,267,000 had been raised in poor rates, being almost double the sum raised on an average in the years 1783-4 and 5. His wish was not to get rid of the poor laws, but, by taking proper steps, to render them in time almost obsolete; and the principles on which he would proceed, to effect this most desirable object, were these:—to exalt the character of the labouring classes of the community: to excite the labourer to acquire property that he may taste its sweets; and to give him inviolable security for that property when it is acquired; to mitigate those restraints which now confine and cramp his sphere of action; to hold out a hope of reward to his patient industry; to render dependent poverty in all cases degrading in his eyes, and at all times less desirable than independent industry." After a number of other preliminary

I

BOOK IV. remarks, the honourable gentleman proceeded to open the details of his plan, which may be compressed into the following outline :—

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"In the front of his scheme for the exaltation of the character of the labourer, he proposed a plan of general national education, and upon its effects he mainly relied for the consummation of his wishes. In Scotland the poor laws were almost totally in disuse, and yet, all in that country was regularity and order. What was the day-star which shone forth on the other side of the Tweed, was it not education ?

"In order to excite the labourer to acquire property, he would propose the establishment of one great national institution, in the nature of a bank, for the use and advantage of the labouring classes alone ; that it should be placed in the metropolis, and be under the controul and management of proper persons ; that every man who should be certified by one justice to subsist principally or altogether by the wages of his labour, should be at liberty to remit to the accountant of the poor's fund, in notes or cash, any sum from twenty shillings upwards, but not exceeding more than twenty pounds in one year, nor more in the whole than two hundred pounds ; that this money should be placed at interest in government securities ; and that facilities should be given for the transmission of the remittances through the post office. This plan might also unite an annuitant society and an insurance office for the poor.

"The next point which he wished to urge on the consideration of the house, was the law of settlement, and he should propose, in addition to the means by which a settlement may now be acquired, that a residence as a householder, for five years, in any parish, without being chargeable to that or any other parish, should confer a settlement.

"Mr. Whitbread next proposed a number of regulations respecting parish-vestries, parish-rates, &c. and said that societies for offering premiums to the meritorious poor might be established in favour of the great object that he was now labouring to promote.

"He then adverted to a circumstance very materially concerning the health and comfort of the poor, and recommended the revival of the power formerly given to the church-wardens and overseers to build cottages ; to which he would add the power of buying land to a certain extent, not exceeding in the whole, perhaps, five acres in one parish.

"The last subject to which he should direct the attention of the house, was one of primary importance, and comprehended a variety of details ; he meant the mode of administering relief to the poor. To age, infancy, and sickness, he would hold out the hand of support, protection, and care, widely extended, filled with blessings the most copious charity could afford. But he would distinguish between the unfortunate and the criminal, he would do justice to misfortune and punish profligacy. He would remedy one very great grievance which prevails, as much to the disadvantage of the parishes as to the oppression of the objects relieved, he meant the custom of depriving a man of every worldly possession before relief was administered. He would propose, in case of sickness, or any other great emergency, that the possession of furniture, tools, and live-stock, to the value of thirty pounds, and a cottage not exceeding the annual value of five pounds, should not preclude the possessor from receiving relief. Thus a man who, as the law now stands, must, by the acceptance of the most trifling assistance, be overwhelmed, would be able to get afloat again in the world, and recover his independence when the afflictive visitation should be at an end."

Mr. Whitbread concluded a very elaborate, comprehensive, and animated speech, with the following peroration : "During the hours of anxious thought and laborious investigation which I have given to this subject, I have been charmed with the pleasing vision of the melioration of the state of society, and the eventual and rapid diminution of its burthens. In the adoption of the system of education I foresee an enlightened peasantry, frugal, industrious, sober, orderly, and contented. Crimes diminishing, because the enlightened understanding abhors crimes. In the provisions for the security of the savings of the poor, I see encouragement to frugality, security to property, and the large mass of the people connected with the state, and indissolubly bound to its preservation. In the enlarged power of acquiring settlements, the labourer directed to those spots where labour is most wanted. Man, happy in his increased independence, and exempt from the dread of being driven in age from the place where his dearest connections exist, and where he has used the best exertions and passed the best days of his life. Parochial litigation excluded from our courts, and harmony reigning in our different parishes. In the power of bestowing rewards, I contemplate patience and industry remunerated, and virtue held up to distinction and honour. In the power of building habitations for the poor, their comfort and health promoted. And, lastly, in the reform of the work-house system, and the power of discrimination in administering relief, an abandonment of filth, slothfulness, and vice, and a desirable and marked distinction between the profligate and the innocent. I move, sir, for leave to bring in a bill 'for promoting and encouraging industry among the labouring classes of the community, and for the relief and regulation of the criminal and necessitous poor.'" From every side of the house Mr. Whitbread was complimented on the ability he had displayed, and the attention he had bestowed on this great and complicated subject, and leave was given to bring in the bill. On the 23d of February the bill was read a second time, and ordered to be printed and sent to the quarter sessions in the several counties for the consideration of the magistrates, who were requested to give their opinions upon the provisions it contained. But the progress of the measure was interrupted by the change of administration, and the concomitant dissolution of parliament. In the new parliament this subject was again taken into consideration, on the motion of the original mover, and the bill for the general education of the poor, was passed through the house of commons ; it was, however, ultimately doomed to a fate that so enlightened a

measure did not merit; and on the 11th of August the bill was, on the motion of Lord Hawkesbury, the Secretary of State for the home department, thrown out of the house of peers.

The anxiety that was shewn by the British parliament to place the financial affairs of the country on a permanent basis, and to ameliorate the condition of the labouring classes at home, did not close the ears of the legislature against the voice of outraged humanity in more distant regions. During the last session of parliament two resolutions were passed in both houses; the former declaring, that the African Slave Trade, being contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, and sound policy, ought to be abolished with all possible expedition; and the latter, that an address should be presented to the throne, beseeching his majesty to take such measures as might appear most effectual for obtaining the concurrence and concert of foreign powers in the abolition of the slave trade.* In pursuance of these resolutions, Lord Grenville, on the 2d of January, brought into the house of peers a bill for the total Abolition of the African Slave Trade, which bill was read a first time, and printed. On the 4th of February, counsel were heard at the bar of the house in favour of the continuance of the trade, and on the following day, Lord Grenville concluded an elaborate speech on the subject, by moving that "the bill be now read a second time." The motion was supported by the Duke of Gloucester, the Bishop of Durham, the Earls Moira, Selkirk, and Roslyn, and the Lords Holland, King, and Hood. The opponents of the bill were the Duke of Clarence, the Earls Westmoreland and St. Vincent, and the Lords Sidmouth, Eldon, and Hawkesbury. At four o'clock in the morning the house divided, when there appeared for the motion one hundred; and against it, thirty-six voices. On the 10th the bill was read a third time, and having passed, it was ordered to the commons for the concurrence of that assembly.

On the 23d, Lord Howick, at the conclusion of a luminous and eloquent speech, moved for the commitment of the bill, and was supported by Mr. Lushington, Mr. Fawkes, Lord Mahon, Lord Milton, Sir John Doyle, Sir Samuel Romilly, Mr. Wilberforce, and Earl Percy, the latter of whom wished that a clause might be introduced into the bill by which all the children of slaves born after January, 1810, should be made free. General Gascoyne and Mr. Hibbert opposed the bill; Mr. Hiley Addington preferred a plan for gradual abolition. All these gentlemen having delivered their sentiments, there appeared on a division, for the

question two hundred and eighty-three, and against it only sixteen voices. The enthusiasm in favour of this measure, which pervaded all parts of the house, was of a moral nature, and seemed to extend to a conversion of the heart; for several of the old opponents of this righteous cause went away, unable to vote against it; while others of them staid in their places and voted in its favour. The bill, which was debated with great animation in all its stages, enacted, that no vessel should clear out for slaves from any port within the British dominions after the 1st of May, 1807, and that no slave should be landed in the colonies after the 1st of March, 1808. On the 16th of March, on the motion of Lord Henry Petty, the bill was read a third time, and passed without a division.

On Wednesday, the 18th, Lord Howick, accompanied by Mr. Wilberforce and others, carried the bill to the lords for their concurrence in certain amendments that had been introduced in the house of commons. Lord Grenville instantly moved that it should be printed, and taken into consideration on Monday. The reason of this extraordinary haste was, that his majesty, displeased with the introduction of the Roman catholic officers' bill into the house of commons, had resolved to displace the existing administration. On Wednesday, the 23d, the house of lords met; and such extraordinary diligence had been used in printing the bill, that it was then ready. Lord Grenville immediately brought it forward, and the amendments were adopted without a division. Thus the bill received the last sanction of the peers. Lord Grenville then congratulated the house on the completion, on its part, of the most glorious measure that had ever been adopted by any legislative body in the world.

But though the bill had now passed both houses, there was an awful fear throughout the kingdom lest it should not receive the royal assent before the ministry was dissolved. This event took place the next day; for on Wednesday, the 25th of March, at half-past eleven o'clock in the morning, his majesty's message was delivered to the different members of administration, commanding them to wait upon him, to deliver up the seals of their respective offices. It then appeared, that a commission for the royal assent to this bill, among others, had been obtained. This commission was instantly opened by the Lord Chancellor (Erskine), who was accompanied by the Lords Holland and Auckland; and as the clock struck twelve, just when the sun was in its meridian splendour, to witness thus august act—this establishment of a Magna Charta for Africans in Britain, it

* See Book III. Chap. VIII. p. 518.

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was completed. The ceremony being over, the seals of the respective offices were delivered up; so that the execution of this commission was the last act of an administration, which, were it only for its unremitting and successful exertions in behalf of the oppressed African race, would pass to posterity, living through successive generations in the love and gratitude of the most virtuous of mankind. Thus ended one of the most glorious contests, after a continuance for twenty years, ever carried on in any age or country. A contest, not of brutal violence, but of reason. With respect to the end obtained by it, no man can appreciate its importance. To our own country, as well as to Africa, it is invaluable. It proclaimed, in language too clear to be misunderstood, that even commerce itself should have its moral bounds. They who supported this wicked traffic virtually denied that man was a moral being. They substituted the law of force for the law of reason. But the great act now under consideration banished the impious doctrine, and restored the rational creature to his moral rights. The sympathies called into action by the long-continued agitation of this great question were useful in the preservation of national virtue, and contributed greatly to form a counter-balance against the malignant spirit, generated by the almost incessant wars which prevailed during the same period.*

For upwards of three centuries, during which period this detestable traffic in the bones and sinews of men had prevailed, benevolent individuals, men of piety, genius, and learning, had from time to time declared its existence to be diametrically opposite to the principles of the christian religion, and the dictates of humanity; Mr. Granville Sharpe was the first individual in England who boldly stood forth the avowed protector of the Africans. With this benevolent man the first movement towards the abolition of negro slavery originated, in the year 1765; and history only discharges its duty in recording his name as the foundation stone on which was erected this glorious edifice, to the honour of liberty and humanity. Other philanthropists, inspired with the same spirit, afterwards came forward in the same cause, and Wilberforce, Clarkson, and a number of other illustrious characters, acting with a society of private individuals, encouraged by men of all ranks, and of all religious denominations, but particularly by the Quakers, both in England and America,

succeeded, at length, in putting a period to a traffic, which, in the course of the ten years immediately preceding its abolition, had torn from their homes upwards of three hundred and sixty thousand of the natives of Africa! who had either been sold into slavery, or had miserably perished in their passage to the West Indies.†

The political situation of the British empire, in consequence of the aggrandizement of France upon the continent, rendered the union of its members, and the concentration of its energies, now, more than ever, desirable. Almost every regular power of Europe lay prostrate at the feet of Bonaparte. He was surrounded by kingdoms of his own formation, and at the head of which were men who had fought under his banners, or were allied to him by blood, and whom the combined influence of gratitude and policy bound indissolubly to his interest. The complacency with which he surveyed his elevation seemed impaired only by the circumstance that the British nation appeared both to possess the power and the inclination to resist his advances towards universal empire. Here, amidst all the devastation and convulsions of the continent, a barrier was erected, against which the waves of his fury were impotent and unavailing. Here, notwithstanding some unhappy deviations from the general system, was an asylum for justice, and a sanctuary for freedom. In such circumstances, the attention of ministers was very naturally directed to the production of national unanimity and harmony. They knew that, by the removal of those disabilities under which certain classes of his majesty's subjects laboured, they should suppress the murmurs of discontent, and convert the lethargy of indifference into the activity of willing service, and thus procure a reinforcement of strength equal to the pressure of the crisis. They knew that the vigorous hand will ever follow the conciliated heart; and that all the compulsory conscriptions of power are infinitely inferior to those voluntary exertions which originate in the gratitude and happiness of a free people. Accordingly, on the 5th of March, a bill was brought into the house of commons by Lord Howick, which, without having for its object what was called the emancipation of the catholics, was adapted to afford them great satisfaction, and was doubtless intended as the precursor of a system of enlarged toleration, which had for its object the removal of all the disabilities under which the catholic and pro-

* Clarkson's "History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade," from which publication this account is principally extracted.

† Sir Samuel Romilly's Speech in the House of Commons, June 11, 1806, grounded on documents laid before that assembly.

testant dissenters of the united kingdom had still the misfortune to labour.*

In the year 1793, an act had been passed by the Irish parliament, by which the catholics of Ireland had been enabled to hold any rank in the army, except that of commander-in-chief of the forces, master-general of the ordnance, or general on the staff. No similar act had been passed by the British parliament; the consequence of which was, that if any circumstances demanded the presence of an Irish regiment in Great Britain, its officers would be disqualified by law from remaining in the service, and must either subject themselves to certain consequent penalties, or relinquish a profession in which they had been educated, and to which alone they could look for their respectable establishment in life. At the time of passing the Irish act it had been distinctly promised that this inconsistency should be corrected without delay; this pledge however had not been redeemed; and it was one of the objects of the present bill to do away so absurd an incongruity.†

The objections to this measure of conciliation and union may be resolved into that dread of innovation which influences strong as well as imbecile minds. Innovation, it must be confessed, has sometimes led to the most violent and convulsive movements, in which institutions the most valuable and venerable have been swept away, and horror and massacre have in different degrees characterised every devolution

of power through a long series of rapid changes. Yet a comprehensive survey will discover that such evils have been often, if not always, imputable to the want of previous innovation, to that continuance of unnecessary and oppressive restriction, and that connivance at experienced abuse, which have eventually exhausted the patience of the sufferers, and urged on to remedies more desperate than the disease. Without innovation human affairs must necessarily be retrograde or stationary, and the detected errors and ascertained abuses of former times must be permitted to stain and darken every succeeding age.

It soon became a matter of notoriety that objections to the catholic bill existed in a quarter to which the British public naturally look up with respect and deference. His majesty, who had already gone far beyond all his predecessors in regard to religious toleration, and particularly in concessions to his Roman catholic subjects, having maturely considered the nature and extent of this bill, regarded it as contrary to the obligations of his coronation oath,‡ and the principles of the British constitution. Under such circumstances, ministers found it necessary to abandon the measure, and it was required from them to give a written obligation, pledging themselves never more to propose any thing connected with the catholic question. This demand they resisted, as incompatible with their honour and duty. Some portion of irritation

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* The following is an enumeration of the disabilities to which, by the subsisting laws of this realm, the catholics of Ireland, who form three-fourths of the population of that island, are liable:—

They cannot sit in either of the houses of parliament. They cannot be appointed to any of the following offices—chief governor or governors of this kingdom; chancellor, or keeper, or commissioner of the seal; lord high treasurer; judge in any of the courts of law, or in the admiralty court; master of the rolls, secretary of state; keeper of the privy seal; vice-treasurer, or his deputy; teller, or cashier of the exchequer; auditor-general; governor, or custos rotulorum of counties; chief governor's secretary; privy-counsellor; king's counsel; serjeants, attorney, or solicitor-general; master in chancery; provost, or fellow of Trinity College, Dublin; post-master-general; master and lieutenant-general of ordnance; commander-in-chief; general on the staff; sheriff, and sub-sheriff; or to the office of mayor, bailiff, recorder, Burgess, or any other office in a corporation, unless the lord-lieutenant shall grant a written dispensation for that purpose. No catholic can be guardian to a protestant; and no catholic priest can be guardian at all. Catholics are only allowed to have arms under certain restrictions. No catholic can present to an ecclesiastical living. The pecuniary qualifications of catholic jurors is made higher than that of protestants, and no relaxation of the ancient rigorous code is permitted, except to those who shall take the oath and declaration prescribed by the 13th and 14th Geo. III. c. 3.

† ABSTRACT of a bill introduced into the house of commons by Lord Howick, on the 5th of March, 1807, "for enabling his majesty to avail himself of the services of all his liege subjects in his naval and military forces:—"

This bill provides, 1st,—That it shall be lawful for his majesty to confer any commission or appointment whatever, in his majesty's naval or military forces, upon any of his subjects without exception, provided that every such person shall take and subscribe the following oath:—

"I, A. B. being by this commission appointed to be—(here set forth the appointment) do hereby solemnly promise and swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will be faithful, and bear true allegiance to his Majesty King George III. and that I will do my utmost to maintain and defend him against all treasons and traitorous conspiracies, and against all attempts whatever that shall be made against his person, crown, or dignity; and that I will, to the utmost of my power, resist all such treasons, conspiracies, or attempts, and will also disclose and make known the same as soon as they shall come to my knowledge: and I do also promise and swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will, to the utmost of my power, maintain and support the succession to the crown of Great Britain and Ireland, as the same now stands limited by law; and that I will also, to the utmost of my power, maintain and support the established constitution and government of the said united kingdom, against all attempts whatever that shall be made against the same."

The second, and only other clause of the bill, provides, "That no person, employed in his majesty's sea or land service, shall, under any pretence, or by any means, be prevented from attending such divine worship of religious service as may be consistent with or according to his religious persuasion, or opinions, at proper and seasonable times, and such as shall be consistent with the due and full discharge of his naval or military duties; nor shall any such person be compelled or compellable to attend the worship or service of the established church."

‡ See Vol. I. Book II. Chap. XVIII. p. 341.

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now operated in both parties; the breach had extended too far to admit of being closed; confidence was mutually impaired; and the necessary consequence, the resignation of ministers, almost immediately ensued.

After a period of suspense and agitation, such as might be expected to occur on so comprehensive a change, the names of the new ministers were announced on the 25th of March.* A trial of strength between the newly appointed and the late ministers speedily took place in the house of commons, on a motion deprecating ministerial pledges, and the result of which served to shew that power and office have a close affinity. The majority on the part of ministers, however, only amounted, in a house of four hundred and eighty-four members, to thirty-two; and Mr. Canning intimated, that in the event of administration finding any impediment, from the numbers of their opponents, a dissolution of parliament would be resorted to. This menace was soon after carried into effect, and on the 27th of April the session and the parliament were brought to an end by a speech from the throne, in which the commissioners were charged to state, "that his majesty was anxious to recur to the sense of his people, while the events which had recently taken place were yet fresh in their recollection."

This abrupt dissolution of parliament was arraigned by the late possessors of authority in terms of no ordinary energy. It was denounced as impolitic, unconstitutional, and a mere wanton abuse of power. His majesty, however, had only exercised the right indisputably vested in him by the constitution. A reference to the opinions of the people upon important topics of national policy is rather a subject of congratulation than of censure; and one of the worst indications of the worst times in British history was the indifference or aversion manifested by the throne

to these appeals to the people. The cry of the danger of the church, which was first started in parliament by Mr. Perceval, on the introduction of the catholic bill, and reiterated in his address to his constituents at Northampton, was urged with inexpressibly more energy than truth, and was eagerly adopted by many who had more zeal than understanding. But the increased information and tolerant spirit of every class of the people, served in general as a counterpoise against the zeal of the weak, or the insinuations of the artful, and prevented any extensive injury from the application of so critical an engine of policy. At Bristol, however, the populace were excited to a high pitch of resentment against one of their representatives, who had voted with the late administration on the catholic bill, and though his election was secured, the symptoms of popular violence became so manifest, that the ceremony of chairing was left incomplete. At Liverpool, the indications of public feeling announced that state of exasperation, in which a contest of many days could not be presumed possible, without circumstances accompanying it at which every feeling heart must shrink with horror; and under such circumstances Mr. Roscoe deemed it prudent to withdraw his pretensions. In Surrey, Lord Russel was unable to carry his election. In the city of London, a decline of that interest which had formerly predominated for Alderman Combe was strikingly observable; and he was indebted perhaps for his return to the death of Alderman Hankey, who had started as a new candidate, with the most flattering prospects of success, but who died in the midst of anticipated triumph, furnishing a characteristic illustration of the pathetic remark of Mr. Burke, from the hustings at Bristol, on a former occasion—"What shadows we are, and what shadows we pursue."

In Yorkshire, the contest was carried on

* LIST OF THE NEW MINISTRY.

CABINET MINISTERS.

Earl Camden	President of the Council.
Lord Eldon	Lord High Chancellor.
Earl of Westmoreland	Lord Privy Seal.
Duke of Portland	First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Min.)
Lord Mulgrave	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Earl of Chatham	Master-General of the Ordnance.
Earl Bathurst	President of the Board of Trade.
Lord Hawkesbury	Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Rt. Hon. George Canning	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Lord Castlereagh	Secretary of State for the Department of War and Colonies.
Rt. Hon. Spencer Perceval	Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, and also Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

NOT OF THE CABINET.

Rt. Hon. Robert Saunders Dundas	President of the Board of Control for the Affairs of India.
Right Hon. George Rose	Vice President of the Board of Trade, and Treasurer of the Navy.
Sir James Pulteney, Bart.	Secretary-at-War.
Lord Charles Somerset	Joint Pay-Masters-General.
Right Hon. Charles Long	Joint Post-Masters-General.
Earl of Chichester	Joint Post-Masters-General.
Earl of Sandwich	Secretaries of the Treasury.
William Huskisson, Esq.	Secretaries of the Treasury.
Hon. Henry Wellesley	Master of the Rolls.
Sir William Grant	Attorney-General.
Sir Vicary Gibbs	Solicitor-General.
Sir Thomas Plumer	Solicitor-General.

PERSONS IN THE MINISTRY OF IRELAND.

Duke of Richmond	Lord-Lieutenant.
Lord Manners	Lord High Chancellor.

Sir Arthur Wellesley	Chief Secretary.
Right Hon. John Foster	Chancellor of the Exchequer.

with a vigour and expense unexampled perhaps in the history of elections. Mr. Fawkes, one of the late representatives, declined to offer himself to the suffrages of the freeholders on the present occasion; alleging, "that after what had lately passed, a seat in the house of commons, which was the first wish of his heart, had ceased to be an object of his ambition;" and that he "could not, consistently with the duty he owed to a numerous and increasing family, consent to expose himself to the danger of these sudden and unexpected dissolutions." On the subject of expense, Mr. Wilberforce cast himself upon the liberality of his friends, and the subscription was found more than sufficient to defray all his demands. The other candidates were, the Hon. Henry Lascelles, second son of Lord Harewood, and Lord Milton, the only son of Earl Fitzwilliam, both men of high respectability, and the most opulent connections. The two houses of Wentworth and Harewood had fixed their ambition so perseveringly upon success, as to anticipate the necessary absorption of immense property in the conflict. Notwithstanding the limitations of the Grenville act, and the preclusion of that vast expenditure which used to attend the system of open houses, a hundred thousand pounds were calculated upon by each of these two candidates as requisite to defray the expense of their election; and the event proved that this immense sum was not more than adequate to the demands. Mr. Lascelles, in his address to the freeholders, deprecated the bill introduced into parliament by the late ministers for granting enlarged privileges to the catholics; he professed himself no courtier, but when the king called upon his subjects to support him, he would be so far a courtier as to obey the call. Lord Milton, on the contrary, avowed himself a friend to the relaxation of the

existing laws against dissenters, both catholic and protestant; he too would support the king, but it should be a constitutional support; he was zealously attached to the constitution, but his attachment was to the whole of that venerable edifice, and not merely to one of its parts. Such were the public grounds taken by the adverse candidates; and after a contest continued for fifteen days with unremitting energy and various success, victory at length ranged herself on the side of Lord Milton, and ultimately gave to his lordship a majority of one hundred and eighty votes over his rival. In the prosecution of this memorable struggle, all the machinery of contested elections was brought into action. Every topic, both national and local, that seemed calculated to advance the interests of the respective candidates, was urged by their partisans. The dangers of the church, and the benefits of an enlarged toleration, were alike relied upon. The conflicting interests of the merchants and manufacturers, which had been long in collision, served to rouse the populous districts of the West-Riding into a state of unexampled activity; and at the close of the contest, the exultation of victory or the depression consequent upon defeat, spread from the city of York, and pervaded every part of that extensive county.*

The Westminster election, generally so productive of interest and adventure, did not on this occasion vary from its usual character. The candidates for public suffrage were, Mr. Paull, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Elliot, and Lord Cochrane. Of these four gentlemen, Lord Cochrane alone was returned along with Sir Francis Burdett, who during the whole election stood at the head of the poll, though he had declined to offer himself as a candidate, and was, in fact, confined to his house, by a wound received in a duel with Mr. Paull.†

* YORKSHIRE ELECTION—DAILY STATE OF THE POLL

	First Day.	2d	3d	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th	14th	15th	Total.
Mr. Wilberforce,	751	923	1173	1422	1641	1355	956	766	600	459	487	373	291	381	250	11,808
Lord Milton,	656	1295	1081	1126	1037	948	871	698	561	444	619	506	471	502	362	11,177
Mr. Lascelles,	774	914	1010	1196	1403	1159	845	689	592	465	504	363	341	401	334	10,290

† It appeared that Mr. Paull, without the authority, and even without the knowledge of Sir Francis Burdett, had caused an advertisement to be inserted in the public papers announcing that Sir Francis would preside at a public dinner, connected with the arrangements respecting the choice or nomination of proper persons for the representation of Westminster. The surprise of Sir Francis at the appearance of such an advertisement was very considerable, and his displeasure little inferior to his astonishment. He immediately communicated these feelings to Mr. Paull, by express, and peremptorily declined the honour intended him. Irritated by this refusal, Mr. Paull repaired to the residence of Sir Francis Burdett, at Wimbledon, after midnight, and conducted himself in such a manner as to produce a duel, in which, at the second fire, both parties were wounded, Mr. Paull in the leg, and Sir Francis in the thigh. Although the public were not in possession of all the information requisite to form a clear and full estimate of the conduct of the parties, yet, from appearances, striking and impressive, they almost unanimously agreed in censuring Mr. Paull for indecorum and brutality; and the consequence was, not merely the loss of his election, but his entire extinction as a public character. Affording a fatal instance of the effects of dissimulation and precipitancy, and of the want of that good sense in the conduct of life which is to be preferred to even the most splendid talents.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. III.

1807

Of the late ministry, Mr. Thomas Grenville was the only commoner in the cabinet, who, at the assembling of the new parliament resumed his situation for the place he had represented. Mr. Windham declined standing for Norfolk; Lord Henry Petty was unsuccessful at Cambridge; and Lord Howick, after representing his native county of Northumberland for a series of twenty years, was obliged to resign his pretensions to a more opulent candidate. Indeed the object intended by the new ministry in the dissolution of parliament, seemed to be effectually gained. They acquired that accumula-

tion of power which prevented any impediment to their measures, and gave them that command and confidence, without which it is impossible for any administration to secure public estimation or to dispatch the public business. The new parliament assembled on the 22d of June, and during the short session which ensued, much mutual recrimination took place between the contending parties; but no business, of a nature demanding the notice of general history, occupied the attention of either of the houses of legislature.

CHAPTER IV.

EXPEDITIONS: To the Dardanelles—To Egypt—Against Monte Video—Against Buenos Ayres—Capture of the Dutch Settlement of Curacao—Expedition to Copenhagen—War declared by Russia against England—New System of Commercial Interdiction—Disputes with the United States of America—French Decrees—British Orders in Council.

IT has already been seen that the war between Russia and Turkey led to an interruption of the harmony which had so long subsisted between the latter power and Great Britain. Russia being engaged in a war with the Porte by the instigation of France, it was incumbent upon England to attempt an accommodation of the existing differences, and to prevent, if possible, the direction of the strength of her ally towards the south of Europe. For this purpose, negotiations were entered into with the cabinet of Constantinople, and Admiral Sir John Duckworth was instructed to proceed, with seven sail of the line, a frigate, and two sloops, to force the Dardanelles, and bombard the Turkish capital, if certain terms should not be acceded to by that government. On the 19th of February the British admiral proceeded to force the passage. The fire of the enemy from the outer castles inflicted but little injury on his ships; but in the narrow passage of Sestos and Abydos, a very heavy cannonade was directed from both castles, within point-blank shot of each other, which opened their fire on the English ships as they continued to pass in succession. The very spirited return made to this fire considerably diminished its force, and prevented the sternmost ships from receiving any material injury. A small Turkish squadron, consisting of a sixty-four gun ship, four frigates, and several corvettes, at anchor to the north-east of the castles, was attacked by Sir Sidney Smith, and driven on shore, where it

was destroyed; while the guns of a formidable battery at Point Pesquies, were spiked by a detachment of marines. On the evening of the 20th the squadron anchored near Prince's Islands, about eight miles from the city. The negotiations between Mr. Arbuthnot, the British ambassador to the Porte, who was then on board Admiral Duckworth's fleet, and the Turkish government, continued till the 27th, and in the interval, such was the unfortunate state of the weather, that it was not at any time in the power of the British admiral to occupy such a situation as would have enabled him to commence offensive operations. At length it became necessary to terminate an exhibition thus humiliating. The time which had been occupied by the English commander in empty menaces, had been employed by the Turks in the most active repairs and preparations. The whole line of the coast now presented a chain of batteries. Twelve line of battle ships were ready, with their sails bent, and filled with troops; an innumerable multitude of small craft, with five vessels had been collected; and near two hundred thousand troops, meant to march against the Russians, were said to be in Constantinople. Had the weather favoured an attack, these accumulated means of resistance by the enemy must have been attended with a doubtful issue to the British squadron; and even had Sir John Duckworth overcome all this opposition, the re-passage of the Dardanelles was still requisite to complete his triumph.

The idea of waiting for a wind to bombard the city was therefore now abandoned; and wounded, as the British commander acknowledges himself to have been, in pride and in ambition, he weighed anchor on the first of March, and by the next day, before noon, every ship under his command had cleared the passage of the Dardanelles. This escape, however, was only from destruction, but by no means from serious loss and injury. The fire of the inner castles, which had been severe in the first passage, was more than doubly formidable on the return. The Windsor Castle was struck by a granite shot of eight hundred pounds weight; and the number of killed and wounded, which in the first instance had not been considerable, was swelled to nearly three hundred men. The damage done to most of the ships, in their hulls, masts, and rigging, was very severe, and the expedition was productive of nothing but disaster and humiliation.

While Admiral Duckworth was advancing to Constantinople, to fix between the two countries those relations which were in a situation highly critical, an English expedition was proceeding towards another point of the Turkish dominions. On the 6th of March, a detachment, consisting of about five thousand men, under the command of General Fraser, was embarked at Messina, in forty-nine transports, for the purpose of taking possession of Alexandria; and on the 16th, they came to anchor before that city. The intelligence which was received from Major Missett, the British resident at that place, stated, that the inhabitants were well affected to the British, and that he had sanguine hopes that our troops would be able to gain possession of this important station without firing a gun. Accordingly, on the morning of the 19th, the British commander occupied the spot rendered memorable by the victory under the heroic Abercrombie; and on the 21st General Fraser took possession of the place, in virtue of a capitulation executed by Sced Mahamed Naim Effendi, on behalf of his excellency Emen Bey, the governor.

Immediately after the fall of Alexandria, Major-general Wauchope, with a detachment of fifteen hundred men, consisting of the 31st regiment, and chasseurs Britanniques, was dispatched to take possession of Rosetta and Rhamanie, under the persuasion that the possession of these places was necessary, to prevent the inhabitants of Alexandria from being exposed to the horrors of famine. The troops dispatched on this service encountered no opposition on their march towards Rosetta, and the heights of Abourmandour, which command that city, were occupied without any loss. Instead of retaining possession of this post; General

Wauchope was induced, without any previous examination, to enter the town with his whole force. Here he found, to his surprise, that preparations had been made for his reception. The Turks and Albanians, in great numbers, had posted themselves in various buildings and advantageous situations; and from every window and roof in the streets through which the British troops marched, they were assailed by such a severe fire of musketry, that they were obliged at length to evacuate the place, with a loss of three hundred men killed and wounded. The commander himself was among the slain; and Brigadier-general Meade, on whom the command now devolved, was severely wounded in the retreat. In this trying situation, to which the troops were thus rashly exposed, they conducted themselves with the most admirable courage and discipline, and succeeded in effecting their retreat to Aboukir, from whence they soon after returned to Alexandria.

Provisions were now become extremely scarce in this place, and the renewed representations of Major Missett, on the necessity of taking Rosetta, were corroborated by the Sorbagi, or Chief Magistrate of Alexandria, who stated that famine must be the inevitable consequence if this measure was not promptly executed. Another corps, amounting to about two thousand five hundred men, under Brigadier-general Stewart, was accordingly dispatched on this important and indispensable service. On the 9th of April this force took post opposite the Alexandrian gate of Rosetta, and began to form their batteries. From the great extent of the town, it was found impossible that the small British army sent on that service could invest more than one half of it; and a line was in consequence taken up from the Nile to the front of the Alexandrian gate, thence retiring towards the plain where the dragoons were posted. A mortar and some guns were brought into play early in the afternoon; these were answered by the shouts of the Albanians from their walls; and by incessant discharges of musketry through the loop-holes and crevices, which were innumerable. From the 12th to the 20th, the operations against the city were prosecuted with much vigour. Great damage was done to the town, and not fewer than three hundred shells, from mortars alone, were thrown into it. During all this time General Stewart was in daily and almost hourly expectation of assistance from the Mamelukes; but after waiting for this promised assistance till the 21st, a resolution was taken on the evening of that day, to retire from before Rosetta on the following morning. Early in the morning of the 22d, Colonel Macleod, who had been dispatched to defend the post of Hamet, informed the general that sixty or

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BOOK IV. seventy large vessels, full of hostile troops, were descending the Nile. The danger was now alarming, and not a moment was to be lost. Orders were immediately dispatched to the colonel to abandon his position, and return to the main body; but these orders were most unfortunately intercepted. General Stewart himself immediately withdrew, with his army formed in a hollow square, taking with him all the cannon and ammunition which the circumstances of the case would permit. The British troops, impressed with the exigencies of their situation, kept the most compact order, and presented in each direction so formidable a front, that the pursuers, with all their superiority of numbers, and impetuosity of attack, found them impervious to all their assaults. The detachment at Hamet, however, was completely cut off, and the whole loss in killed, wounded, and missing, from the commencement of the expedition under General Stewart, consisted of upwards of a thousand men.

This succession of disasters made a strong impression on the public mind. To be defeated on the plains of Egypt, which had produced some of the fairest wreaths to adorn the brow of British valour, was particularly mortifying. Disaster, however, was totally unconnected with ignominy in the British troops, who, in both the cases above related, exhibited all that discipline, intrepidity, and perseverance, for which they are so nobly distinguished. The expedition itself to Egypt appears to have been by no means either necessary or prudent at the time it was undertaken. The influence of such an enterprise upon the operations on the Vistula must have been extremely remote, and the troops engaged in this expedition might have been much more beneficially employed on the shores of the Baltic.

The anticipations entertained of a famine at Alexandria were happily not verified by events. For several months the British troops remained in possession of that city, and although Rosetta was not added to their conquests, provisions became daily more plentiful. Preparations, however, were making at Cairo upon a large scale, to effect their expulsion; and on the 8th of August, the Governor of Egypt, at the head of a formidable force of infantry and cavalry, advanced towards Alexandria. The views of the new ministry with respect to the possession of this place had, no doubt, regulated their instructions to the commander with regard to his conduct; and the diminished state of his forces, the disaffection of the inhabitants towards the invaders, and the vast body now collected to proceed against them, induced General Fra-

ser to abandon the idea of defence. On the approach of the enemy to the town, he sent a flag of truce, announcing, that on condition of the British prisoners being delivered up, the army under his command should immediately evacuate Egypt. This condition was accepted with as little hesitation as it was made. The English force almost immediately embarked, and on the 22d of September the standard of Mahomet again waved on the towers of Alexandria.

Intelligence was received by the British ministry of the enterprise undertaken by Sir Home Popham, against Buenos Ayres, in the month of June, 1806,* just at the moment when the negotiations between this country and France were pending; and it was not until October, when all hope of the successful termination of that negotiation was at an end, that a reinforcement was sent from England to co-operate with the troops under Gen. Beresford in Maldonado. The command of the troops was given to Sir Samuel Auchmuty, and Sir Charles Sterling was appointed to convoy the transports in the Ardent ship of war, and on their arrival at La Plata to supersede Sir Home Popham on that station. On the 5th of January this force arrived at Maldonado. An attack on Monte Video was now determined upon, and on the morning of the 18th a landing was effected in a small bay on the coast. The enemy, who were in possession of the surrounding heights in great force, suffered the troops to disembark, and to take possession of a strong post about nine miles from the town, without opposition. On the 19th the army moved towards Monte Video. Two heights, in the front and to the left, were occupied by about four thousand of the enemy's horse, and a heavy fire of round and grape shot was now opened; but by a spirited charge from the light battalion under Colonel Brownrigg, the corps opposed to him was dispersed, and one of their guns taken. The enemy on the flank also commenced a retreat, and the British commander was permitted to occupy a position two miles from the citadel, without any further opposition. On the following morning, the whole force of the Spaniards, consisting of about six thousand men, came out of the town to meet the English, and commenced an attack in two columns, one of which was defeated and driven back with the loss of about twelve hundred men; and the other retreated without coming to action. The siege of Monte Video almost immediately commenced; batteries were in a few days opened upon the town, and all the frigates and smaller vessels approached as closely as possible to assist in the cannonade. A battery was erected

* See Vol. I. Book III. Chap. IX. p. 533.

as near as possible to the wall, by the south gate of the citadel, which communicated with the sea, from which a vigorous fire was kept up, and on the 2d of February a breach was reported practicable. Orders were now given for the assault to commence an hour before day-break on the following morning. The troops destined for this service were commanded by Colonel Browne; and the remainder of the British force, including a corps of seven hundred marines and seamen, were encamped under Brigadier-general Lumley, to act as a corps of reserve and protect the rear. The morning was extremely dark, and the troops had approached near to the breach before they were discovered. But no sooner had the garrison become aware of their danger, than a destructive fire, from every gun that could be made to bear upon the breach, was opened, and showers of musketry were poured down upon the assailants. The head of the British column, owing to the continued darkness, had the misfortune to miss the breach, which, in the course of the night, had been closed up and strongly barricaded with hides, notwithstanding all the fire of the besiegers. In this situation the troops remained, under a heavy fire, for a quarter of an hour, when the breach was discovered by Captain Renny, who pointed it out, and gloriously fell as he mounted it. The soldiers, difficult as was the access, forced their way to the ramparts, and from thence into the town, overturning the cannon which had been placed at the head of the principal avenues, and clearing the batteries and the streets with their bayonets. By eight o'clock in the morning, every thing was completely in their possession; perfect tranquillity reigned throughout the place, and the women were seen walking about the town without the slightest alarm. From the first landing to the complete occupation of the citadel, the British loss amounted to about six hundred men; Major Dalrymple was killed, and Lieutenant-colonels Vassal and Brownrigg died of their wounds. The loss sustained by the enemy was about eight hundred killed, and five hundred wounded; about two thousand Spaniards were made prisoners, including the Governor, Don Pasquil Ruis Huidobro; and fifteen hundred were supposed to have escaped in their boats or to have secreted themselves in the town.*

In the month of June, a British expedition, under General Crawford, consisting of about five thousand troops, arrived in the river Plata, and was joined by the troops which had at different times arrived in South America since the first attack upon the Spanish settlements, by General Beresford. The command of this

united force was given to General Whitelocke, and an attack upon Buenos Ayres was immediately resolved upon. After several delays, occasioned by the unfavourable state of the weather, a landing was effected on the 28th of June without opposition at Ensenada, about thirty miles eastward of the town. Colonel Mahon, to whom the bringing up of the heavy artillery was intrusted, was directed to wait at Reduccion till further orders; and the army, divided into two columns, after surmounting various difficulties, arrived before Buenos Ayres on the following day, when the fortress was summoned to surrender. This demand, as might have been anticipated, was peremptorily declined, and preparations were made for the attack. The British line was formed by placing General Auchmuty's brigade on the left, extending within two miles of Recoleta; the 36th and 88th regiments were on the right; and the brigade of General Crawford occupied the principal avenues to the town, about three miles distant from the great square and fort, his right being well supported by an appointment of dragoons, and the 45th regiment extending to the Residencia. The town was thus nearly invested.

Understanding that the inhabitants meant to occupy the flat roofs of their houses for defence and annoyance, and that the town was divided into squares of about one hundred and forty yards each, General Whitelocke resolved to adopt the following plan of attack:—Every division, being provided with cannon, was to proceed along the street directly in its front, till it arrived at the last square adjoining the river, there to occupy the flat roofs of the houses, and to await further instructions; A corporal's guard was to march at the head of each column with instruments to break open the doors of the houses; and the muskets were to be kept unloaded till the columns were formed at their appointed final stations.

These arrangements having been given out, the strong post of the Retiro and Plaza de Toros, was approached early in the morning of the 5th of July by General Auchmuty; and notwithstanding the severe discharges of grape shot and musketry from the Spaniards, the general gained possession of the place, taking thirty-two pieces of cannon, six hundred prisoners, and a vast quantity of ammunition. The 5th regiment advanced to the river, after experiencing very little opposition, and took possession of the church and convent of St. Catalina. The 36th and 88th regiments, under Brigadier-general Lumley, moving in the appointed order, were opposed in their march by an incessant fire of musketry from the tops of the

* Sir Samuel Auchmuty's Dispatches, dated Monte Video, February 6th, 1807.

BOOK IV

CHAP. IV.

1807

houses, the doors of which were so firmly barricaded, that scarcely any effort could force them open, while the streets were intersected by deep ditches, in the inside of which were planted cannon, which poured grape shot on the advancing columns. The 36th regiment, however, was enabled to overcome all this opposition, and to reach its final destination. The 88th regiment, which was more exposed to the fire of the forts, and to the principal defences of the Spaniards, was completely over-powered and taken. This misfortune rendered unavailing the success of the other regiment, and both the 36th and the 5th regiments were at length obliged to retreat upon the post of General Auchmuty. In the mean time, the British six-pounders, which had been appointed to move down the principal streets, covered by four troops of carabineers, led on by Lieutenant-colonel Kingston, advanced to take the battery; but this gallant officer being unfortunately wounded, as well as Captain Burrell, next in command, and the fire, both from the battery and the houses, proving very destructive, they were obliged to fall back on a position in front of the enemy's principal defences. Lieutenant-colonel Pack, with the left division of General Crawford's brigade, had advanced nearly to the river, where he was to occupy the Jesuits' College, which commanded the principal Spanish line of defence; but on turning to the left, the fire of the enemy became so overwhelming as to render all further advance absolutely impracticable. Part of this division took possession of a house, which was almost immediately found untenable, and no alternative remained but surrender or absolute destruction. The remainder of the division, after sustaining with intrepidity the incessant discharges of the enemy, by which their commander was wounded, retired upon the right division, commanded by General Crawford in person. The general, learning the fate of his left division, and being now opposed by immense superiority of numbers, thought it advisable to take possession of the Convent of St. Domingo. The Residencia had been gained by Colonel Guard, with very slight opposition, and leaving this position in possession of his light companies, the colonel advanced with his principal force towards General Crawford, and joined him at the convent. The building was almost instantly surrounded by the enemy. In this emergency, General Crawford was obliged to confine himself to the defence of the convent; but the quantity of round shot, grape, and musketry, to which the troops were exposed, at length obliged them to quit the top of the building; and the Spaniards,

to the number of six thousand, bringing up cannon to force the wooden gates, the general, with all the troops under his command, surrendered at four o'clock in the afternoon.

"The result of this day's action," says General Whitelocke, "left me in possession of the Plaza de Toros, a strong post on the enemy's right, and the Residencia, another strong post on his left, while I occupied the advanced position towards his centre; but these advantages had cost two thousand five hundred men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The nature of the fire to which the troops were exposed was violent in the extreme. Grape-shot at the corners of the streets; musketry, hand-grenades, bricks, and stones, from the tops of all the houses; every householder, with his negroes, defending his dwelling, each of which was in itself a fortress; and it is not, perhaps, too much to say, that the whole male population of Buenos Ayres was employed in its defence.*"

The night of the 5th exhibited an impressive pause in the work of destruction. On the following morning Gen. Liniers addressed a letter to the British commander, offering to deliver up the prisoners taken on this occasion, and also those taken from General Beresford, on condition that the attack on the town should be discontinued, and that, within two months from that date, Monte Video, and the other stations on the river Plata, occupied by the English troops, should be evacuated. It was stated, in this dispatch, that the exasperation of the populace against the English prisoners was unbounded, and that, if hostilities were persisted in by General Whitelocke, it would be impossible to insure their safety. These terms were no sooner proposed than they were yielded to by the British general, who was determined to this assent principally from a reference to the situation of the prisoners, which, from unquestionable intelligence, he understood to be highly critical; and from the consideration that the possession of a country, whose inhabitants were so decidedly hostile to the conquerors, could be attended with no permanent advantage.

The conduct of General Whitelocke, in conducting this expedition, called forth the most severe reprehension; and the entire failure of the enterprise produced universal dissatisfaction and disappointment. The general, on his return to England, after the entire evacuation of South America, was put upon his trial before a court-martial, assembled at Chelsea, on the 28th of January, 1808, and continued by adjournment for two and thirty days. By this tribunal he was pronounced guilty of all the charges preferred against him, except that part

* General Whitelocke's Dispatches, dated Buenos Ayres, July 7, 1807.

of the second which related to the order, that the muskets of the columns should be unloaded, and that no firing should be permitted on any account, and being declared totally unfit and unworthy to serve his majesty in any military capacity whatever, was cashiered.*

An enterprise of considerable consequence, and terminating in a much more happy result than the expedition against Buenos Ayres, was accomplished the first day in the year 1807, by a squadron of four frigates,† commanded by Captain Brisbane, under the orders of Vice-admiral Dacres. The expedition was directed against the Dutch settlement of Curagoa. The harbour was defended by regular fortifications of two tiers of guns; Fort Amsterdam alone containing sixty-six pieces of cannon. The entrance was only fifty yards wide, and across it were moored two frigates and two large schooners of war. A chain of forts was on the commanding height of Miselburg; and Fort République, deemed nearly impregnable, was within the distance of grape shot, and enfiladed the whole harbour. Soon after day-break, the British frigates made all possible sail in close order of battle. The vessels appointed to intercept their entrance were taken by boarding; and the lower forts, the citadel and the town of Amsterdam, by storm. The port was entered at about six o'clock in the morning; before ten a capitulation was signed, the British flag was hoisted on Fort République, and the whole island was in complete possession of the assailants. The loss of the British amounted only to three men killed, and eleven wounded; and the inhabitants of the town, to the amount of thirty thousand, swore allegiance to the British government.

The year 1807 beheld the continent of Europe apparently prostrate at the feet of France. The discipline of Austria and Prussia had disappeared before the numbers and the enthusiasm of the French armies, and the predominant genius of their leader. The sovereigns of those countries had seen their capitals filled with hostile armies, and their flying courts hovering on the frontiers of their former dominions. The house of Hapsburg had ceased to give emperors to Germany: and the downfall

of a constitution transmitted from the feudal ages, was beheld without astonishment, and probably without regret. The battle of Friedland had convinced the Emperor of Russia of the necessity of peace; and the treaty of Tilsit, concluded on the 9th of July, rather proclaimed than confirmed the power of Bonaparte, and the weakness of his adversaries. In these circumstances, the eyes of all Europe were fixed upon England. In her they beheld a power which had uniformly resisted with vigour, and with comparative effect, the encroachments of the continental colossus; and in struggling to support the political system of civilized Europe, she had respected the laws by which it was regulated. In the midst of the disasters and errors of the continent, Denmark had remained unmolested—protected by the firm but temperate politics of her court; by the attachment of the inhabitants to the family of the sovereign, and to their own national independence; by the rigid observance of a strict neutrality; and by the moral turpitude attached to unprovoked aggression. From the general policy of the French Emperor, every thing was to be apprehended; and the Crown Prince of Denmark, draining the rest of his dominions of their forces, had for three years kept the flower of the Danish youth assembled on the borders of Holstein, to protect the only quarter in which aggression seemed to be possible, from the entrance of that army which had long hovered on its frontier.

Such was the posture of affairs when the British government determined to dispatch to the Baltic a powerful armament, consisting of twenty thousand troops, under the command of Lieutenant-general Lord Cathcart; and a fleet of twenty-seven sail of the line, and vessels of all other descriptions, to the number of nearly ninety pendants, under Admiral Gambier. When the intelligence of this expedition first arrived in Copenhagen, it was universally supposed, in that city, that the English army was intended to co-operate with the Swedes in the defence of Stralsund; and in the re-conquering the rest of Pomerania; and the only apprehension was that it would arrive too late. The illusion was, however, speedily dissipated, by the arrival of

* The charges against General Whitelocke were four, and were in substance as follows:—

1st. Having, contrary to the tenour of instructions, in the summons to Buenos Ayres, required that the civil officers and magistrates should be made prisoners of war, which, it is averred, is contrary to all the customs of war, and had a decided effect in inflaming the civil population to resistance.

2d. Exposing the army, in marching against Buenos Ayres, to a destructive discharge of musketry from the town, without providing that army with the proper means of offence or attack, and ordering the whole of his brigades to be unloaded, and no firing to be permitted on any account.

3d. Not being present personally on the advance against Buenos Ayres; also not keeping open a communication between the main body of the troops and the detachment under General Crawford, which compelled that officer to surrender.

4th. Surrendering the fortress of Monte Video without necessity, which was capable of making an effectual resistance against any force that could be brought against it.

† The Arethusa, Latona, Anson, and Fishguard.

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BOOK IV. Mr. Jackson in the Danish capital, on the 1st of August, as plenipotentiary on behalf of his Britannic Majesty. The English negociator, as might have been expected, failed in convincing the Crown Prince that it was incumbent upon him to deprive his own kingdom and capital, during a period critical beyond example, of a defence, provided at an enormous expense, in order to add to the naval power, or to promote the security of Great Britain. Accordingly, on the 16th of August, Lord Cathcart disembarked his forces at Wybeck, and nearly at the same time the British troops from Stralsund effected a landing in Keoge Bay, swelling the land force under the British commander to twenty-eight thousand men. On the day after the landing of the troops, they advanced in three columns, with very trifling opposition, to invest Copenhagen, which was effected on the north and south by the military force, and by the naval power on the east. The regular works were now commenced and carried on with great spirit; and while they were rapidly advancing, the frigates and gun-boats took advantage of a favourable breeze to station themselves near the entrance of the harbour, from which they might throw shells into the town. Brigadier-general Decken, who had been sent against Frederickswerk, succeeded in surprising that important post, by which a depôt of cannon and powder, and upwards of eight hundred Danish soldiers, fell into the hands of the besiegers. The country being now roused into an extreme state of irritation against the invaders, General Castenschild was enabled to accumulate a formidable voluntary force, and in addition to these irregular troops, three or four battalions of disciplined soldiers contributed to swell the general's ranks. On the 26th this

army was attacked by Sir Arthur Wellesley, and defeated, with a loss of sixty officers, eleven hundred men, and ten pieces of cannon. Having dispersed these troops, the British general moved towards the centre of the island, with a view to disarm and keep down the rising spirit of the country, in which endeavour he so effectually succeeded as to prevent the besieging army from experiencing any further molestation from this quarter.

In the mean time, the contest was carried on with great vigour between the Danish gun-boats and praams, supported by the crown battery, a block-house, and some other works, and the advanced squadron of the British gun-boats, when the latter were at length obliged to retire before the destructive fire of the red-hot shot of the enemy. Between the British batteries on shore, and the enemy's gun-boats, the conflict on the part of the former was more successful, and the Danes were, in their turn, obliged to retreat with considerable loss. The besieging army had now advanced its positions to the inundation in front of the city; and the moment rapidly approached in which the more serious operations of the siege were to commence. As no overtures for accommodation had been made or yielded to by the Danes, and as every thing evinced their determination to endure the horrors of a bombardment, the heavy ordnance were landed on the 26th, and by the 31st the platform was laid, and the mortar batteries were ready for action! A summons was now dispatched by the British Commanders to General Pieman, the Governor of Copenhagen, containing the same offers which had been originally made by Mr. Jackson, and which were now again most peremptorily refused.*

"The mortar batteries, which had been

* SUMMONS TO THE CITY OF COPENHAGEN,

Addressed to his Excellency General Pieman, Governor.

"British Head-quarters, before Copenhagen, September 1, 1807."

"SIR,—We, the commanders-in-chief of his majesty's sea and land forces now before Copenhagen, judge it expedient at this time to summons you to surrender the place, for the purpose of avoiding the further effusion of blood, by giving up a defence, which, it is evident, cannot long be continued. The king, our gracious master, used every endeavour to settle the matter now in dispute, in the most conciliating manner, through his diplomatic servants. To convince his Danish Majesty and all the world, of the reluctance with which his majesty feels himself compelled to have recourse to arms, we, the undersigned, at this moment, when our troops are before your gates, and our batteries ready to open, do renew to you the offer of the same advantageous and conciliatory terms which were proposed through his majesty's ministers to your court.

"If you will consent to deliver up the Danish fleet, and to our carrying it away, it shall be held as a deposit for his Danish Majesty, and shall be restored, with all its equipments, in as good a state as it is received, as soon as the provisions of a general peace shall remove the necessity which has occasioned this demand. The property of all sorts, which has been captured since the commencement of hostilities, will be restored to its owners, and the union between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, and Denmark, may be renewed. But if this offer be rejected now, it cannot be repeated. The captured property, public and private, must then belong to the captors, and the city when taken must share the fate of conquered places.

"We must request an early decision, because, in the present advanced position of the troops, so near your glacis, the most prompt and vigorous attack is indispensable, and delay would be improper. We have the honour to be,

"J. GAMBIER, Commander-in-chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels.

"CATHCART, Commander-in-chief of the land forces."

erected by the army in the several positions they had taken round Copenhagen, together with the bomb vessels, which were placed in convenient situations, began the bombardment on the morning of the 2d of September, with such power and effect, that in a short time the town was set on fire, and, by the repeated discharges of our artillery, was kept in flames in different places till the evening of the 5th, when a considerable part of it being consumed, and the conflagration, arrived at a great height, threatened the speedy destruction of the whole city, the general commanding the garrison sent out a flag of truce, desiring an armistice to afford time to treat for a capitulation.* It was explained to General Pieman, in reply, that the basis of the capitulation must be the delivering up of the fleet; which in a subsequent letter from the general was admitted; and on the morning of the 7th, the articles of capitulation, which had been settled during the night of the 6th, were ratified. By these articles, the British forces were to be put in immediate possession of the citadel and dock yards; all the ships of war and naval stores of his Danish Majesty were to be delivered up; the prisoners were to be mutually restored; private property was to be respected; the functions of the civil and military officers were to receive no interruption; and within six weeks the citadel was to be restored to his Danish Majesty, in the state in which it was occupied, and the British troops were to have evacuated the island of Zealand. The navy, delivered up in consequence of this agreement, consisted of sixteen ships of the line, fifteen frigates, six brigs, and twenty-five gun-boats, besides vessels on the stocks; in the arsenals were found stores sufficient to fit for sea all this formidable fleet; and all the ships of the line and frigates were laden with the masts, spars, and timber that remained. A considerable part of the stores of this description were put on board the *Leyden* and *Inflexible*; and some of the more valuable articles on board others of his majesty's ships; notwithstanding which there still remained

sufficient to load ninety-two transports, and other vessels, chartered for this purpose, and whose cargoes amounted to at least twenty thousand tons. The loss sustained by the British, before Copenhagen, did not exceed two hundred men; that of the Danes was much more considerable, it amounted to about two thousand persons: four hundred houses were destroyed, and the venerable edifice of Frederick Kirk was laid in ruins.

In calculating the amount of the gain by this unprecedented operation, England had obviously to set off, first, the expense attending the expedition to Copenhagen, which probably amounted to the prime cost of the captured vessels; second, the implacable animosity of the whole Danish nation against this country, devoting them, with all the resources of Denmark, to the service of Bonaparte; third, the resentment expressed and acted upon by the Emperor of Russia, which cemented, if it did not dictate his alliance with France; and lastly, and above all, the diminution of that high national character, and consequent influence, which Great Britain had hitherto enjoyed among the nations of Europe. It was indeed asserted, in justification of this measure, that "his majesty had received the most positive information of the determination of the present Ruler of France to occupy with a military force the territory of Holstein, for the purpose of excluding Great Britain from her accustomed channels of communication with the continent; or inducing or compelling the court of Denmark to close the passage of the Sound against British commerce and navigation; and of availing himself of the aid of the Danish marine for the invasion of Great Britain and Ireland; and further, "Holstein once occupied, Zealand would be at the mercy of France, and the navy of Denmark at her disposal."† The evidence of the positive information here alluded to was never exhibited; but it was contended, and from high authority, that ministers had no occasion to produce proof of their assertion; that the facts which justified

ANSWER,

Addressed to his Excellency Admiral Gambier and Lord Cathcart.

"Copenhagen, September 1, 1807."

"MY LORD,—Our fleet, our own indisputable property, we are convinced is as safe in his Danish Majesty's hands as ever it can be in those of the King of England, as our master never intended any hostility against yours. If you are cruel enough to endeavour to destroy a city, that has not given any the least cause for such treatment at your hands, it must submit to its fate; but honour and duty bid us to reject a proposal unbecoming an independent power; and we are resolved to repel any and every attack, and defend to the utmost the city and our good cause, for which we are ready to lay down our lives.

"PIEMAN, Commander-in-chief of his Danish Majesty's land force."

Appendant to General Pieman's reply, was a proposal to send to his royal master, at Kolding, for his final instructions; but the British commanders did not consider themselves authorised to acquiesce in this proposal.

* Admiral Gambier's Dispatches, dated Copenhagen-Road, September 7, 1807.

† British Declaration, dated September 25, 1807.

the seizure of the Danish fleet were public and notorious, and were to be found in the power and animosity of France; the weakness and hostile disposition of Denmark; and the importance of her navy towards the success of any plan which the enemy might adopt for the invasion of these realms. These circumstances, it was insisted, made out a case of necessity; and the measure adopted was one of self-preservation, the first law of nature. To establish these positions, it was necessary to shew the inability of Denmark to resist the seizure of her fleet by France; and that, even in such case, Great Britain was menaced with a danger so imminent as to justify an attack on a neutral power. On the first of these points, it was affirmed by Earl St. Vincent, one of the best naval authorities in this country, in the presence of Lords Cathcart and Gambier, in the house of peers, and uncontradicted, that it was easier to invade Great Britain from Boulogne, than Zealand from Funen; and consequently, that "Holstein once occupied, Zealand was (not) at the mercy of France, and the navy of Denmark at her disposal." On the second, it cannot be seriously stated, that this nation would have been in a state of tremendous and unparalleled peril, although the navy of Bonaparte had been actually augmented by sixteen ships, fifteen frigates, six brigs, and twenty-five gun-boats. When the war was renewed in 1803, the victories of our naval heroes had not completed the destruction of the French marine. France had still a powerful fleet; and Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark, were united in a confederacy hostile to this country. Yet, did our measures at that time argue pusillanimity, or beget despondency? Did any man then venture to state to the British nation, that the imminent peril which menaced these realms had rendered obsolete the political code of our ancestors, and that safety could only be found in imitating the violence and atrocity of the enemy? It ought also to be recollected, that at the time she was required to surrender up her fleet to British protection, Denmark could not consent to the sacrifice demanded. Her continental possessions were exposed to French invasion; her capital might be laid in ruins by an English fleet; and her foreign possessions were at the mercy of Great Britain. A strict neutrality was therefore a line of conduct imperiously prescribed to the Crown Prince, by the local peculiarities of his territory; and it is a circumstance highly honourable to the people of Great Britain, that no consideration of present advantage, or of permanent security, ever fully reconciled them to an enterprise, by which they conceived the national honour to be tarnished, and felt that their moral sensibilities were outraged.

The conduct of the Emperor of Russia, in acceding to the treaty of Tilsit, had tended considerably to relax the bond of union between the courts of London and St. Petersburg; and the long interviews held on the Niemen between the two emperors, the exchanges of imperial insignia at Tilsit, and the ascendancy of Bonaparte's understanding, rendered it far from improbable that Russia might soon join in hostility against England, with which she had so long, but so unsuccessfully, co-operated. At length, every doubt on this subject was dissipated; and apprehension was converted into certainty. The season of the year having arrived in which annoyance from Great Britain could not be apprehended, the British ambassador was ordered to leave Petersburg, and on the 31st of October, a declaration of war was issued against England.

In this paper, the emperor regrets the existing alienation of his Britannic Majesty in proportion to the great value which he had placed upon his friendship. Twice had the emperor taken up arms in a cause in which England was peculiarly concerned, but in the accomplishment of her own projects he had in vain solicited her co-operation. When peace was re-established with France by Russia, the latter had offered her mediation to England. This had been rejected, unquestionably on a determination to break off all the existing ties between the two nations. At the moment when it was thus in the power of England to complete that general peace which was so much desired, her fleets and troops were summoned to execute an act of outrage unparalleled in history, and to attack a power which, by its moderate conduct and wise neutrality, maintained a sort of moral dignity amidst surrounding and conflicting monarchs. The Prince Royal of Denmark had communicated all the insidious propositions of England to the emperor, and reposed in him a just confidence. The emperor, touched with the confidence reposed in him, and having considered his own peculiar complaints against England, and his engagements with the powers of the north, had resolved to recall his embassy from England; to terminate all communication with her; to act on the principles of the armed neutrality, and never to recede from them; to procure the restoration of all unjustly detained vessels and merchandise; not to re-establish any communication before complete satisfaction was given to Denmark; and to require of his Britannic Majesty, instead of "suffering his ministers to scatter the seeds of fresh war, to conclude such a treaty with the Emperor of France, as should prolong interminably the invaluable blessings of peace."

To this declaration, an answer was returned by the British government on the 18th of December, in which it was stated,

"That his Britannic Majesty was aware of the nature of those engagements imposed on the Emperor of Russia by the peace of Tilsit, but had hoped that, in a season of reflection, he would have extricated himself from the new councils and connections which had been adopted in a moment of despondency and alarm, and returned to that policy which he had so long professed, and which had conducted so much to the prosperity of his dominions; but the declaration of Russia had disappointed these expectations. With respect to the charge against Great Britain, of having neglected to support the military operations of

Russia, it is observed, that the war with the Porte was undertaken by Great Britain at the instigation of Russia, and solely for the purpose of maintaining Russian interests. The offer of mediation by Russia was not declined but accepted, on conditions in themselves perfectly natural, and which it would have been highly improper to omit. The conditions required by his majesty were—a statement of the basis upon which the enemy was disposed to treat; and a communication of the articles of the treaty of Tilsit; but these conditions had neither of them been fulfilled. With respect to the expedition to Copenhagen, it ill became those who were parties to the secret arrangements at Tilsit to demand satisfaction for a measure to which those arrangements gave rise, and by which one of the objects of them was happily defeated. The requisition of an immediate conclusion of peace with France, was as extraordinary in substance as it was offensive in its manner. His majesty would never admit the pretensions of the Emperor of Russia to dictate the time or the mode of his negotiations with other powers, nor would ever endure that any government should indemnify itself for the humiliation of subserviency to France, by adopting an insolent and peremptory tone towards Great Britain. His majesty," continues the declaration, "proclaims anew those principles of maritime law, against which the armed neutrality was originally directed; and against which the present hostilities of Russia are denounced. Those principles which have been recognized and acted upon in the best periods of the history of Europe, it is the right, and the duty of his majesty to maintain; and against every confederacy, his majesty is determined, under the blessing of divine providence, to maintain them. When the opportunity for peace between Great Britain and Russia shall arrive, his majesty will embrace it with eagerness. His majesty, as he has nothing to concede, so he has nothing to require: satisfied, if Russia shall manifest a disposition to return to her ancient feelings of friendship towards Great Britain; to a just consideration of her own true interests; and to a sense of her own dignity as an independent nation."

One immense power now occupied Europe, arranging and controuling every thing in conformity to its views. The subjugation of Russia to French influence was, on this account, sincerely to be deplored; nor could it be concealed, that the substitution of her hostility for her alliance, was greatly to be lamented by this country, as adding to the pressure of a situation already full of embarrassment. Amidst the difficulties pressing upon this country, the vast territory of Europe being now subservient to the designs of an enemy, meditating its downfall as the consummation of his policy, there was something calculated to produce inspirations of the noblest heroism. The antipathy of the enemy arose principally from that effectual opposition afforded by England to the universal dominion of his arms; and the magnitude of the confederation of nations, united willingly or by compulsion against her, was a confession that her prowess and resources were incapable of being subdued but by the most extraordinary means, and implied, indeed, those doubts of success, which never fail to add confidence to the spirit with which aggression is opposed. This impressive, because reluctant compliment

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from an adversary, was felt at this moment by the British nation in its full force, and all hearts and hands were united to sustain the urgency of the crisis.

The efforts of Bonaparte to exclude English commerce, and to establish his "continental system," were, this year, continued with rigorous perseverance and undiminished pressure. To embarrass the trade and finances of Great Britain, Europe was obliged, in a great degree, to abandon those luxuries which long habit had almost rendered necessary supplies. The restrictions enforced against England were followed on her part by a system of retaliation, which deprived multitudes in France of the means of honest industry, and even of relief under disease and pain. The cotton manufactures languished for want of raw material. Sugars, and various other articles of colonial produce, had attained a price that exceeded by three hundred per cent. their former value; and rhubarb and bark, the usual palliatives of disease, were scarcely to be procured. Similar distresses, flowing from the same causes, extended to almost all the countries of the continent, which presented a striking picture of privation and patient endurance. At the same time, this country felt with no common pressure the consequences of these restrictions. The regular channels of communication, through which British manufactures and colonial produce had poured in immense supplies, extending in opposite directions to the remotest points of the continent, were now dried up. Those connivances and elusions which had formerly rendered positive restraints formidable only upon paper, were in a great measure precluded, and the distress in the manufacturing and commercial districts of the kingdom was such as to excite the most poignant regret in the philanthropic observer, who could derive no consolation from the idea that these evils were felt with equal force throughout the greatest part of Europe. The distress of the West India planters, in consequence of the exclusion of their produce from the usual markets, excited particular attention; and to remedy this evil, a committee of the house of commons, appointed to inquire into the most effectual means of affording them relief, recommended a decrease of duty upon colonial produce, an advance of bounty upon its importation, and the interruption of the intercourse carried on by American ships between the colonies of Cuba, Porto Rico, Martinique, and Guadaloupe, through the medium of the United States, to Europe.

The suggestion of the committee relative to the suspension of French and American intercourse, leads to a view of the relative situation of the United States and Great Britain. The

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BOOK IV. spirit of disaffection between the two countries originated in causes that have already been stated and discussed.* With respect to the practice of searching American vessels for British seamen, incidents were perpetually occurring to keep alive the spirit of exasperation.

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In the former year, John Pierce, an American seaman, was killed by a shot fired from on board the *Leander*; and in the course of the present year another fatal occurrence took place, which threatened consequences of the most serious nature. A British squadron, under Admiral Berkeley, had been for some time stationed at the entrance to the river Chesapeake; and while the American frigate, the *Chesapeake*, of forty-four guns, was equipping for the Mediterranean, under Commodore Barron, several seamen had deserted from the English ships, and engaged themselves to serve on board the American frigate. Representations of these circumstances having been made to the agents of the American government without effect, an order was in consequence issued by Admiral Berkeley to the captain of the *Leopard* frigate, to cruise off the cape, for the purpose of intercepting the *Chesapeake*, after she had passed the limits of the American waters, and examining her for deserters. In compliance with these directions, Captain Humphries sent a boat on board the American frigate on the 23d of June, as she was advancing on her voyage, apprising the commodore that he had deserters on board, and that he had received orders to search for them. The demand of Captain Humphries not being acceded to, he fired several shots, without injuring the American vessel; no attention being paid to these demonstrations, a broadside was poured into the *Chesapeake*, which she returned with six or seven detached shots, and, on receiving a second broadside, struck her colours. On examination, several deserters were found; and the object of the conflict being accomplished, the *Chesapeake*, which had suffered a loss of six men killed, and twenty-one wounded, was dismissed in a shattered condition to her port.

No sooner had intelligence of this distressing event reached the American government, than a proclamation was issued by the president, in which, after stating the constant recurrence of British officers on the coast, to a state of insubordination to the laws, violence towards the persons, and trespasses on the property of the citizens of the United States, while they were enjoying all the means of refitment; the affair of the *Chesapeake* was noticed as a deed transcending all which the Americans had seen or suffered, and which brought their sensibilities

to a crisis, and their forbearance to a pause. Hospitality, in such circumstances, ceased to be a duty; and all armed vessels of Great Britain were ordered immediately to quit the American harbours, and were interdicted entrance into any of the ports of the United States. That a high tone of animation should have been assumed on this occasion is by no means surprising, nor that interdiction should be considered necessary, in return for an aggression of such violence. The right of searching the ships of war of neutral states, though formerly claimed by the British government, had been tacitly abandoned, and its exercise had latterly made no part of the instructions of British officers. With respect to the abstract question of such a right, if it attached to Great Britain, it might be presumed equally to belong to America; and unless right was to be regulated by power, this reciprocity was indispensable. On the arrival of the first intelligence of the unfortunate affair of the *Chesapeake* in England, considerable surprise and regret were universally expressed; and ministers hesitated not to declare in parliament, their readiness to make every reparation, for whatever might appear, on full and accurate information, an unauthorised act of hostility. In pursuance of this disposition, Admiral Berkeley was, not long after, recalled from the American station; and in a proclamation issued for recalling British seamen, it was stated, that force might, if necessary, be exercised for the recovering of deserters on board the merchant vessels of neutrals, but that, with respect to ships of war, a requisition only should be made to deliver up deserters; and on their refusal, information was to be given to the British ministers at the neutral courts, or to the British government at home. By this proclamation, the conduct of Admiral Berkeley was tacitly disavowed, and Mr. Rose, the son of the treasurer of the navy, was soon after dispatched on a special mission to America, with overtures of conciliation.

Had the dispute between the two countries been confined to the question of impressing seamen it is probable that an accommodation would have taken place; but it involved also the rights of American commerce. Ever since the breaking out of the present war, America had been made the medium of commerce between the colonies of France and the mother country. This trade, which now began to be considered as a species of war in disguise, was eminently advantageous to both countries, and some idea may be formed of its extent, when it is known, that in one year forty-five thousand hogsheads of sugar were introduced, in Ameri-

* Vol. I. Book III. Chap. IX. p. 535.

can bottoms, into the single port of Amsterdam. To terminate this connection appeared an important object of policy with Great Britain; but the case involved questions of great delicacy, and demanded deep consideration. The inevitable consequences of a war with America would be to cut off one of the most extensive and beneficial sources of British commerce. The exports of British manufactures to that country were immense, and the growing population, and consequently increasing consumption, would every year enlarge its demand upon English industry and ingenuity.* The enterprise of the Trans-Atlantic merchants was perpetually enlarging their connections with distant markets, already opened to them, or discovering others still more remote, to which they conveyed the merchandise of Great Britain, pouring in return into her lap, both the price of the commodity and the profits of the voyage. All these advantages would not merely be put to hazard, but in many cases absolutely destroyed, by an appeal to arms. The balance of property also, due from America to England, amounted, at this time, to at least eight millions sterling; and the mere suspension of the payment of this sum, would involve incal-

culable distresses. The calamity to which the West India Islands themselves might be exposed, from a measure intended chiefly for their relief, was also an important consideration, as American hostility would certainly inflict on these colonies new and most formidable evils, by precluding those supplies of articles of the first necessity, which seemed incapable of being procured from any other quarter. The possible advantage of America, as a source of supply for timber and warlike stores, when the ports of the Baltic were likely to be shut against us, and even as a granary to Great Britain herself, was not to be overlooked. Considerations of this nature must, undoubtedly, have weighed with Mr. Pitt, to prevent the adoption of hostile measures against America; and his immediate successors in office were influenced by similar reasonings; even the publication of the Berlin decree, for blockading the British Islands, could not prevail upon them to break off this circuitous connection between France and her colonies, and thus expose England to the perils of a rupture with America: but, on the 7th of January, 1807, an order of council was issued, which prevented neutral vessels from trading

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* AMERICAN COMMERCE.

RETURN of the average IMPORTS of America, for the three years 1802, 1803, 1804.

(From a Report made to Congress in 1806.)

	£.
IMPORTS from the Dominions of Great Britain,	8,093,000
from Holland, France, Spain, and Italy, ...	5,731,000
from Northern Powers, Prussia, Germany, } and Portugal,	1,845,000
from China, and other Native Powers of } Asia,	1,093,000
from all other Countries,	188,000
Total amount of Imports—	£16,950,000

Of the annexed IMPORTS, Manufactured Goods of Cotton, Wool, Silk, Leather, Glass, Iron, Paper, &c. constitute about £9,000,000, and come from the following countries:—

	£.
The Dominions of Great Britain,	6,845,000
Russia,	280,000
Germany, Sweden, and Denmark,	550,000
Holland,	255,000
France,	275,000
Spain, Portugal, and Italy,	270,000
China,	525,000
Total amount of Imports—	£9,000,000

EXPORTS from America, on an average of the same years.
(Collected from the same authority.)

	£.
Exported in domestic produce,	9,000,000
in foreign produce re-exported,	6,400,000
Total amount of Exports—	£15,400,000

	£.
American Imports from Great Britain and her Depend- } encies,	8,093,000
Exports to them,	5,200,000
Leaving a balance in our favour of	£2,893,000

The EXPORTS of America are distributed in the following manner:—

	£.
To the Dominions of Great Britain,	5,200,000
Viz. In Europe,	£3,525,000
Asia,	29,000
The West Indies,	1,458,000
North America,	188,000
To the Dominions of all the other Powers,	10,200,000
Total amount of Exports—	£15,400,000

Thus it appears, that the value of the importations from the dominions of Great Britain, are equal to that from all the countries of Europe and their colonies together; and notwithstanding European manufactured articles are admitted from all countries at the same rate of duties, and although the balance of trade is in favour of America with the continent, and against her with Great Britain, yet, that in the years referred to in these returns, which may be considered as a fair criterion of the state of the trade in general, France did not furnish one twenty-fourth part, and all Europe collectively not one fourth part, of the amount imported from this country.

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from any port in the possession, or under the controul of the enemy. By this edict, the neutral trade, direct from neutral nations to the enemy's ports, received no molestation, though the neutral trade from one port of the enemy to another was prohibited. Although this order in council could be no matter of astonishment in America, after the promulgation of Bonaparte's decree, yet it was received with the most animated indignation. It was alleged that, as the British government was at war with nearly every nation on the Atlantic and Mediterranean Seas, American vessels were now required to sacrifice their cargoes, in the first port they touched at, or to return home without going to any other market; and that, under this new law of the ocean, the American trade must be swept away by seizure and confiscation.* But if the measures adopted by the late ministry called down the animadversions of the American government, the system of vigorous retaliation against France, and of consequent pressure upon the trade of neutrals, determined upon by the new ministry, was still less favourable to the hope of speedy accommodation. On the 11th of November, 1807, additional orders in council were issued by the court of St. James's, by which every port of every country from which Great Britain was excluded, was declared to be in a state of blockade. All trade in the produce and manufactures of these countries was pronounced illegal, and the vessels employed in such trade were liable to seizure. The documents granted by French agents in neutral ports, certifying that the cargoes were not of British produce or manufacture, were no longer to be allowed, and all neutral vessels in possession of them were to be seized wherever met with. Thus was the trade along the coasts of France and of her allies, in neutral vessels, completely prohibited; and though the Americans might still freely trade with the enemy's colonies, for articles of their own consumption, the double restriction was imposed upon the intercourse by them between France and her colonies, of calling at a British port and paying a British duty. The object of these restrictions was, to burthen the enemy's produce with charges

which would make it cost more than the same commodities imported into the continent by Great Britain, and thereby to afford relief to the West India merchants and planters.

What effect these edicts would produce in America, became immediately an interesting subject of consideration; and in the high wrought resentment of that country against England, owing to the difficulties she had already thrown in the way of her commerce, and the recent indignity offered to her flag, it was imagined that the government would immediately decide on open hostility. The republicans, however, well aware of the ruinous consequences of war, determined on a middle course; and in order to avoid the losses and hostilities which were to be apprehended from the measures respectively adopted by England and France, congress, on the 22d of December, resolved to lay a strict embargo on all the vessels of the United States. By this act, their own vessels were prohibited from departing from any of their ports; and ships from all other nations were commanded to quit the American harbours, with or without cargoes, as soon as the act was notified to them. With respect to the effects flowing from the embargo law towards England and France, there could be no doubt but both of them must suffer heavy loss and extreme inconvenience; yet, as the former carried on a much more extensive commercial connection with America than the latter, the pressure upon the merchants of Great Britain would be infinitely more severe. The first impression made by the intelligence of the embargo in this country, was a general feeling of alarm among commercial men; and the merchants of Liverpool, aware that this act of congress proceeded from our orders in council, petitioned for their speedy removal; but parliament did not think proper to comply with their requests.†

Bonaparte, well aware that all restrictions upon commerce would, from the situation and pursuits of England, fall upon this country with a much heavier pressure than upon France, felt no disposition to relax in this new species of warfare; and accordingly, on the 23d of November, a decree was issued from Milan, enacting

* This was a misconception of the Order in Council of the 7th of January; American vessels might still proceed from one enemy's port to another, provided they had not come to entry or broken bulk. §—And Lord Howick, in an official note, dated the 17th of March, 1807, and addressed to Mr. Rist, the Danish minister, says, "It is not our intention that our orders should affect the general trade of neutrals; but only prevent the coasting trade of France and her dependencies from being carried on by neutrals, as that species of trade is such as properly belongs to France herself, and to which neutrals are to be considered as lending themselves unfairly."

† The average trade of the town of Liverpool, from the year 1797 to 1807, amounted to £10,000,000 annually; and in the year 1807, the amount of the trade with America exceeded half the whole amount of the trade of that port. ||

§ Explanation given by the King's Advocate.

|| General Gascoigne's Speech in the House of Commons on the Orders in Council, March 3d, 1808.

"that all vessels which, after having touched at England, from any nation whatever, shall enter the ports of France, shall be seized and confiscated, as well as their cargoes, without exception or distinction of commodities or merchandise." This interdict was, on the 19th of the following month, followed by a rejoinder to the orders in council of the 11th of November, by which

it was declared, that every neutral which submitted to be searched by an English ship, or paid any duty whatsoever to the English government, should be considered as thereby *denationalized*, and having forfeited the protection of its own government, should in consequence be liable to seizure as a lawful prize by French ships of war.* Neutral powers were thus placed,

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* ANTI-COMMERCIAL DECREES AND ORDERS IN COUNCIL.

FRENCH.

BERLIN DECREE.

"From our Imperial Camp at Berlin, Nov. 21st, 1806.

"NAPOLEON, Emperor of the French, and King of Italy.

"Whereas, 1. That England, has ceased to observe the law of nations, recognized by all civilized states.—2. That she considers every individual as an enemy who belongs to an hostile state, and consequently makes prisoners, not merely the crews of ships of war, but also the crews of merchant vessels, and even the members of commercial factories, and persons connected with commerce, where employed in their mercantile affairs.—3. That she extends the rights of conquest to the cargo and commodities, and to the property of individuals; which right of conquest, however, ought only to be applicable to that which belongs to the hostile state.—4. That she extends her right of blockade to places not fortified, and to commercial ports, in bays, and the mouths of navigable rivers: which blockade, according to the principles and practice of all civilized nations, is applicable only to fortified places. That she considers a place in a state of blockade before which she has not even a single ship of war, although a place can only be considered as blockaded when it is so circumscribed in its communication that it is impossible to approach it without visible danger. That she even declares places in a state of blockade which, with their whole united strength, she would be unable effectually to blockade; for instance, whole coasts and whole kingdoms.—5. That this monstrous abuse of the right of blockade has no other object but to impede the communication between nations, and to aggrandize the commerce and industry of England by the ruins of the commerce and industry of the continent.—6. That as this is the object of England, all those who carry on traffic in English commodities upon the continent, by doing so, second her views and render themselves her accomplices.—7. That this conduct of England, which is altogether worthy of the age of barbarism, has become advantageous to that power to the prejudice of every other.—8. That it is a right conferred by nature to oppose to an enemy the weapons he employs against you, and to fight against him in the same manner in which he attacks, and that this principle is recognized by all ideas of justice and by all liberal sentiments, the result of that civilization by which societies are distinguished.

"We therefore determine to employ against England those principles which she has adopted in her maritime code. The consequence of the present decree shall be considered as fixed fundamental laws of the empire, so long as England refuses to acknowledge one and the same law as applicable both to sea and land, till she ceases to consider private property, be it what it may, a good prize—till she ceases to extend to the persons of individuals who are not engaged in military operations the principles by which she at present treats them as prisoners of war—and until she shall apply the rights of blockade only to those places which she has a force fully adequate to cut off from communication. We have therefore decreed and do decree as follows:—

Article I. "The British islands are declared to be in a state of blockade.

II. "All commerce and all correspondence with the British Isles are prohibited.

III. "The letters or packets which are addressed to England, or to Englishmen, or which are written in the English language, shall not be forwarded by the posts, and shall be taken away.

IV. "Every individual who is an English subject, of whatever condition he be, who is found in the countries occupied by our troops or those of our allies, shall be made prisoner of war.

V. "Every magazine, every commodity, every article of property, of whatever sort, which belongs to an English subject, shall be declared good prize.

VI. "The trade in English commodities is prohibited, and every article which belongs to England, or is the produce of her manufactures and colonies, is declared good prize.

VII. "The half of the proceeds of the confiscation of the articles, property, and goods, declared good prize by the preceding article, will

ENGLISH.

ORDER IN COUNCIL.

At the Court at the Queen's Palace, January 7th, 1807; Present, the King's most excellent Majesty, in Council.

"Whereas the French government has issued certain orders, which, in violation of the usages of war, purport to prohibit the commerce of all neutral nations with his majesty's dominions, and also to prevent such nations from trading with any other country, in any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of his majesty's dominions: and whereas the said government has also taken upon itself to declare all his majesty's dominions to be in a state of blockade, at a time when the fleets of France and her allies are themselves confined within their own ports by the superior valour and discipline of the British navy: and whereas such attempts on the part of the enemy would give to his majesty an unquestionable right of retaliation, and would warrant his majesty in enforcing the same prohibition of all commerce with France, which that power vainly hopes to effect against the commerce of his majesty's subjects; a prohibition which the superiority of his majesty's naval forces might enable him to support, by actually investing the ports and coasts of the enemy with numerous squadrons and cruisers, so as to make the entrance or approach thereto manifestly dangerous; and whereas his majesty, though unwilling to follow the example of his enemies, by proceeding to an extremity so distressing to all nations not engaged in the war, and carrying on their accustomed trade, yet feels himself bound, by a due regard to the just defence of the rights and interests of his people, not to suffer such measures to be taken by the enemy, without taking some steps on his part to restrain this violence, and to retort upon them the evils of their own injustice; his majesty is thereupon pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that no vessel shall be permitted to trade from one port to another, both which ports shall belong to or be in the possession of France or her allies, or shall be so far under their controul, as that British vessels may not freely trade thereat: and the commanders of his majesty's ships of war and privateers shall be and are hereby instructed to warn every neutral vessel coming from any such port, and destined to another such port, to discontinue her voyage, and not to proceed to any such port; and any vessel after being so warned, or any vessel coming from any such port, after a reasonable time shall have been afforded for receiving information of this his majesty's order, which shall be found proceeding to another such port, shall be captured and brought in, and, together with her cargo, shall be condemned as lawful prize: and his majesty's principal secretaries of state, the lords commissioners of the admiralty, and the judges of the high court of admiralty, and courts of vice-admiralty, are to take the necessary measures herein as to them shall respectively appertain.

(Signed) "WM. FAWKENER."

ORDER IN COUNCIL.

At the Court at the Queen's Palace, November 11th, 1807; Present, the King's most excellent Majesty, in Council.

"Whereas certain orders, establishing an unprecedented system of warfare against this kingdom, and aimed especially at the destruction of its commerce and resources, were some time since issued by the government of France, by which 'the British Islands were declared to be in a state of blockade,' thereby subjecting to capture and condemnation all vessels, with their cargoes, which should continue to trade with his majesty's dominions:—And whereas, by the same orders, 'all trading in English merchandise is prohibited; and every article of merchandise belonging to England, or coming from her colonies, or of her manufacture, is declared lawful prize:—And whereas the nations in alliance with France, and under her controul, were required to give, and have given, and do give, effect to such orders:—And whereas his majesty's order of the 7th of January last has not answered the desired purpose, either of compelling the enemy to recall those orders, or of inducing neutral nations to interpose with effect,

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between confiscation and confiscation. If they proceeded to a French port, without first paying a duty upon their cargoes in England, they were liable to be captured by British cruisers; and if they came to England and paid the duty, they then became subject to confiscation in the ports of the enemy. The case was one of extreme hardship; and in this country, where war had not obliterated all sense of moral obligation, and where a spirit of hostility had not entirely silenced the voice of discretion, the justice and the policy of the orders

in council underwent a severe scrutiny, and called forth the most animated discussions.

By the advocates for these interdicts it was urged, that previously to the publication of the British orders in council, France enjoyed, by the assistance of neutrals, as many advantages of trade as were possessed by England with her triumphant navy. That navy, indeed, as far as trade was concerned, was neutralized and rendered useless, by neutral ships carrying to France, Spain, and Holland, the produce of their colonies, and all that it was important for them to

ANTI-COMMERCIAL DECREES AND ORDERS.

FRENCH.

(Berlin Decree continued.)

will be employed to indemnify the merchants for the losses which they suffer by the capture of trading vessels seized by the English cruisers.

VIII. "No ship which comes direct from England, or the English colonies, or has been there after the publication of the present decree, shall be admitted into any harbour.

IX. "Every ship which trades with a false declaration, in contravention of the above principles, shall be seized, and the ship and cargo confiscated as if they were English property.

X. "Our prize court at Paris is invested with power definitively to settle all disputes which may arise in our empire, or in the countries occupied by the French armies, in regard to the execution of the present decree. Moreover, our prize court at Milan is invested with full power finally to decide all disputes which may arise within the dominions of our kingdom of Italy.

XI. "The present decree shall be communicated to the Kings of Spain, of Naples, of Holland, and Etruria, and our other allies, whose subjects, as well as our own, have been the victims of the injustice and barbarity of the English maritime code.

XII. "Our ministers of foreign affairs, of war, of marine, of finance, of police, and our post-masters general, each of them, in as far as concerns his department, is intrusted with the execution of the decree.

(Signed)

"NAPOLEON."

Subsequent to the publication of the above interdict, and in aid of its provisions, it was decreed, "That all neutral vessels coming into any port in France, or her dependencies, should bring with them a 'certificate of origin,' being a declaration, under the hand of the French Consul at the place of shipment, that the cargo was not of British produce or manufacture; and that all vessels met at sea without such certificate should be liable to capture."

MILAN DECREE—FIRST.

"Milan, November 23d, 1807.

"NAPOLEON, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine.

"Upon the report of our minister of the finances, we have decreed, and do decree as follows:—

I. "All vessels which, after having touched at England, from any motive whatever, shall enter the ports of France, shall be seized and confiscated, as well as their cargoes, without exception or distinction of commodities or merchandise.

II. "The captains of vessels who shall enter the ports of France, shall, on the day of their arrival, proceed to the office of the imperial customs, and there make a declaration of the place from which they sailed, of the ports they have put into, and exhibit their manifest, bills of lading, sea-papers, and log-books.—When the captain shall have signed and delivered his declaration, and communicated his papers, the head officer of the customs shall interrogate the sailors separately, in the presence of two overseers. If it results from this examination that the vessel has touched at England, independent of the seizure and confiscation of the said ship and cargo, the captain, as well as those sailors, who, upon examinations, shall have made a false declaration, shall be deemed prisoners, and shall not be set at liberty until having paid the sum of 60,000

franks.

ENGLISH.

(Order in Council continued.)

effect, to obtain their revocation; but, on the contrary, the same have been recently enforced with increased vigour:—And whereas his majesty, under these circumstances, finds himself compelled to take further measures for asserting and vindicating his just rights, and for supporting that maritime power which the exertions and the valour of his people have, under the blessing of Providence, enabled him to establish and maintain; and the maintenance of which is not more essential to the safety and prosperity of his majesty's dominions, than it is to the protection of such states as still retain their independence, and to the general intercourse and happiness of mankind:—His majesty is therefore pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that all the ports and places of France and her allies, or of any other country at war with his majesty, and all other ports or places in Europe, from which, although not at war with his majesty, the British flag is excluded, and all ports or places in the colonies belonging to his majesty's enemies, shall from henceforth be subject to the same restrictions, in point of trade and navigation, with the exceptions herein after mentioned, as if the same were actually blockaded by his majesty's naval forces, in the most strict and rigorous manner: and it is hereby further ordered and declared, that all trade in articles which are of the produce or manufacture of the said countries or colonies, shall be deemed and considered to be unlawful; and that every vessel trading from or to the said countries or colonies, together with all goods and merchandise on board, and all articles of the produce or manufacture of the said countries or colonies, shall be captured and condemned as prize to the captors.—But although his majesty would be fully justified, by the circumstances and considerations above recited, in establishing such system of restrictions, with respect to all the countries and colonies of his enemies, without exception or qualification; yet his majesty being nevertheless desirous not to subject neutrals to any greater inconvenience than is absolutely inseparable from the carrying into effect his majesty's just determination to counteract the designs of his enemies, and to retort upon his enemies themselves the consequences of their own violence and injustice; and being yet desirous that it may be possible (consistently with that object) to allow to neutrals the opportunity of furnishing themselves with colonial produce for their own consumption and supply; and to leave open, for the present, such trade with his majesty's enemies, shall be carried on directly with the ports of his majesty's dominions or of his allies, in the manner hereinafter mentioned:—

"His majesty is therefore pleased further to order, and it is hereby ordered, that nothing herein contained shall extend to subject to capture or condemnation any vessel, or the cargo of any vessel belonging to any country not declared by this order to be subject to the restrictions incident to a state of blockade, which shall have cleared out with such cargo from some port or place of the country to which she belongs, either in Europe or America, or from some free port in his majesty's colonies, under circumstances in which such trade from such free port is permitted, direct to some port or place in the colonies of his majesty's enemies, or from those colonies direct to the country to which such vessel belongs, or to some free port in his majesty's colonies, in such cases, and with such articles, as it may be unlawful to import into such free port;—nor to any vessel, or the cargo of any vessel, belonging to any country not at war with his majesty, which shall have cleared out from some port or place in this kingdom, from Gibraltar or Malta, under such regulations as his majesty shall think fit to prescribe, or from any port belonging to his majesty's allies, and shall be proceeding direct to the port specified in the clearance;—nor to any vessel, or the cargo of any vessel, belonging

obtain from distant regions.* This had long been the case, and it became a matter of grave deliberation, whether we ought not, even before the promulgation of the Berlin decree, to have resorted to the rule of the war of 1756—which declared, that a neutral had no right to carry on, in time of war, a trade prohibited to him in time of peace. It was well known that French houses were established in America, to facilitate the trade with her colonies, and it was from these

houses that the late groundless outcry against Great Britain proceeded: It was also ascertained that the import trade of America amounted annually to one hundred and four millions of dollars, seven millions of which were gained by France.† As to the justice of our orders in council, America, as a neutral, must be well aware that they were merely retaliatory, provoked by the decrees of the enemy, and carrying within them their own justification.‡ Now that

ANTI-COMMERCIAL DECREES AND ORDERS.

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(Milan Decree continued.)

franks, as a personal penalty for the captain, and 500 franks for each of the sailors so arrested, over and above the pains incurred by those who falsify their papers and log-books.

III. "If advice or information communicated to the directors of our customs give rise to any suspicions as to the origin of the cargoes, they shall be provisionally warehoused until it is ascertained and decided that they do not come from England or her colonies.

IV. "Our commissaries for commercial relations, who deliver certificates of origin for merchandise laden in the ports of their residence destined for that of France, shall not confine themselves to an attestation that the merchandise or commodities do not come from England, or her colonies, or commerce; they shall indicate the place of origin, the documents which have been laid before them in support of the declaration which has been made to them, and the name of the ship on board of which they have been primarily transported from the place of origin into that of their residence.

(Signed)

"NAPOLEON."

MILAN DECREE—SECOND.

"Milan, December 17th, 1807.

¶ NAPOLEON, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine.

"Observing the measures adopted by the British government, on the 11th of November last, by which vessels belonging to neutral, friendly, or even powers the allies of England, are made liable, not only to be searched by English cruisers, but to be compulsorily detained in England, and to have a tax laid on them of so much per cent. on the cargo, to be regulated by the British legislature—Observing that by these acts the British government denationalizes ships of every nation in Europe, that it is not competent for any government to detract from its own independence and rights, all the sovereigns of Europe having in trust the sovereignties and independence of the flag; and if, by an unpardonable weakness, and which, in the eyes of posterity, would be an indelible stain, such a tyranny were allowed to be established into principles, and consecrated by usage, the English would avail themselves of it to assert it as a right, as they have availed themselves of the tolerance of governments to establish the infamous principle, that the flag of a nation does not cover goods, and to give to their right of blockade an arbitrary extension, and which infringes on the sovereignty of every state; we have decreed and do decree as follows:—

I. "Every ship, to whatever nation it may belong, that shall have submitted to be searched by an English ship, or to a voyage to England, or that shall have paid any tax whatsoever to the English government, is thereby, and for that alone, declared to be denationalized, to have forfeited the protection of its king, and to have become English property.

II. "Whether the ships thus denationalized by the arbitrary measures of the English government, enter into our ports, or those of our allies, or whether they fall into the hands of our ships of war, or of our privateers, they are declared to be good and lawful prizes.

III. "The British islands are declared to be in a state of blockade, both by land and sea. Every ship, of whatever nation, or whatsoever the nature of its cargo so may be, that sails from the ports of England, or those of the English colonies, and of the coun-

ENGLISH.

(Order in Council continued.)

to any country not at war with his majesty, which shall be coming from any port or place in Europe which is declared by this order to be subject to the restrictions incident to a state of blockade, destined to some port or place in Europe belonging to his majesty, and which shall be on her voyage direct thereto: but these exceptions are not to be understood as exempting from capture or confiscation any vessel or goods which shall be liable thereto in respect of having entered or departed from any port or place actually blockaded by his majesty's squadrons or ships of war, or for being enemies' property, or for any other cause than the contravention of this present order.

"And the commanders of his majesty's ships of war and privateers, and other vessels acting under his majesty's commission, shall be, and are hereby instructed to warn every vessel which shall have commenced her voyage prior to any notice of this order, and shall be destined to any port of France, or of her allies, or of any other country at war with his majesty, or to any port or place from which the British flag as aforesaid is excluded, or to any colony belonging to his majesty's enemies, and which shall not have cleared out as is herein before allowed, to discontinue her voyage, and to proceed to some port or place in this kingdom, or to Gibraltar or Malta; and any vessel which, after having been so warned, or after a reasonable time shall have been afforded for the arrival of information of this his majesty's order at any port or place from which she sailed, or which, after having notice of this order, shall be found in the prosecution of any voyage contrary to the restrictions contained in this order, shall be captured, and, together with her cargo, condemned as lawful prize to the captors.—

"And whereas countries, not engaged in the war, have acquiesced in the orders of France, prohibiting all trade in any articles the produce or manufacture of his majesty's dominions; and the merchants of those countries have given countenance and effect to those prohibitions, by accepting from persons styling themselves commercial agents of the enemy, resident at neutral ports, certain documents, termed 'Certificates of Origin,' being certificates obtained at the ports of shipment, declaring that the articles of the cargo are not of the produce or manufacture of his majesty's dominions; or to that effect:—And whereas this expedient has been directed by France, and submitted to by such merchants, as part of the new system of warfare directed against the trade of this kingdom, and as the most effectual instrument of accomplishing the same, and it is therefore essentially necessary to resist it:—His majesty is therefore pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, That if any vessel, after reasonable time shall have been afforded for receiving notice of this his majesty's order at the port or place from which such vessel shall have cleared out, shall be found carrying any such certificate or document as aforesaid, or any document referring to or authenticating the same, such vessel shall be adjudged lawful prize to the captor, together with the goods laden therein, belonging to the person or persons by whom, or on whose behalf, any such document was put on board.—And the right honourable the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, his majesty's principal secretaries of state, the lords commissioners of the admiralty, and the judges of the high court of admiralty and courts of vice-admiralty, are to take the necessary measures herein as to them shall respectively appertain.

(Signed)

"WM. FAWKENER."

Two other Orders in Council were issued on the 11th of November, 1807, by the former of which the future sale and transfer of ene-

* War in Disguise.

† Earl Bathurst.

‡ Lord Hawkesbury.

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the peace of Tilsit had established the influence of France on the continent, the prohibition of British trade would be universally enforced; and unless some principles of retaliation were adopted on our part, England would be compelled to submit to such terms of peace as France might be disposed to dictate; but if, by our retaliation, France should be deprived of many of the articles of daily consumption, the subjects of that country would, in a little time, be forced to become the violators of the prohibitions of their own government. It was the anxious wish of his majesty's government to preserve peace with America; her prosperity was the prosperity of Great Britain.* But it must be recollected, that in all engagements, expressed or implied, between belligerents and neutrals, there were neutral duties, as well as neutral rights, and that belligerents had direct obligations towards themselves, as well as collateral obligations towards their neighbours. If a neutral power allowed its territory to be violated by one belligerent, it was bound to allow an equal latitude to an opposite belligerent. The same principle held at sea, and if America submitted to the intervention of France, a similar intervention should be permitted to England.† When the French Directory, in 1798, published a decree similar to the edict lately issued at Berlin, it was immediately denounced in the

congress by the American President, as a violation of the rights and independence of the American states, but on the present occasion the president had taken no such step, though it was a well ascertained fact, that an American vessel had been captured under the operation of the Berlin decree. There was no contract without a reciprocal obligation, and if neutrals did not oblige France to adhere to the law of nations, they could not complain of England if her adherence to that law was less strict than usual. The orders in council only declared the ports of France and her allies to be in a state of blockade, and their produce contraband of war; and France had done the same by this country. The French certificates of origin, by prohibiting neutrals from carrying British goods, violated the law of nations, and neutrals, by thus admitting France to legislate for them, had made themselves the instruments of France against Great Britain.‡ As to the policy of the orders in council, we must use the same weapons against France that she wielded against this country; and the nation must not perish because the measures which were necessary for its preservation, might press upon neutral commerce, which Bonaparte had not hesitated to violate.§ The orders in council, though not intended as a measure of finance, would levy a contribution upon the enemy, and since the continent must have colo-

ANTI-COMMERCIAL DECREES AND ORDERS.

FRENCH.

(Decree against English Commerce continued.)

tries occupied by English troops, and proceeding to England, or to the English colonies, or to the countries occupied by English troops, is good and lawful prize, as contrary to the present decree; and may be captured by our ships of war or our privateers, and adjudged to the captor.

IV. "These measures, which are resorted to only in just retaliation of the barbarous system adopted by England, which assimilates its legislation to that of Algiers, shall cease to have any effect with respect to all nations who shall have the firmness to compel the English government to respect their flag. They shall continue to be rigorously in force as long as that government does not return to the principle of the law of nations, which regulates the relations of civilized states in a state of war. The provisions of the present decree shall be abrogated and null, in fact, as soon as the English abide again by the principles of the law of nations, which are also the principles of justice and honour.—All our ministers are charged with the execution of the present decree, which shall be inserted in the Bulletin of the Laws.

(Signed)

"NAPOLEON."

Another Decree, dated at Paris, on the 11th of January, 1808, directs, "That when a vessel shall enter into a French port, or in that of any country occupied by the French armies, any man of the crew, or any passenger, who shall declare to the principal of the custom house, that the said ship came from England, or her colonies, or from any country occupied by English troops, or that it has been visited by an English vessel, shall, on proof of his declaration, receive a third part of the produce of the net sale of the ship and cargo." And "any functionary or agent of the government, who shall be convicted of having favoured the contravention of the Milan Decrees of the 23d of November and the 17th of December, 1807, shall be adjudged guilty of high treason."

ENGLISH.

(Order in Council continued.)

mies' vessels to the subjects of a neutral country, was declared invalid; and by the latter, the goods of those countries from which the British flag was excluded were allowed to be imported by neutrals into England.

The following analysis of the Orders in Council was given by the English Board of Trade to the American Merchants:—

"All trade directly from America § to every port and country of Europe at war with Great Britain, or from which the British flag is excluded, is totally prohibited. The trade from America to the colonies of all nations, remain unaltered by the present orders. America may export the produce of her own country, but that of no other, directly to Sweden. With the above exception, all articles, whether of domestic or colonial produce, exported by America to Europe, must be landed in England, and can be only re-exported on payment of certain duties to the British government—with an exception in favour of such articles as are actually the produce of the United States, (cotton excepted.) Any vessel, the cargo whereof shall be accompanied with certificates of French Consuls abroad of its origin (called certificates of origin), shall, together with the cargo, be liable to seizure and condemnation.

§ These Orders speak of neutrals generally, but as all the maritime powers of Europe (Sweden excepted) were, at the time they were promulgated, at war with England, they were in effect applicable only to America.

[One of the most striking features of the Wars of the French Revolution, is to be found in the code of commercial interdiction, contained in the French Decrees and the British Orders in Council, and in order that a clear and comprehensive view may be taken of the nature of a species of warfare—so oppressive towards the subjects of belligerent states, and so unjust towards neutrals, the above documents are given entire.]

* Mr. Rose and Lord Castlereagh, † Sir John Nicholl, the Advocate-general, ‡ Sir William Scott, § The Lord Chancellor.

nial produce, it was a wise and politic measure, to oblige them to receive it only through our ports at the price we might think proper to fix upon it. The question was now reduced to this—are we to be conquered by France or not? Bonaparte had essayed his military warfare against us ineffectually, and was now to try the success of a commercial warfare.

Such were the arguments by which the orders in council were supported, and such the views of those who put this new engine of hostility in motion. It was on the other hand contended, that these measures of retaliation were neither just nor expedient—just towards neutrals, nor expedient as regarded the true interests of this country. The first feature of this war on trade went nearly to annihilate the commerce of neutrals, and the inevitable tendency of the second must be to circumscribe our own. The defence offered for this measure was, that our blockade was but a retaliation of that which had been imposed by the enemy; and that neutrals having submitted to the one, had no right to complain of the other. In assuming that America had acquiesced in the orders of France, and submitted to this new system of war, a fact was taken for granted that had no existence. General Armstrong, the American minister at Paris, on the appearance of the Berlin decree, felt it his duty to call for an explanation of that document; in answer to which inquiry he was informed by M. Decrès, the French minister of marine and of the colonies, under date of the 24th of December, 1806, “That an American vessel cannot be taken at sea from the mere reason that she is going to or coming from a port of England,” and “that the imperial decree lately passed was not to affect American commerce, which would still be governed by the rules of the treaty established between France and America.” The fact, however, which seemed to set at rest the question of the execution of the Berlin decree, previous to the issuing of our orders in council, was this, that so late as the 18th of October, 1807, Messrs. Monroe and Pinkney, the American residents in London, communicated to the English secretary of state the construction which France had given to that decree, and officially assured him that the practice had been in conformity to that construction. Nor was this all, the matter did not rest on the authority of public papers, or assertions, or admissions, on one side or on the other. It was ascertained, by facts public and notorious, and by evidence laid before the legislature; and so far was America from acquiescing in this order of blockade, that she did not limit or disguise

her trade with this country, but up to the very date of our orders in council of November 11, 1807, she went on from day to day increasing that trade in the sight of the whole world. Instead of acquiescing in the order of blockade, it was manifest that America utterly disregarded it. It was equally certain that France never resented this resistance of her order by America, and that her last solemn and boastful decrees, as far as they respected neutrals, fell into the same neglect as those that had gone before them. All this time, neutral vessels were publicly and regularly chartered on voyages from this country to the continent of Europe; the price of articles of our colonial produce and home manufacture continued unaltered in the continental markets; and the rate of insurance on such voyages did not experience the least advance in consequence of the Berlin decree, but remained precisely at the point where it had stood formerly, till our orders in council raised it so high as to put an end to the trade altogether.* These observations apply to the justice of the orders in council: as to their policy or expediency, it has already been stated, that, on an average of the three years preceding 1805, the United States had imported annually from Great Britain and her dependencies to the value of upwards of eight millions sterling, while their exports to Great Britain scarcely exceeded five millions for each of those years. For the three years next after 1804, the average exported to America was upwards of ten millions, and not more than four millions and a half was received in our ports from that country. And the inevitable effect of the orders in council would be to reduce our American trade from ten millions annually to something a little above four. The degree of misery and impoverishment produced by throwing two-thirds of the articles destined for exportation to the United States back on the hands of thousands, and turning out of employment the capital and the workmen occupied in providing them, may be conceived by those who are aware of the delicate balance on which commercial prosperity is suspended. The risk of permanently losing the market of America, by a temporary suspension of our trade with that country, and the possibility, not to say probability, of involving the two countries in a state of actual war, were considerations that pressed heavy on the minds of the British merchant and manufacturer; while the politician was well aware that the enemy must suffer much less from this system of commercial proscription than ourselves.

* Evidence laid before Parliament by the London and Liverpool Petitioners.

CHAPTER V.

FOREIGN HISTORY:—*State of France—The Code of Conscription—The Emperor's Address to the Assemblies—Territorial Changes in Holland—State of Portugal—Threats of French Invasion held out to the Court of Lisbon—Removal of the British Settlers—Emigration of the Court to the Brazils—Entrance of the French Army into Lisbon—Situation of Spain—Conspiracy against the King by his Son—Secret Treaty for the Partition of the Kingdom of Portugal—Introduction of a French Force into Spain—Abdication of Charles IV—The Royal Family of Spain allured to Bayonne to meet the Emperor Napoleon—Intrigues at that Place—Abdication of Charles and Ferdinand in Favour of Bonaparte—Insurrection at Madrid—Prostration of Spain at the Feet of the Invaders.*

BOOK IV.

CHAP. V.

1808

WHILE Bonaparte was pursuing his conquests on the banks of the Vistula and the Niemmen, the tranquillity of France experienced not the slightest interruption. No disposition appears to have been manifested to cabal and party in the higher orders of society, or of sedition or insurrection in the lower classes. The military glory of the 'great nation' covered from the view those embarrassments and distresses which were inevitably occasioned by protracted hostility, even amidst all the splendour of conquest; and the conscript laws, the least popular, but the most efficient part of Bonaparte's policy, had in a great degree lost their terrors, and were acquiesced in as necessary to the external security, or the unexampled renown of the empire. In the month of March,

1807, a message was communicated to the senate by Renaud St. Jean D'Angely, in the delivery of which the orator of government shed tears of sorrow while he announced the necessity of anticipating the conscription of 1808. This order for the anticipated conscription, however, did not require that the recruits should, as our former occasions, immediately repair to the armies, but permitted them to be trained and disciplined for six months within the frontiers of France. Thus sedulously attentive was Bonaparte to that instrument of his triumphs and elevation—a numerous and highly disciplined army; and, while he possessed a standing force such as Europe never before witnessed, his anxiety was continually displayed to secure for this engine of conquest a permanent supply.*

* *The Code of Conscription.*—France, at the time now under consideration, was divided into thirty military governments, each of which was subject to a general of division and his staff, to which commissaries were attached as executive officers. The civil divisions consisted of one hundred and twenty-two departments—twenty-four of which had been acquired since the overthrow of the monarchy, exclusive of Tuscany. The departments were divided into districts or *arrondissements*, the districts into cantons, and the cantons into municipalities—amounting to about fifty-five thousand. Each department was governed by a prefect and his council, composed of a commissary of police, a mayor, and certain inspectors, denominated counsellors of prefecture: the district, by a sub-prefect and his council, of a similar formation; the cantons and municipalities were under the supervision of an administration, composed of the civil authorities, with a president at their head; and a mayor, a commissary of police, and two officers of the government, styled *adjuncts*, were allotted to every division having a population above five thousand souls. These several authorities, standing in strict subordination to each other, were at the controul of the prefects and sub-prefects; who, themselves, were charged with a weighty and inflexible responsibility as to the military levies. The conscription was first published in the form of a general law by the council of ancients, in the year 1798, and subsequently underwent some slight modification. The directorial plan is attributed to Carnot. The law by which the whole number of conscripts was limited, regulated at the same time the contingent of each department; proportionally to its population. Within eight days after publication, the prefect distributed the contingent among the districts, by the same rule; and the sub-prefect among the cantons and municipalities. All Frenchmen between the full age of twenty and twenty-five complete, were liable to the conscription. They were each year thrown into five classes; the first of which consisted of those who had completed their twentieth year, on the 16th of September preceding; the second, of those who at the same period had terminated their twenty-first year, and so on in the order of seniority. Eight days were allowed for the preparation of lists; the conscripts were then assembled in each canton, and examined by the administration, or by a special commission created by the prefect. By these meetings all pleas of exemption were scrutinized; but the final decision of all doubtful cases was referred to a commission of higher resort. The claims being disposed of, lists were then formed of those who were adjudged competent to serve, whether present or absent; and the sub-prefect proceeded to the drawing or designation by lot of such as were to constitute the *quote* of the district. Tickets, regularly numbered, to

No sooner were the objects of the imperial interviews at Tilsit accomplished, than Bonaparte proceeded to Paris, where his arrival was anticipated with all the ardour of curiosity, and hailed with every demonstration of satisfaction. The birth-day of the emperor was this year celebrated with peculiar distinction; and a grand *fête* took place, in which ingenuity exhausted itself in endless devices expressive of gratitude and admiration. On the following day the legislative body and the tribunate were assembled in the usual forms; on which occasion the emperor in his address observed, that since their last meeting, new wars, new triumphs, and new treaties, had changed the political relations of Europe; that the house of Branden-

burg, which was the first to combine against the independence of France, was permitted to reign only through the friendship of the powerful emperor of the north; that a French Prince would speedily reign on the Elbe; that the house of Saxony had regained the independence it had lost for fifty years: that the inhabitants of the duchy of Warsaw and Dantzic had recovered their country; and that all nations concurred in joy at the extinction of the pernicious influence of England on the continent. By the confederation of the Rhine, France was united with Germany; and by her own peculiar system of federation, she was united with Spain, Holland, Switzerland, and Italy. Her new relations with Russia were founded on the mur-

to the amount of the names on the lists, were then publicly deposited in an urn, and indiscriminately drawn out by the conscripts or their friends, the lot falling upon those who drew the number below the amount of the *quota*. The higher numbers drawn by the rest were annexed to their names, that they might be forthcoming in their order, should any casualty disable their predecessors. Absentees not presenting themselves within a month after the drawing, were declared *refractory*, proclaimed throughout the empire, and pursued as deserters. These were the conscripts of "active service;" but besides these, the law required an equal number to form "the conscription of reserve." The members of the reserve were nominated with the same formalities, to march only in case of emergency, but regularly organized, and carefully disciplined within their own department, from which they were not suffered to absent themselves. A third body was then created of "supplemental conscripts," equal in number to one-fourth of the whole contingent, and destined to fill up the vacancies which might be occasioned before junction at head-quarters, by death, desertion, or other causes. No Frenchman under the age of thirty could travel through the empire, or hold any situation under government, or serve in any public office, without the production of a certificate, duly authenticated, attesting that he had discharged his liability to the conscription. All the authorities were bound, under the severest sanctions, to observe that the conscripts were assembled, reviewed, and dismissed to their destinations without delay. They marched, under an escort of gendarmerie,|| and in bodies strictly limited to the number of one hundred, to various quarters or depots, through the empire, and were there first supplied with arms and clothing. No exemptions were originally allowed to the law of "active service," but by the modifications subsequently introduced, the eldest brother of an orphan family, the only son of a widow, or of a labourer above the age of seventy, or of one who might have a brother in the active service, might, on solicitation, be transferred to the reserve. Parents continued responsible for their absent children, until they could produce an official attestation of their death. The directory admitted of no substitutes; but the severity of this principle was relaxed by Napoleon in favour of such as were adjudged 'incapable of sustaining the fatigues;' or 'whose labours and studies were deemed more useful to the state than their military services.' Persons of this description were allowed to find a substitute, for which more than two hundred pounds sterling was frequently given. The proxy was to be between the age of twenty-five and forty, of the middle size at least, of robust constitution, of good character, and beyond the reach of the conscription laws. All the exacting clauses of this system were fortified by heavy denunciations against public functionaries, parents, or others, who should contribute to defeat, or to retard its operation. Conscripts detected in counterfeiting infirmities, or mutilating themselves, were placed at the disposal of the government for five years, to be employed in such labours as might be judged most useful to the state. Absentees, or refractory conscripts, were amerced in a sum of fifteen hundred francs, together with the expense incurred in the pursuit, which was levied inexorably on the real property of the father or mother, should the fugitive possess none in his own right. Every conscript absenting himself for twenty-four hours from his depot, became liable to be punished as a deserter. A special council of war decided upon the cases of desertion; and the penalties were, first, death; second, the punishment of the ball; and third, public, or hard labour. Death was inflicted on the deserter to the enemy, and on those who, in deserting from the punishment of the ball, carried off their own arms, or those of their comrades; the punishment of the ball, on such deserters as escape into the interior of the empire with their uniforms, or with the effects of another; and hard labour for three years on the mere deserter. A person under the punishment of the ball had an iron ball, of eight pounds weight, fastened to an iron chain seven feet in length, attached to his leg. He, in the first instance, heard his sentence read on his knees, and was condemned to hard labour during ten hours daily, being in the interval of rest chained in solitary confinement. The duration of this punishment, which was ten years, was prolonged, and an additional ball fettered to the leg, in case of contumacy or serious disobedience.§ By the operation of the law of conscription, the levies raised for the French army exceeded 100,000 annually—constituting a drain of one-seventieth part of the whole male population between twenty and forty years of age.

|| A species of armed Constables, about sixteen thousand in number.—*Pouchet*.

§ See "Code de la Conscription," and *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. XIII. p. 427.

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CHAP. V.

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tual esteem of two great nations. The emperor wished for peace by sea, and would never suffer any irritation to influence his decisions on this subject; there could indeed be no room for irritation against a people, the sport and victim of the parties which devoured it, and which was misled as much with respect to the affairs of other nations as to its own. The tranquillity and order of the French nation, during his absence, had excited his ardent gratitude. He had contrived the means of simplifying their institutions; he had extended the principle on which had been founded the legion of honour; the finances were prosperous; the contributions on land were diminished; various public works had been completed; and it was his resolution, that in the remotest parts of the empire, and even in the smallest hamlet, the comfort of the citizen, and the value of the land, should be increased by the developement of a general system of improvement. On the same day, the report on the state of the empire was delivered, and while the government orator detailed the internal improvements which had taken place with the usual pomp and minuteness, he announced, that it was the wish of the emperor, that henceforth there should be no sects among the learned, and no political parties in the state.

The details contained in these documents, undoubtedly presented circumstances well calculated to excite congratulation, and among the most prominent of these was that external security which France enjoyed after one of the most protracted and bloody conflicts recorded in history. Many of the internal regulations specified were calculated for public happiness, and displayed a laudable attention to domestic policy, amidst the anxieties and embarrassments of foreign war. The simplification of political institutions alluded to in the emperor's address, consisted particularly in an absorption of the tribunate in the legislative body, which was speedily accomplished after this intimation. The tone of compassion towards England, "the sport and victim of parties," was so far interesting that it was calculated to amuse. By this imbecile and pitiful nation, France had been baffled in her menaces of invasion; her commerce had been annihilated; her navy swept from the ocean; and though her range through the different kingdoms of the continent had not then been arrested, she found in her conquests only a more extended prison. But not the least important passage in these papers was, the expression of the imperial desire that there should be no sects among the learned, and no parties in the state. Such has ever been the cant of despotism. The most interesting questions were

henceforth to present but one view, and to admit but one comment. Those collisions of opinion, which have marked all preceding ages, were, at the behest of the conqueror, to be superseded by an influx of light which was to penetrate all minds, and dissipate all error. Unless this marvellous irradiation could be accomplished, the extinction of parties could only be effected by the prevention of discussion. It was therefore against discussion that the blow was levelled. Party might be fatal to tyranny. Hence that denunciation of political communications, under the invidious designation of party and faction. The animation of debate is apt to interrupt the tranquillity of despotism, and the recommended exclusion of party is the torpid acquiescence of slaves.

In the territory of Holland a change took place soon after the arrangements at Tilsit. The strong fortresses of the Maese, to its discharge into the sea, were taken within the limits of France, and in return for this diminution of security, Holland was obliged to acquiesce in an accession of territory from the conquered dominions of Prussia.

The close of the present year presented a new and interesting phenomenon in modern history—the migration of an European court into a southern hemisphere. It had long been a topic of serious deliberation between the cabinets of Great Britain and Portugal, whether, in the case of actual invasion by France, the Portuguese court might not be advantageously transferred to its dependencies in South America; and the assembling of an army of forty thousand men at Bayonne, for the avowed purpose of invading the territories of the house of Braganza, threatened speedily to demand from the Prince Regent this weighty sacrifice. In vain had Portugal exhausted the royal treasury, and made innumerable sacrifices to preserve her neutrality; in vain had she shut the ports of her dominions to the subjects of an ancient and royal ally;* the French troops were preparing to march into the interior of the kingdom, and the French ambassador, having failed in his endeavours to involve the Prince Regent in the war against England, had quitted Lisbon in disgust. These events were notified to the chamber of commerce for the information of the British factory; and the preparations which had been previously commenced by them, for settling their affairs, and withdrawing from the country, were now continued with redoubled urgency. The activity and confusion in the ports were extreme; the most extravagant terms were demanded for the conveyance of settlers, with their families, to England, in ves-

* By the Decree for the Exclusion of British Ships, dated Lisbon, October 22, 1807.

sels but ill adapted for accommodation, or even for security, and towards the end of October, scarcely any thing British, except British feeling, remained in that country.

In the mean time the Portuguese navy was prepared with all possible expedition; the royal furniture and treasures were packed up, the conveniences and necessities for a long voyage, and for various establishments on the arrival of the fleet at its destination, were assiduously collected, and arrangements were made for the new government abroad, and for a regency at home. Lord Strangford, the British ambassador, was indefatigable in his endeavours to confirm the wavering purpose of the court, and perpetually contrasting the independence and glory of the new empire in South America, with the abject vassalage, and contemptible insignificance, which alone could be expected were the prince to continue in his European dominions. A reluctance, however, to quit the shores of that country which he had so long governed, and which had given him birth, was not unfrequently manifested by the prince; and in proportion as the time approached for his embarkation on an enterprise of such magnitude, he appeared the less inclined to make the momentous sacrifice. So far indeed did his wishes to conciliate France prevail, that on the 8th of November, he signed an order for detaining the few British subjects, and the small portion of British property, that remained in his dominions. On the publication of this decree, Lord Strangford demanded his passports, and, presenting a final remonstrance to the court, proceeded to join the squadron under Sir Sidney Smith, which had been sent to the coast of Portugal to assist in saving the royal family, or, in the worst event, to prevent the Portuguese fleet from falling into the possession of the enemy. A most vigorous blockade of the Tagus was immediately resolved upon; but after a few days the intercourse of the British ambassador and the court was renewed, at the request of the former, who, on proceeding to Lisbon, found all the apprehensions of the prince now directed to a French army, and all his hopes to a British fleet. To explain this singular change in the politics of the Portuguese court it must be observed, that, in the interval between the departure and the return of Lord Strangford, the prince had received intelligence, that Bonaparte had fulminated against him one of those edicts which had almost inva-

riably been followed by the subversion of thrones. The proclamation that "the house of Braganza shall cease to reign"* had gone forth; and to this alarming denunciation, which cut off all hopes of compromise, even by the most humiliating submission, was to be ascribed the complacency with which the renewed intercourse with England was accepted. So great was the agitation exhibited by the court, that it now manifested as much avidity to accomplish the enterprise, as it had previously shewn hesitation and reluctance towards it. The interview with the English ambassador took place on the 27th of November, and on the morning of the 29th, the Portuguese fleet sailed out of the Tagus with the whole of the royal family of Braganza, and a considerable number of faithful counsellors, and respectable and opulent adherents. The fleet consisted of eight sail of the line, four large frigates, and several other vessels of war, besides a number of Brazil ships, and amounted in all to thirty-six sail, containing about eighteen thousand Portuguese subjects. As they passed through the British squadron a reciprocal salute was fired, and the singularity and magnitude of the enterprise, combined with the circumstance of two squadrons meeting in cordial friendship, which but two days before were in a state of open hostility, served to render this interesting spectacle at once grand and impressive. So critical was the juncture, that before the Portuguese fleet quitted the Tagus, they recognized the French army, under General Junot, with their Spanish auxiliaries, on the heights of Lisbon, and on the following day the invaders entered the capital without opposition.† Sir Sidney Smith, with a British squadron, accompanied the royal emigrants to Rio de Janeiro, in Brazil, where they arrived on the 19th of January following, after a prosperous voyage; and from this period, England became the only connecting link, commercial and political, between the Brazilian court and their European dominions.

Spain, once the most potent and flourishing of the European monarchies, had, during more than two centuries, been in a state of decline. A wretched system of government had almost extinguished the ancient Castilian spirit; and the Spanish armies, which in former ages had been acknowledged superior to those of all other nations, had lost their ancient reputation for courage and discipline. In this state of national degradation, Spain was one of the first

* *Moniteur* of the 18th of November, 1807.

† On the arrival of the French and Spanish army on the Portuguese frontier, the invaders wrote to the Marquis of Alorno, the commandant at Elvas, to enquire whether they were to be "received as friends or as enemies?" to which the marquis laconically replied:

"Sir,—We are unable to entertain you as friends, or to resist you as enemies, Yours, &c. ALORNO."

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countries of the continent that fell under the controul of revolutionary France, and appeared of all others the least capable of throwing off the yoke of vassalage. The flower of the Spanish army was serving under the banners of France in the north of Europe; the iron frontier of Spain to the north-east, was in the hands of French garrisons; and the metropolis, as well as the greater part of the interior, were occupied by one hundred thousand foreign troops, commanded by able and experienced officers. The Spaniards, without arms, without ammunition, and without a public treasury, were abandoned by their government; and not a few of their grandees, and other persons of high distinction, to whom they might have looked up for bringing the resources of the monarchy into one uniform direction, they had reason to rank among the enemies of their country. The bands of society in Spain were in fact broken in sunder. There was no visible mode of combining their separate force into any regular plan of co-operation. Yet, under all these circumstances, the people did not hesitate to enter on a conflict with the most numerous and the most war-like nation of Europe. To trace these great and unexpected events to their source, requires a retrospect of those intrigues at the court of Madrid, of those family contentions, and of that foreign interference, which led to the subversion of the throne of the Bourbons in Spain, and to one of the most memorable contests in modern history.

After the conclusion of the peace of Tilsit, the machinations of Bonaparte against the royal family and the throne of Spain began to appear; and his first step in furtherance of his designs was to draw out of Spain sixteen thousand of her best troops, and to place them in a situation where they could not interfere with his views. He afterwards proposed to Ferdinand, the

Prince of Asturias, and heir apparent to the throne of Spain, a marriage with a French Princess, and obtained his consent to the union. Soon after Ferdinand had acquiesced in the wishes of Bonaparte on this point, a conspiracy was said to have been detected at Madrid, against the life of Charles, the reigning monarch, and a decree, dated the 30th of October, 1807, was issued by the king, charging his son with having conspired against the life of his royal parent. "My life," says the king, "which has so often been in danger, was too long in the eyes of my successor, who, infatuated by prejudice, and alienated from every principle of christianity that my paternal care and love had taught him, had entered into a project to dethrone me. Informed of this, I thought proper to inquire personally into the truth of the fact, and surprised him in my room; I found in his possession the cypher of his correspondence, and of the instructions he had received from the vile conspirators." The king, under the first impression made by this alarming discovery, convoked the governor in council, and ordered his son and his accomplices into confinement; but, softened by the penitential expression of the prince, and the entreaties of the queen, he was soon after liberated, and restored to the royal favour.*

At the period when this mysterious conspiracy was agitated at Madrid, a secret treaty for the partition of Portugal was executed at Fontainebleau,† between the plenipotentiaries of France and Spain, by which it was provided, that part of the kingdom of Portugal should be bestowed upon the King of Etruria, as an indemnity for his Italian dominions, with the title of King of Northern Lusitania; that the province of Alentejo and the kingdom of the Algarves should be allotted to the Prince of the Peace, with the title of Prince of the Algarves;

• DECREE OF THE KING OF SPAIN.

"The voice of nature unnerves the arm of vengeance; and when the offender's want of consideration pleads for pity, a father cannot refuse to listen to his voice. My son has already declared the authors of that horrible plan which has been suggested by the evil-minded. He has laid open every thing in a legal form, and all is exactly consistent with those proofs that are required by the law in such cases. His confusion and repentance have dictated the remonstrances which he has addressed to me, and of which the following is the chief:—

"SIRE and FATHER,—“ I am guilty of failing in my duty to your majesty; I have failed in my obedience to my father and my king. I ought to do nothing without your majesty's consent; but I have been surprised. I have denounced the guilty, and beg your majesty to suffer your repentant son to kiss your feet.

"*St. Laurent, Nov. 5th.*

(Signed)

"FERDINAND."

"MADAME and MOTHER,—“ I sincerely repent of the great fault which I have committed against the king and queen, my father and mother!—With the greatest submission I beg you pardon, as well as for my obstinacy in denying the truth the other night. For this cause I heartily intreat your majesty to deign to interpose your meditation between my father and me, that he may condescend to suffer his repentant son to kiss his feet.

"*St. Laurent, Nov. 5th.*

(Signed)

"FERDINAND."

"In consequence of these letters, and the entreaty of the queen, my well-beloved spouse, I forgive my son; and he shall recover my favour as soon as his conduct shall give proofs of a real amendment in his proceedings.

"*Madrid, Nov. 5th, 1807.*

(Signed)

"CHARLES R."

† Dated October 27th, 1807.

and that the remaining provinces should be held in sequestration, to devolve at a general peace to the house of Braganza, in exchange for Gibraltar, Trinidad, and other colonies which the English had conquered from Spain and her allies. This treaty of course required the means by which it was to be put in execution, and a secret convention was accordingly concluded on the same day, and by the same parties, by which it was stipulated, that a French army of twenty-five thousand infantry, and three thousand cavalry, should enter Spain, and march directly for Lisbon; and that they should be joined by eight thousand Spanish infantry and three thousand cavalry, with thirty pieces of artillery; that sixteen thousand Spanish troops should also occupy the other parts of Portugal; and that a body of forty thousand French troops should be assembled at Bayonne, by the 20th of November, 1807, to be ready to proceed through Spain into Portugal, in case the English should send reinforcements to menace it with attack. Thus did Napoleon procure the admission of a large army into Spain. Charles having agreed to a treaty, the provisions of which were to be carried into execution by means of this army, could not object to his territories being entered by foreign troops; Ferdinand was still less capable, from the situation in which he was placed, of opposing the schemes of Bonaparte; and the Prince of the Peace,* the Prime Minister of Spain, and the obsequious supporter of French policy at the court of Madrid, was disposed rather to advance than to resist the will of the French Emperor. It is difficult to conceive a combination of characters and circumstances more favourable to the ambitious views of Napoleon. The characters of Charles, Ferdinand, and the premier, were all suited to his purpose, and required only to be worked upon at different times, and in an appropriate manner, to promote the objects of this consummate intrigue.

It was not sufficient for Bonaparte that he had introduced his army into the heart of Spain; but in order to possess the firmest power over that kingdom, it was necessary also to occupy the principal fortresses. Under the plea therefore of consulting the security of his troops, he obtained possession of the forts of Pampeluna, St. Sebastian, Figueiras, and Barcelona; and by thus holding the keys of the kingdom, he had it in his power to introduce, through the passes of the Pyrenees, any additional number of soldiers. It is impossible accurately to ascertain the number of French troops marched into Spain, under the pretence of occupying Portugal, and fulfilling the treaty of Fontainebleau; but, from an official

return published about the end of January, 1808, it appears, that between the 19th of October, 1807, and the 18th of January following, upwards of seventy thousand infantry, and ten thousand cavalry, entered by the Pass of Irun.

In this manner the revolutionary volcano, by which the Spanish monarchy was about to be convulsed, had secretly and silently collected its powers, and in the month of March the explosion took place. It appears that his Catholic Majesty, influenced probably by the suggestions of his ally, had formed a design of removing the seat of government to Mexico, and that the measure was approved of by the Queen and the Prince of the Peace, but reprobated by the Prince of Asturias and his brother, with the majority of the *grandees* of the court. The motive which led to this extraordinary project, like all the affairs of the court of Madrid, from the period of the alleged conspiracy of the heir apparent till the journey of the royal family to Bayonne, is enveloped in mystery; but the scheme of emigrating beyond the Atlantic was probably communicated to the king through the medium of Isquiero, the Spanish negociator of the secret treaty of Fontainebleau. No sooner had the intended emigration of the royal family transpired, than the capital of Spain presented a scene of confusion and turbulence. A report having been spread, on the 17th of March, that the guards had received orders to march to Aranjuez, where the court then resided, the inhabitants of Madrid rushed in crowds to the road to prevent their departure. At the same time several of the ministers and *grandees*, who disapproved of the emigration, circulated handbills in the surrounding country, stating the designs of the court, and the danger to which the kingdom was exposed. The night was a scene of tumult, and on the following day immense crowds of people hurried to Aranjuez, where the palace of the favourite, although defended by his guards, was forced, and the furniture destroyed. The Princess of Peace was conducted to the royal palace with all the respect due to her rank; but the Prince, her husband, had disappeared, and his brother, Don Diego Godoy, commandant of the life-guards, was arrested by the soldiers of his own corps. In this emergency the king found it necessary to issue two decrees, by one of which he declared the favourite stripped of all his power and employments, and in the other he assured his subjects that the army of France had entered Spain only as his friends; and that the life-guards, instead of having left Madrid for the purpose of accompanying him on a voyage, which he

* The title of Prince of the Peace was conferred on Don Manuel Godoy, on the ratification of the treaty of peace concluded between France and Spain at Basle, in the year 1795.

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declared he never had any intention of taking, had quitted it solely for the purpose of protecting his person. These proclamations, however, failed in their effect; the scenes of popular tumult spread from Aranjuez to Madrid, where, on the 18th, the populace rushed in crowds to the palace of the Prince of the Peace, and to the houses of several of the other ministers. The result was, that the favourite, after having with difficulty escaped the fury of the mob, was afterwards arrested. In the midst of this popular effervescence, the king resolved to withdraw from so tumultuous a scene, and issued a royal decree, by which he abdicated the crown in favour of his son.* The first act of Ferdinand VII. was to issue an edict, in which he declared his resolution immediately to confiscate the property of Don Manuel Godoy, the Prince of the Peace, and to use all the means in his power to repair the wrongs done to such of his subjects as had suffered from their attachment to his cause. It naturally becomes a question, not only of considerable interest, but of great importance, to determine how far this act of abdication was "free and spontaneous." This inquiry involves the character both of Ferdinand and of his Father, and will be found intimately connected with the future events of the Spanish revolution. Don Pedro Cevallos, Secretary of State to Charles IV. in his exposition of the practices and machinations which led to the usurpation of the crown of Spain by the Emperor of the French, declares that no violence was done to his majesty in order to extort an abdication of his crown, either by his son or by the people. And for the purpose of shewing that this was not a sudden and unpremeditated act, it is further asserted by that minister, that three weeks before the disturbance at Aranjuez, the king, in his presence and in the presence of all the other ministers of state, addressed her majesty, the queen, in these words: "Maria Louisa, we will retire to one of the provinces, where we will pass our days in tranquillity; and Ferdinand, who is a young man, will take upon him the

burden of government." This testimony may be perfectly correct, and yet the abdication might not be voluntary, in the fair and liberal construction of that term. The conclusion indeed seems probable, though by no means certain, that the alarm of the king, aided perhaps by the expectations of Ferdinand and his friends, hurried him on to the execution of that act, about which he had before conversed, but which, in all probability, he would never have performed under the pressure of less urgent and distracting circumstances.

These events were soon succeeded by a counter-revolution, more extraordinary in its nature, and in the circumstances by which it was accompanied, than any of the other changes which have stamped a peculiar character on these unstable times. Murat, the Grand Duke of Berg, to whom the command of the French forces in Spain had been confided, no sooner heard of the occurrences at Aranjuez, than he hastened the march of his army towards the capital. Ferdinand, unassured in what way his accession to the throne would be received at the court of St. Cloud, alarmed at the proximity of the French troops, appointed a deputation of three grandees to proceed to Bayonne, to compliment the Emperor Napoleon on his arrival in that city. Murat, in the mean time, held an official communication with the deposed monarch, by whom he was informed that his calamities were not of a common cast, since his own son had been the author of them. His abdication, he said, had been effected by treachery and compulsion. The Prince of Asturias, and Caballero, the minister of justice, were chiefly concerned in the disgraceful transaction; and had he not given up the throne in favour of his son, his own life and that of the queen would most probably have been sacrificed to his resistance. Under these circumstances, Charles had protested against the act of abdication, and wished Murat to be informed that he had written a letter to the emperor, his master, into whose hands he resigned his fate.†

* ACT OF ABDICATION OF CHARLES IV.

"My habitual infirmities not permitting me to support any longer the important weight of government of my kingdom; and having need, in order to re-establish my health, to enjoy private life in a more temperate climate, I have decided, after the most minute deliberation, to abdicate my crown in favour of my heir, my most beloved son, the Prince of Asturias. Consequently, it is my royal will, that he be forthwith acknowledged and obeyed as king and natural lord of all my kingdoms and sovereignties; and that this royal decree of my free and spontaneous abdication, may be exactly and directly fulfilled, you will communicate it to the council, and to all others to whom it may appertain.

"Given at Aranjuez, the 19th of March, 1808.

(Signed)

"I, THE KING."

† PROTEST OF CHARLES IV. AGAINST THE ACT OF ABDICATION.

"I protest and declare, that my decree of the 19th of March, in which I renounced my crown in favour of my son, is a deed to which I was compelled, in order to prevent greater calamity, and spare the blood of my beloved subjects. It is therefore to be considered as of no authority.

"Given at Aranjuez, the 25th of March, 1808.

(Signed)

"I, THE KING."

Anxious to conciliate the favour of Bonaparte, and allured by the promises of his generals, Murat and Savary, Ferdinand was prevailed upon to quit Madrid and to repair to Bayonne, the station which the French Emperor had taken for the more convenient accomplishment of his designs. Ferdinand had no sooner entered France, than he perceived too plainly that his authority was departed from him, and it was speedily intimated to him by Savary, that the Bourbon dynasty should no longer reign in Spain, but that it would be succeeded by the family of Bonaparte. This determination was accompanied by a requisition that Ferdinand should, in his own name, and in that of his family, renounce the crown of Spain and the Indies in favour of the Emperor of the French. On the following day, Cevallos, who had accompanied Ferdinand, in the capacity of first secretary of state, attempted, in a discussion with Champagny, the French minister of foreign affairs, to alter the determination of the emperor. He complained of the perfidy with which the business had been conducted; the king, his master, had come to Bayonne relying on the solemn and repeated assurances of General Savary, given officially in the name of the emperor, that his imperial majesty would recognize him at the very first interview; expecting, according to these assurances, to be treated as the King of Spain, he was surprised that the proposition for renouncing the throne was made to him. He entered his solemn protest against the violence offered to his person in preventing his return to Spain; and declared it to be his final and determined resolution, not to renounce his throne in favour of any other dynasty. In reply to this representation, Champagny contented himself with insisting on the necessity of the renunciation, and with affirming that the abdication of Charles had been voluntary. After some further discussion, the emperor, who had overheard every thing that passed, commanded the two ministers to enter his cabinet, where he insulted Cevallos in gross and violent language, upbraiding him with being a traitor, because, having been minister to Charles, he now acted in the same capacity to Ferdinand. Finding that he could neither convince nor silence the Spanish minister, he abruptly concluded by exclaiming, "I have

a system of my own; you ought to adopt more liberal ideas; to be less susceptible on the point of honour, and not to sacrifice the prosperity of Spain to the interests of the Bourbon family."*

Finding that he was not likely soon to succeed in bending Ferdinand to his purpose, Bonaparte determined to have Charles brought to Bayonne. By this means he hoped to accelerate the completion of his schemes, and to put it completely out of the power of the Spanish nation to rally round any of the old dynasty in the first moments of their indignation at his violence and perfidy. The Grand Duke of Berg had orders sent him to employ every artifice in his power to persuade the royal parents to set out on their journey to Bayonne; and after liberating the favourite, the royal party quitted Madrid, and repaired to the French frontier. The situation of Ferdinand was now rendered more than ever embarrassing; beset on one side by Bonaparte, who insisted on the renunciation of his title, and attacked on the other by his father, who upbraided him with having obtained the throne by violence, he perceived no method of liberating himself from the confinement in which he was held, but by yielding up an authority to which he was denied a valid title. Under these circumstances, Ferdinand, on the first of May, made a conditional renunciation of his crown in favour of his father. On the 5th, Bonaparte had a long conversation with the royal parents. What passed on this occasion can only be conjectured from the infamous and disgraceful scene that followed, and which is thus described by one who was present at the audience: "At five o'clock King Ferdinand was called in by his august father, to hear, in the presence of the queen and the emperor, expressions so disgusting and humiliating, that I do not dare to record them. All the party were seated except King Ferdinand, whom the father ordered to make an absolute renunciation of the crown, under pain of being treated, with all his household, as an usurper of the throne, and a conspirator against the life of his parents."* Bonaparte, however, appears not to have regarded the renunciation of Ferdinand to his father as necessary to render the resignation of the latter in his favour valid; for on the very day that the scene already described took place, and before Fer-

* See the Exposition of Don Pedro Cevallos.

† See the Exposition of Don Pedro Cevallos. The scene to which Cevallos alludes is thus described in the chronicles of the day:—The queen, in a transport of passion, addressing Ferdinand, said—"Traitor! you have for years meditated the death of the king; but, thanks to the vigilance, the loyalty, and the zeal of the Prince of the Peace, neither you, nor any of the infamous traitors who have co-operated with you, have been able to effect your purpose. I tell you to your face, that you are not the son of the king! And yet, without having any other right to the crown than that of your mother, you have sought to tear it from us by force; but I agree and demand that the Emperor Napoleon shall be umpire between us; and I call upon him to punish you and your traitorous associates."

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Ferdinand had yielded obedience to the commands of his parent, Charles had executed his deed of resignation, which transferred his title to the Emperor of France. By this document, bearing date the 5th of May, it is declared, 1st, That the integrity of the kingdom of Spain shall be preserved; and 2d, that the prince placed on the throne of Spain by the emperor shall be independent. The other articles of this act of resignation declare that the king and queen, as well as the Prince of the Peace, and such other servants as choose to follow them, shall retire into France, where they shall preserve their respective ranks; that the imperial palace of Compeigne shall be at the disposal of King Charles during his life; that a civil list of eight million rials shall be allotted to the king, and that the dowry of the queen, at his death, shall be two millions.* To the Infantes of Spain the annual sum of four hundred thousand livres is secured; and the king, in exchange for his personal landed property in Spain, receives from Napoleon the castle of Chamboard.

In order to prepare the minds of the Spaniards for this extraordinary transfer, Charles directed a mandate to the supreme Junta of the government of Madrid, in which he appointed the Grand Duke of Berg Lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and commanded the council of Castile, and the captains-general, and governors of the provinces, to obey his orders. The father having thus done all in his power, not only to transfer his right to the throne of Spain to the Emperor of the French, but also to secure the tranquil and ready reception of that transfer by the Spanish nation, the resistance and refusal of Ferdinand were no longer to be expected. Cevallos affords no insight into the particular mode of attack upon the prince, after Bonaparte had succeeded both in forcing him to renounce in favour of his father, and in persuading the father to abdicate in favour of the French dynasty, except that he states, but not of his own personal knowledge, that in the last conference held with Ferdinand, the emperor said, "*Prince, il faut opter entre la cession et la mort.*"† The resignation of Ferdinand took place on the 10th of May; and by the articles of this act it is stipulated, that the Prince of Asturias shall renounce his right to the crown of Spain and the Indies; that the Emperor Napoleon shall secure to him the title of royal highness, and cede to him the domain of Navarre, with an annual grant of four hundred thousand livres of appanage rent, and a further rent of six hundred thousand livres. The title of royal high-

ness, the enjoyment of their respective commanderies in Spain, and an appanage rent of four hundred thousand livres, are by the same instrument granted to Don Antonio, the uncle of Ferdinand, and Don Carlos, and Don Francisco, his brothers, provided they accede to the treaty. No sooner had Ferdinand ratified this treaty, than he was hurried from Bayonne into the interior of France; and to render his humiliation more abject, and his subserviency to the will of Bonaparte more complete, the prince, his uncle, and his brother, were commanded, when they reached Bordeaux, to address a solemn proclamation to the Spaniards, releasing them from all the duties they owed to the prince, and conjuring them to consult the common good, by conducting themselves as peaceful and obedient subjects to the Emperor Napoleon.

On the 20th of May, Charles, accompanied by his royal consort, arrived at Fontainebleau, where his majesty was immediately provided with a complete equipage for the chase; and from thence they removed two days afterwards to Compiègne. The Prince of the Peace took up his residence at a chateau in the environs of Paris. The unfortunate Ferdinand, with his uncle and brother, arrived on the 19th of May at Vallency, a small town in the province of Berry, where they were lodged in a castle belonging to M. Talleyrand, and where the prince sought consolation in a strict observance of the ordinances of the catholic religion.

Abounding, as the annals of mankind do, especially in these latter and portentous times, in examples of treachery, perfidy, and violence, it would be difficult to point out one deed, which, in every part of its performance, in its own nature, or in the character of the means by which it was carried into execution, bore such strong and infamous marks of atrocity as this. The first act of sovereign power exercised by Napoleon over the Spanish nation, was contained in an imperial decree, addressed to the council of Castile, in which, after stating that the king and princes of the Bourbon line had ceded their rights to him, he commanded that the assembly of the notables should be held on the 15th of June, at Bayonne; that the deputies should be charged with the expression of the sentiments, wishes, and complaints of their constituents, and with full power to fix the basis of a new government. The Grand Duke of Berg was to continue in the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom; and the ministers, council of state, council of Castile, and all civil, ecclesiastical, and military authorities, were to remain un-

* RIAL—A Spanish coin of the value of five-pence farthing English.

† Prince, you have only to choose between cession and death.

changed. On the same day Bonaparte addressed a proclamation to the Spanish nation, in which he assured the people that his sole object would be to relieve the sufferings he had so long witnessed, by renovating their monarchy. For this purpose he had convened a general assembly of their deputies, and would place their illustrious crown on the head of one resembling himself; that thus, by uniting the salutary power of the sovereign with a just regard to the liberties of the people, their latest posterity might celebrate him as the restorer of their country.

In the mean time, the most dreadful disorders prevailed in Madrid; the inhabitants had been in a state of agitation and alarm ever since the entrance of the French troops and the departure of the royal family. The French were daily insulted; numerous assemblies were held by the people; and every thing indicated the approach of a dreadful explosion. On the morning of the 2d of May, immense multitudes collected in the principal streets of the capital. Rendered confident by their numbers, they attacked the French troops with great vigour and resolution, and after forcing them to retreat, obtained possession of their cannon. With these they succeeded in forcing their enemies out of the city, with great slaughter. Besides this regular and concentrated attack on the great body of the military, wherever a French soldier was discovered, he was instantly cut down or shot. The great street of Alcala, the Sun-Gate, and the Great-Square, were the principal scenes of the early success and of the subsequent massacre of the inhabitants. The alarm was no sooner given, than the French repaired to their posts, and the large reinforcements which poured into the city overwhelmed the insurgents. The principal object with the French army was the street Alcala, in which were collected upwards of ten thousand people. Against this and the neighbouring streets and squares, thirty discharges of artillery were directed with murderous effect; these were followed up by the cavalry; the people, routed and dismayed, took refuge in the houses; and the French soldiers, irritated to the highest degree by their previous defeat, followed them into their retreats and took signal vengeance on the insurgents. The place where the Spaniards made the most vigorous defence was the Store-house of Artillery, which, besides ammunition, contained upwards of ten thousand stand of arms. Thither Murat sent a detachment to take possession of the Arsenal, but he found it occupied by a number of the inhabitants and Spanish artillery-men, under the command of

two brave officers of the names of Doaiz and Velayde. A twenty-four pounder, charged with grape-shot, placed at the gate of the Store-house, in front of a long and narrow street, made dreadful havoc amongst the French column as it advanced, and obliged the commander to send to Murat for reinforcements. Two other French columns then advanced, and after attacking the small garrison on both flanks, repeatedly summoned it to surrender, but the brave and resolute commanders refused to listen to the proposition, and their constancy remained unshaken to the last moment of their existence. After the engagement had raged for some time, Velayde was killed by a musket shot, and Doaiz had his thigh broken by a cannon ball; this hero still continued to give his orders with the greatest composure, till he had received three other wounds, the last of which put an end to his glorious career. The command of the Arsenal now devolved on a corporal of artillery, who, sensible that all further resistance would be unavailing, agreed to capitulate. About two o'clock the firing ceased in all parts of the city, in consequence of the personal interference of the council of Castile, who paraded the streets with many of the Spanish nobility, escorted by a body of Spanish soldiers and French imperial guards intermixed. The inhabitants of Madrid now flattered themselves that the carnage was at an end, but in the afternoon, Murat issued general orders to his army for the immediate formation of a military tribunal, of which General Grouchy was appointed president. Before this tribunal all persons were brought who had been made prisoners in the early part of the day, and, after a summary trial, three groups of forty each were successively shot, in the Prado, by the hands of the military executioners. In this manner was the evening of the 2d of May spent by the French at Madrid. The inhabitants were commanded to illuminate their houses for the safety of their oppressors; and through the whole night, the dead and dying were to be seen lying in heaps upon the blood-stained pavement. When the morning arrived, the military tribunals resumed their functions, and for several successive days the feelings of the inhabitants of the capital were outraged by judicial murders. The numbers slain on the 2d of May on the side of the people must have been immense; and it is stated, on the authority of an eye-witness, that the insurrection was not quelled till after most of the French soldiers actually in the city at the time of its commencement, were put to death.*

This effort of the citizens of Madrid, which ought to have roused the Junta to a sense of their duty, produced directly the opposite effect,

* Authentic particulars of the events which took place at Madrid on the 2d of May, 1808, by an Englishman.

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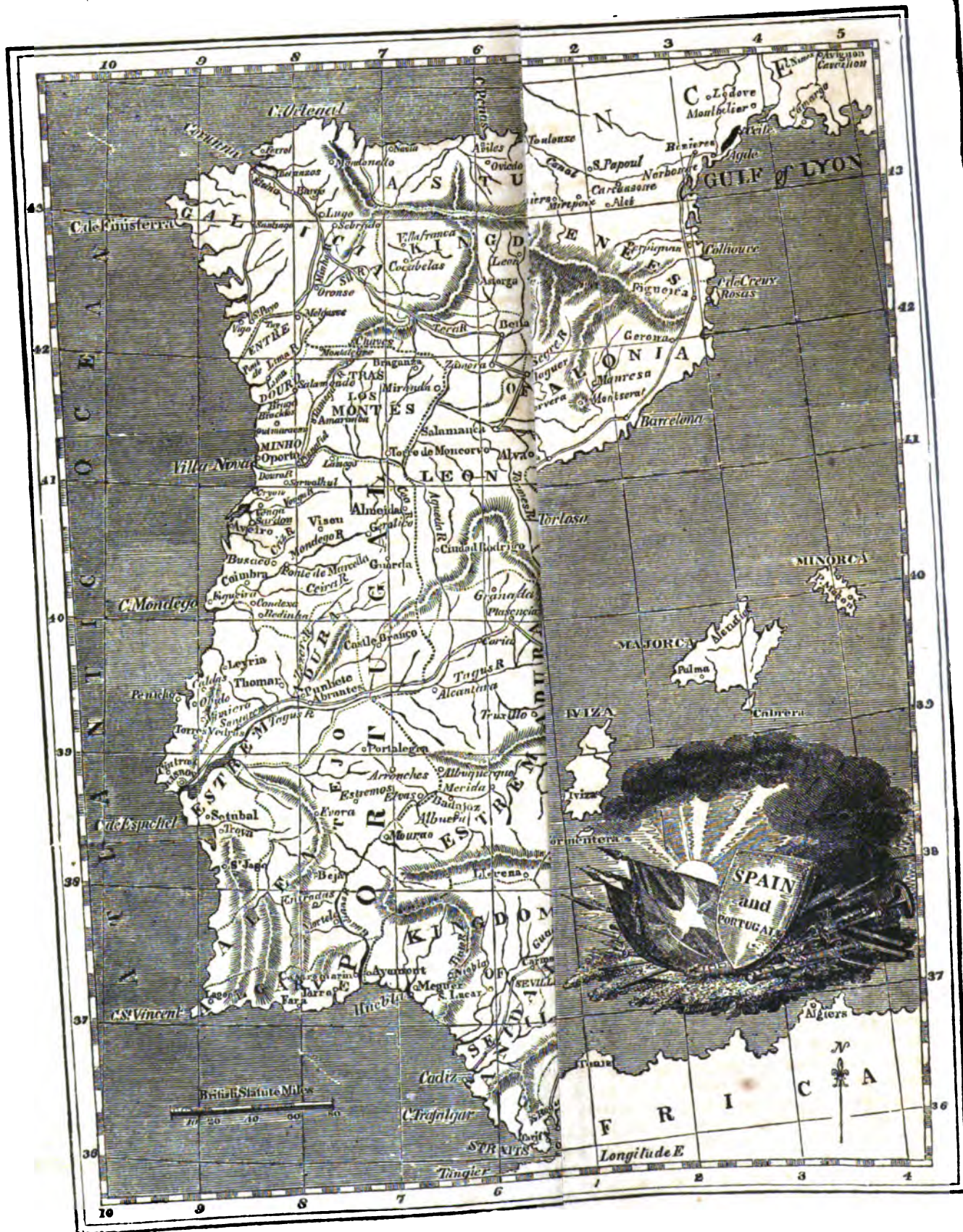
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and bent them completely to the will of Murat. At their sitting on the 4th of May that commander was present, and after detailing the circumstances of the insurrection of the 2d, pointed out the necessity of vigorous measures to restrain the turbulent spirit of the populace. The Junta, professing an anxiety to prevent the recurrence of similar calamities, decreed, that the presidentship of their body should be offered to his imperial and royal highness the Grand Duke of Berg, and that all their members should conform to his ordonnances. But it was not the Junta only who deserted the cause of their country and enlisted themselves on the side of their invaders and oppressors; the council of the supreme and general Inquisition also exhorted the Spaniards to quiet and unresisting submission. This council, though the spirit of the times, and the growing policy or humanity of its members, had deprived it of a great part of the dread and horror formerly attached to the exercise of its power, still, unfortunately for the Spanish nation, possessed an extensive, penetrating, and powerful influence over the kingdom. The Inquisition was therefore an engine too fit for their purpose to be overlooked or unemployed by the French authorities, and its obsequiousness was as propitious to the wishes of Murat, as its nature and power were conducive to his designs. Through his influence these holy Inquisitors addressed a circular to all the courts of the kingdom, in which they accused the Spanish people of having occasioned, by their factious disposition and outrageous violence, the disturbances and bloodshed of the 2d of May. This violence they represent as having been offered to friendly officers and soldiers, who injured no one; but who, on the contrary, preserved the most rigorous discipline, and towards whom they were bound by the laws of hospitality to behave with attention and friendship. The indulgence in these lawless excesses, it is added, tends only to destroy the principles of subordination, and to weaken the just and salutary confidence of the people in the supreme power. "These truths, so important at all times, and so eminently and peculiarly necessary at a period of violence and tumult," says the supreme court of Inquisition, "can by none be impressed with more propriety and beneficial effect than by the ministers of the religion of Jesus Christ, which breathes nothing but peace among men, and subjection, humility, and obedience to all that are in authority."

Even the feeble king was obliged to act his part in repressing the zeal and spirit of his people, and in pointing out to them the heinous crime of rising against their enemies or oppressors; and the last paper to which he set his hand and seal before he abdicated the throne, was filled with remonstrances and upbraidings against his subjects, for having risen in the hope of defending that independence which he had so pusillanimously sacrificed. This proclamation is signed by Charles, but the language in which it is written, the spirit which it breathes throughout, and the counsel which it gives, could have proceeded from none but an agent of Bonaparte. He cautions them against that spirit of faction which would arm them against the French, and to which spirit he attributes both the calamities of his own family and the recent disturbances in Madrid. He assures them that his sole object at Bayonne is to concert, along with the Emperor of the French, efficient measures for their welfare; and concludes with calling on the Spaniards to trust to his experience: to obey that authority which he holds from God and his fathers; and to follow his example, in thinking that there is no prosperity or safety for their country, but in the friendship of their ally.

Thus, to all appearance, had Bonaparte completely succeeded in accomplishing his views upon Spain. He had proceeded with caution and deliberation; but the great object of his crooked policy seemed now to be consummated. The crown of Spain was conveyed to his family by all the forms of regal transfer; and the members of the old dynasty were safe in the interior of France, removed from all chance of disturbing his future plans, or of serving as the rallying point of resistance and independence. The Spaniards, thus deserted by the royal family, stripped of part of their army, and guarded and oppressed by a numerous, well-disciplined, and watchful enemy, saw the most distinguished public bodies, to whom they had been accustomed to look up with veneration and confidence for example and advice, not only forsake the cause of their country, but actually invite the nation to receive the invaders as friends. Bonaparte, elated by his success, regarded his work as complete, and those to whom the virtues of the Spanish nation were known, lamented to see them destined to pass under the yoke of this unprincipled and selfish conqueror.



CHAPTER VI.

CAMPAIGN IN THE PENINSULA OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL:—*Formation of the Juntas, and general Burst of Patriotism throughout the Provinces of Spain—Declaration of War against France, and Restoration of Peace with England—Succours afforded to the Spanish Patriots by Great Britain—Surrender of the French Fleet at Cadiz—Defeat and Capitulation of the French Army under General Dupont—Gallant Defence of Saragossa—Battle of Rio Seco—Operations in Biscay—Repulse of the French Army at Valencia—Joseph Bonaparte proclaimed King of Spain by Napoleon—Sketch of the New Spanish Constitution—Entrance of Joseph Bonaparte into Madrid—His precipitate Retreat from that Capital—Installation of the Supreme Junta—Failure of the Spanish Armies in their Efforts to drive the French beyond the Pyrenees—Liberation of the Spanish Troops in the Baltic under the Marquis de la Romana—Conference at Erfurth—Letter from the Emperors of France and Russia to the King of England—Failure of the Negotiation consequent thereon—Situation of the French and Spanish Armies in the Peninsula at the Beginning of November—Defeat and partial Dispersion of the Army under General Blake in Biscay—of Count Belveder's Force in Estramadura—and of the Army under General Castanos on the Ebro—Advance of Napoleon to the Capital of Spain—Fall of Madrid—Disposition of the Spanish Colonies.* **CAMPAIGN IN PORTUGAL:** *Situation of that Kingdom—Oporto wrested from the French—Arrival of a British Expedition under Sir Arthur Wellesley off the Coast of Portugal—Debarcation of the British Troops—Battle of Roleia—Battle of Vimeira—Convention of Cintra—Sir John Moore appointed Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in the Peninsula—Advance of the Expedition under his Command to Salamanca—Perilous Situation—Disastrous Retreat—Battle of Corunna—Death of Sir John Moore—Embarkation of the Troops—Termination of the Campaign.*

SCARCELY was the renunciation of the royal family in favour of Bonaparte known in Spain, before the northern provinces burst into open and organized insurrection. Asturias and Galicia, the refuge of Spanish independence, when it fled before the Moorish power, set the glorious example; and it was soon followed by almost every part of Spain, not immediately occupied or overawed by the armies of France. One of the first steps taken by the leaders of the revolution was to form and assemble the Juntas, or general assemblies of the provinces, who immediately issued proclamations, calling upon the Spaniards to rise in defence of their sovereign and their liberties. In these proclamations every topic was insisted on which could awaken the patriotism and rouse the indignation of the people: the long and prejudicial subserviency of Spain to the views and interests of the French government; the degradation and misery which this servility had produced; the treacherous behaviour of Bonaparte to Ferdinand; and the consequences which must necessarily result from the execution of his designs; were strongly

insisted upon. The nation was called upon, by every thing they held dear; by the dignity and glory long sustained by the Spanish name; by their attachment to their religion, their country, and their sovereign; by every tie that bound them to the liberty and happiness of themselves and their posterity; to arm themselves with energy and courage, to prevent, by their powerful and unanimous interference, the infamous and complete ruin with which they were threatened by the common enemy of the independence and happiness of the human race. The crimes of which Bonaparte had been guilty were placed before their eyes in all their horror; the fatal consequences which had uniformly resulted from the apathy and indifference of the people, in the countries he had already conquered, were urged as holding forth the most powerful and urgent reasons for the union of the Spanish nation, in the great and glorious cause of resisting his oppression, and preventing their country from being sunk into that state of degradation and slavery, which had overwhelmed so many of the other states of Europe,

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The Junta to whose proceedings most attention is due, is that which was assembled at Seville. Madrid being in possession of the French, it became necessary that some other principal city should take the lead in issuing directions respecting the great and arduous contest in which the Spanish nation was about to be engaged, and no place seemed more proper than Seville. The constituted authorities of this place assembled on the 27th of May, 1808, and immediately formed themselves into a Supreme Junta of Government. After having proclaimed Ferdinand King of Spain, and taken possession of the military stores for the purpose of arming the people, they issued an order for all persons, from sixteen to forty-five years of age, who had not children, to enroll themselves. They also established inferior Juntas in every town within their jurisdiction, the population of which amounted to two thousand householders; and sent couriers to the principal places in Spain, inviting them to follow the example of Seville. But they principally distinguished themselves by their "precautions" which they issued, as proper to be observed during the struggle in which the nation was about to engage. The character of these precautions is that of clear and comprehensive thought, directed steadily and with success to the contemplation of the crisis in which Spain was placed; the principal difficulties and dangers to which it was likely to be exposed; and the most effectual means by which she might avoid or surmount them, and ultimately succeed in the object she had in view. They recommended in the strongest manner the careful avoidance of all general actions; and a strict adherence to the system of harassing and continual attacks on the detached and insulated bodies of the enemy's forces.

The Junta of Seville also issued a declaration of war against France, and proclaimed peace with England. Indeed the insurrection of the Spanish nation necessarily directed their thoughts and hopes to Britain, as the only country which possessed the power and the inclination to yield them assistance. One of the first measures adopted by the Junta of Asturias was, to dispatch two noblemen to this country, to represent to the British government the state of Spain, and the determined, unanimous spirit of her people, with a view to obtain countenance and support in behalf of their countrymen. In England, the cause of Spain fortunately united all parties. Whatever difference of opinion might exist respecting the probability of ultimate success, all were cordially agreed in the persuasion that every kind of assistance should be afforded to the Spaniards. They had taken up arms to oppose the common enemy, and to maintain their own independence, and therefore were

friends to Britain. The cause of the Spaniards was viewed with zeal, satisfaction, and sympathy, by those members of parliament whose general system of politics was in direct opposition to the measures of the existing government; and his majesty's ministers, speaking in the name of their sovereign, gave assurances in parliament that they would afford every assistance in their power to the Spanish patriots.

The requests made by the Asturian deputies were not for men; of these they affirmed they had a sufficient supply, but they were in a great measure destitute of arms, ammunition, and clothing. Fortunately, the principal ports in the Bay of Biscay were in possession of the patriots; and into these were sent, by fast-sailing vessels, immense supplies of every thing the Juntas of Galicia and Asturia required. Intelligent and experienced officers were also dispatched, in order to learn accurately the disposition and strength of the Spaniards, to communicate directly with the Juntas, and to transmit to our government such information as might enable them to concert and direct the assistance they were disposed to afford, in a manner most agreeable to the Spanish nation, and most conducive to the success of their cause. As it was highly probable that British troops might be needed, they were held in readiness to embark. In short, nothing was wanting, on the part of the ministry or of the nation, to inspirit the patriots, and to convince them that every assistance within the power of Britain would cheerfully be granted.

The great commercial city of Cadiz was one of the first to show its zeal for the patriotic cause. A French squadron of five ships of the line, and two frigates, lying in the harbour, was obliged, on the 14th of June, to surrender to the Spanish arms, under General Morla, after having sustained a cannonade and bombardment from the batteries for three days, while the British fleet, under Admiral Purvis, stationed off that port, prevented its escape.

The importance of preserving the French fleet at Cadiz, and the probability that it would fall into the hands of the Spaniards, had induced Murat to dispatch General Dupont from Madrid, with a considerable force, to the south of Spain. Scarcely, however, had this general passed the Sierra Morena, before he heard of the surrender of the French fleet, and the disposition of the people soon convinced him that it would be unsafe to advance farther towards Cadiz. After pushing on to Cordova, of which he obtained a temporary possession, he measured back his steps to Andujar. The Spanish General Castanos, who, at the commencement of the insurrection, was stationed in the camp of St. Roche, marched at the

head of the Andalusian army against General Dupont. After several partial actions, in which the Spaniards uniformly succeeded, either in repelling the attacks of the French, or in forcing them to fall back, and by which Castanos had brought his raw troops into habits of activity, firmness, and discipline, it was determined in a council of war, held on the 17th of July, that an attack should be made on the town of Baylen, where the van of the French army was posted. At three o'clock in the morning of the 19th, while the troops of the Spanish General Reding were forming for the march, General Dupont with his army attacked the Spanish camp in the vicinity of Baylen, opening a sudden and tremendous fire with his artillery; and so determined was the resolution of the French general to make a decisive impression on the Spanish line, that his attacks were renewed till twelve o'clock, with no other interruption or intermission but such as necessarily arose from the occasional recession and formation of new columns. At this period he seemed disposed to give up the attack; but before this resolution was taken, one other effort, led by General Dupont himself, and supported by his other generals, was made upon the Spanish lines, but with no better success. During these repeated, impetuous, and almost uninterrupted attacks, the Spanish line had been frequently penetrated in different parts; and the French had more than once succeeded in arriving at their batteries. But the Spanish army, with more coolness, intrepidity, and discipline, than might have been expected from raw and inexperienced levies, formed again with astonishing regularity, dismounted the enemy's artillery, and cut to pieces the attacking columns, at the same time that they varied their own positions and movements, in such a manner as to be constantly in a state of preparation, and able to repel the rapid advances of the enemy. This success of General Reding over the main body of the French army, led on by General Dupont in person, decided the fate of the day, and rendered unavailing the reinforcement of six thousand men dispatched from Madrid, under the command of the French General Wedel. Under these circumstances, Dupont proposed to capitulate, and on the 20th, the whole of the French army, comprising the division of Wedel, delivered up their arms, on condition that they should be embarked at Cadiz and sent to Rochefort. It appeared from the official returns, that the French forces, before the battle of Baylen, and exclusive of the division under General Wedel, consisted

of fourteen thousand men, of which number nearly three thousand were killed and wounded. The Spanish army consisted of twenty-five thousand men, one half of whom were peasantry, and their loss was stated at twelve hundred in killed and wounded. By this capitulation, the army of General Castanos not only freed the province of Andalusia, and the whole of the south-west of Spain, from the presence and devastation of the French, but opened themselves a ready path to the capital of the kingdom, and to a junction with their companions in arms.

The cause of the patriots in other parts of Spain proceeded in a manner equally favourable and successful. The principal armies which they had formed were placed under the command of generals distinguished for their bravery, and their zealous and unquestionable attachment to the cause of their country. The defence of Arragon was committed to General Palafox, whose bold and animating addresses had contributed to rouse his countrymen to arms.* Saragossa, the principal city of Arragon, was considered by the French as a place of so much importance, that they made repeated attacks upon that fortress, with all the forces they could spare. But the army of Palafox, animated to the highest degree by the wrongs of their country and the zeal of their leader, was fully adequate to defend the city, and to repel all the attacks with which it was assailed. Perhaps there are few instances in the annals of modern warfare, in which such persevering and successful courage has been displayed as by the defenders of Saragossa. The city was frequently bombarded in the midst of the night, at the same time that the gates were attempted to be forced under cover of the shells. The French, more than once, obtained possession of some parts of the town; but they were received with so much coolness and bravery, that they were never able to preserve what they had, with so much difficulty and loss, acquired. The women vied with their husbands, sons, and brothers, in the display of patriotism and contempt of danger; regardless of the fire of the enemy, they rushed into the midst of the battle, administering support and refreshment to the exhausted and wounded, and animating, by their exhortations and example, all ranks to such a display of firmness and bravery, as ultimately to secure this important city.

Another object of great importance to both the contending parties was to obtain possession of the principal road between Bayonne and

* "*Guerre au couteau*"—War, blade to blade—was the favourite motto of Palafox, and in these words he replied to the summons of the French general to surrender the city.

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Madrid. Cuesta was the Spanish general appointed by the Junta to command the army destined to secure that important object. This army consisted partly of peasants and partly of regular troops, which had been collected from different parts in the north of Spain. Lasoles was the French general dispatched by Marshal Bessieres for the same purpose. The hostile armies met on the 14th of July, at Rio Seco, near Valladolid. The French force consisted of ten thousand infantry, two thousand cavalry, and a large portion of cannon: that of the patriots amounted to fourteen thousand infantry, but they were nearly destitute of cavalry: a body of peasantry was also attached to the regular troops, the army was supplied with twenty-six pieces of cannon. The new levies, led on by their ardour and impetuosity, were not to be restrained by the command of their general; they rushed forward as soon as they came near the French, and at the first onset drove them back, and took and spiked four pieces of cannon. Unfortunately, however, the nature of the country, which was level and open, and the consequent advantage which the French gained in their superiority in cavalry, prevented the Spanish army from securing and maintaining their advantage, and obliged them to retreat to Benevento under the cover and protection of a regiment of carabineers, leaving behind them thirteen pieces of cannon. On this occasion the French suffered so severely that they were not able to pursue the Spanish army, nor even to take possession of Rio Seco till several hours after the battle.

At the very commencement of the Spanish insurrection, the patriots had gained possession of most of the sea-ports in the Bay of Biscay; and the Bishop of St. Andero, not content with the influence of his exhortations, had set them the example of active and vigorous patriotism. By his means, numerous and well appointed bodies of men were raised, who marched, with the bishop at their head, in search of such divisions of the French army, in that part of Spain, as they might have a reasonable chance of subduing. But, as the French at Bayonne were sensible of the importance of gaining possession of these ports, both for the purpose of keeping the English supplies from reaching the patriots, and of conveying along the coast reinforcements and supplies to their own army, they dispatched a considerable body of men who took possession of St. Andero. Their triumph, however, was of short duration: in consequence of the advance of General De Ponti with a division of ten thousand men from the Asturian army, the French detachment, afraid of having their retreat cut off, evacuated the town precipitately, having previously committed every kind of depredation and outrage.

One of the most formidable and well appointed corps which Bonaparte had introduced into the interior of Spain, was that which, under the command of Marshal Moncey, directed its march towards the province of Valencia. This province presents strong natural barriers against invasion, which were defended by a body of troops of the line and a considerable number of the inhabitants; but the French marshal, by a rapid movement, and a sudden and impetuous attack, succeeded in forcing a passage over the mountains, and immediately advanced to the city of Valencia. On the arrival of Moncey in the precincts of the city, he dispatched a flag of truce, promising protection to persons and property, provided the French army were permitted quietly to enter and occupy the city. To this summons the inhabitants replied, that it was their unanimous resolution not to admit the enemy on any terms, but to defend the place to the last extremity. On receiving this answer, the French prepared immediately for the attack; and fortunately for the Spaniards, they directed their first and principal efforts against the gate of Quarte, which had been fortified in the strongest and most careful manner. Anticipating the attack at this place, the military and armed inhabitants of the city were drawn up in a broad street, which runs directly in front of this gate: so favourable an opportunity for throwing the enemy into confusion, and effecting their destruction with little risk or danger, was not to be neglected; the gate was accordingly thrown open, a twenty-four pounder having been previously placed opposite the entrance; the fire of this piece of artillery fully answered the expectations of the gallant Valencians; the French were soon discovered to be in complete confusion, and they were ultimately obliged to relinquish the attack. In the evening another attempt was made upon a different gate, but here also the enemy were received with so much coolness and bravery, that they were under the necessity of desisting from their purpose, and soon after commenced a precipitate retreat.

Amidst the universal and instantaneous burst of resistance made to the French yoke, through the various provinces of the Spanish empire, it was not to be expected that the capital would remain in a state of tranquil submission. Murat, fully aware of all that had taken place in the different parts of the kingdom, and of the impression which these events had produced on the people of Madrid, thought it prudent to withdraw his forces from the capital, and to station them on the Retiro, an eminence at a little distance, sufficiently elevated to protect him from a sudden attack, and to give him, in some measure, the command of the city.

While the Spanish troops were every-where successful, and preparing themselves for new

victories; while the insurrection was rapidly spreading and organizing itself in every province—Bonaparte remained at Bayonne, directing or receiving the deliberations of the Junta which he had convened, and drawing up a constitution for a people who felt so little gratitude for the intended boon, that it every day became more probable that the constitutional statute could not be forced upon their acceptance. In the early part of the month of June, Joseph, the brother of Napoleon, having taken leave of his good subjects of Naples, arrived at Bayonne, and was announced as the future monarch of Spain. Here he was received with the most abject adulation by deputations from the *grandees* of Spain, and from the Council of Castile. In the conference held with the deputies of the supreme court of inquisition, their future monarch assured them, that he considered the worship of God as the basis of all morality, and of the general prosperity; that other countries allowed of different forms of religion, but that he considered it as the felicity of Spain, that she had but one, and that the true one!

As soon as the new constitution had been submitted to the Junta assembled at Bayonne, and received the approbation of that body,* Joseph Bonaparte, accompanied by his principal ministers, among whom were some of the most distinguished names in Spain, set out for the capital of his unconquered kingdom; Murat, on the plea of bad health, having previously quitted that city and arrived at Bayonne. Under the protection of ten thousand men, Joseph

arrived in safety, on the evening of the 20th of July, at Madrid, where he was crowned, amidst the gloom and hatred of the inhabitants. On the very day the new king entered the capital, Dupont surrendered himself and his army prisoners to Castanos. As soon as this news reached Madrid, Joseph and his court found themselves compelled to seek their safety in flight, consoling themselves however by carrying off the regalia and plate belonging to the crown. No time, indeed, was to be lost; the army of Castanos, after having defeated Dupont, was marching with rapid and unopposed steps towards the capital; and Bessieres, alarmed for the safety of his troops, had given up his intention of proceeding towards Portugal, and was measuring back his steps to the French frontier. In this situation, Joseph Bonaparte, on the 27th of July, found himself under the necessity of quitting the capital, and of pushing forward as rapidly as possible towards Burgos.

Thus, within the space of two months, did the people of Spain behold their country almost entirely freed from the presence of the French: and this glorious and happy issue had been accomplished by their own intrepidity, at a time when their situation was most dispiriting and forlorn; when their king had been compelled to forsake them, and to make over his right to the throne to a foreign potentate; when they beheld themselves surrounded on all sides by the troops of the usurper, they rose in arms and opposed themselves, unskilled as they were in war, and totally unprepared for the contest, to a power

* The Spanish constitution formed at Bayonne is arranged under thirteen titles, and comprises one hundred and seventeen articles: The first title regards the religion of the state, and declares that "the Catholic-Apostolic and Romish religion is the predominant and sole religion of Spain and its dominions; none other shall be tolerated." The second, "That Prince Joseph Napoleon, King of Naples and Sicily, is King of Spain and the Indies." The third, fourth, fifth, and sixth, relate to the minority of the king—the property of the crown—the officers of the royal household—and the ministerial appointments. The seventh regards the senate, which is composed, 1st, of the *infantes* of Spain, being eighteen years of age; 2d, of twenty-four individuals specially appointed by the king. By title eight, it is provided that the council of state shall consist of not less than thirty, nor more than sixty members. Title nine regards the Cortes or Juntas of the nation, which are composed of a hundred and fifty members, divided into three states or orders, namely, those of the clergy, nobility, and people, to meet once at least in three years. The order of the clergy to consist of twenty-five archbishops or bishops; the order of the nobility of twenty-five nobles, who have the title of *grandees* of the Cortes; the order of the people of forty deputies from the provinces, thirty from the principal cities, fifteen from the merchants, and fifteen from the universities. The deputies from the provinces to be nominated by the same, in the proportion of at least one to three hundred thousand inhabitants. The sittings of the Cortes not to be public; their votes to be taken by ballot; neither the opinions or votes to be printed or published; any act of publication, in print or in writing, by the assembly of the Cortes, or the individual members thereof, to be regarded as an act of insurrection. By title ten, a colonial representation is appointed. The Spanish colonies in America and Asia to have deputies to the seat of government, charged to watch over their particular interests, and to serve as their representatives in the Cortes; these deputies, which are twenty in number, are to exercise their functions during the period of eight years. The eleventh and twelfth titles relate to the administration of justice; and title thirteen to general regulations. Under this latter head, it is provided, that there shall be a permanent alliance by sea and land, offensive and defensive, between France and Spain; the residence of every inhabitant of the Spanish territory is an inviolable sanctuary; it can only be entered in the day-time, and for a purpose commanded by law, or in execution of an order issued by the public magistracy. A senatorial commission of personal freedom, consisting of five members, to be chosen by the senate from its own body, and to this commission all persons in custody, and not brought to trial within a month from the day of their commitment, may appeal. The freedom of the press to be regulated, by a law passed by the Cortes, two years after the constitutional statute shall have been in operation.

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As soon as Joseph Bonaparte and the French army had quitted Madrid, the Council of Castile resumed the government, with professions of ardent attachment to the cause of their deposed monarch; but these professions were received with distrust by the patriots; and the government of the country still continued to be administered by the Junta of Seville. Under their direction a supreme government was formed from the Juntas of the different provinces, and on the 24th of September the solemn installation of this body took place at the palace of Aranjuez. In order to keep the civil concerns of the kingdom distinct and separate from those of a military nature, it was judged expedient to form a military Junta at Madrid: this assembly was composed of five generals, including Castanos and Morla, and the public mind was directed to its proceedings, with no inconsiderable degree of expectation and confidence.

Although the defeat of Dupont had been the signal for the general and speedy retreat of the different French corps, yet, after having formed themselves into one body and reached the confines of Navarre, they did not appear disposed to continue their retreat. Joseph Bonaparte remained with the army, but the principal command rested with Marshal Bessieres. About the beginning of September the French headquarters were at Logrono, while at the same time the different corps of the patriots were advancing in order to unite, and to force the French beyond the Pyrenees. The occupation of the line of the Ebro was of so much consequence to each party, that they both approached towards the banks of this river. The French force was rated at about forty thousand men; that of the Spaniards, which was now placed under the command of Palafox, Castanos, and Blake, at about one hundred thousand. Palafox and Blake, who commanded the eastern and western wings, pushed forward so as to throw the whole of the Spanish army into the form of a crescent; the two points of which stretched beyond the flanks of the enemy. While these generals manœuvred on the flanks, they trusted to the main and centre force, under Castanos, succeeding in routing the centre of the French. It was soon, however, discovered, that in point of generalship the enemy were much superior to their opponents: notwithstanding the great superiority in the numbers of the patriots, they could not, by the most rapid movements or the strongest pressure of their force, either make an impression on the centre of the French, or outflank them in such a manner as to compel their retreat. The French, indeed, found themselves under the necessity of abandoning Burgos, and of con-

tracting and concentrating their forces between Vittoria and Pampeluna. But within this space, and to the north side of the Ebro, in a country naturally strong, they bade defiance to the superior force, and the various manœuvres, of the Spanish generals, and the months of September and October passed without any decisive or important operations.

The inactivity of the Spanish armies, which excited alarm and apprehension in the bosom of many of their most ardent and sincere well-wishers in England, does not appear to have been considered in Spain itself as discouraging or unpropitious. An expedition, which had been fitted out under Sir Arthur Wellesley, for the purpose, it was supposed, of proceeding against Spanish America, was countermanded on the arrival of the news of the insurrection in Spain. This army, consisting originally of about nine thousand men, set sail from Cork on the 12th of July, and arrived at Corunna on the 20th of the same month. The battle of Medina del Rio Seco, had taken place a few days before, and the Spaniards were retreating in every direction. In consequence of this intelligence, Sir Arthur Wellesley offered the assistance of the force under his command to the Junta of Galicia; but that body, unintimidated by their late reverses, replied that they wished for nothing from the British government except money, arms, and ammunition. They expressed their firm conviction, however, that the army under Sir Arthur Wellesley might be of infinite service both to the Portuguese and the Spanish nation, if it were employed in driving the French from Lisbon.

The British government, anxious to assist the patriots in every way that would be most congenial to their feelings, and beneficial to their cause, next turned its thoughts to the Spanish troops which Bonaparte had drawn, under the pretence of securing Hanover, to the northern parts of Germany. This force, to the amount of eight thousand men, was stationed in the Danish island of Funen. A negotiation being entered into between their commander, the Marquis de la Romana, and the British Admiral Keats, in order to effect their liberation, the Spaniards seized the vessels and small craft on the coast, by which they were conveyed to Langeland, where they joined two thousand of their countrymen. Thus ten thousand Spanish troops were rescued from the power of Bonaparte, and after being supplied with every thing of which they stood in need, were landed on the northern coast of Spain, to support the cause of their country.

While Britain was thus forward and zealous in the cause of Spanish independence, the other nations of the continent gave no signs of a disposition to take advantage of the embar-

rasements of Bonaparte to rescue themselves from his power, or to recover the territories and honour they had lost in their wars with the French. The well known character of Bonaparte; the public manner in which he had pledged himself to place his brother on the throne of Spain; and, perhaps above all, the prospect of a war which would employ his soldiers; gave little reason to expect that he would forego his designs upon that country. On the 5th of September, soon after his return from Bayonne to Paris, a *senatus consultum* was adopted unanimously by the French senate, by which one hundred and sixty thousand men were to be raised for the augmentation of the army. This circumstance, combined with the report of the French minister for foreign affairs, in which it was stated that an army of two hundred thousand men was to be placed at the service of the war in Spain, sufficiently indicated that the insurrections in that country had not shaken his purposes. But it was to his troops, assembled at the periodical parade on the Carousel, that Bonaparte expressed his wishes and opened his plans:—"Soldiers!" said he, "after having triumphed on the banks of the Danube and the Vistula, you have passed through Germany by forced marches. I shall now order you to march through France, without a moment's rest. Soldiers! I have occasion for you. The hideous presence of the leopard contaminates the peninsula of Spain and Portugal! Let your aspect terrify and drive him from thence. Let us carry our conquering eagles to the Pillars of Hercules: there also we have an injury to avenge. Soldiers! you have exceeded the fame of all modern warriors. You have placed yourselves upon a level with the Roman legions, who, in one campaign, were conquerors on the Rhine, on the Euphrates, in Illyria, and on the Tagus. A durable peace and permanent prosperity shall be the fruits of your exertions."

Soon after Napoleon had arranged his military operations, he set out from Paris, to meet his confederates, the dependent German Princes and the Emperor Alexander, at Erfurth. The proceedings of this meeting were never suffered to transpire, but it cannot be doubted that one of its objects was to over-awe Austria, and to arrange the co-operation of Russia and the confederate states of the Rhine against her, if she attempted to avail herself of the war in Spain. Another determination and consequence of the conference at Erfurth was soon apparent. On the 21st of October a Russian officer and a French messenger arrived in England, with proposals from the two emperors to enter into a negotiation for a general peace.* The King of England, while he professed his readiness and his desire to negotiate a peace, declared, that though he was bound to Spain by no formal instrument, yet that he had in the face of the world contracted engagements with that nation, not less sacred than the most solemn treaties, and that the government acting on the part of his Catholic Majesty, Ferdinand VII. must be a party to any negotiations in which he might engage. To this the Russian minister† replied, that the Emperor Alexander could by no means admit the plenipotentiaries of the Spanish insurgents. He had already acknowledged King Joseph Bonaparte; the union of the two emperors was beyond the reach of all change, and was formed for peace as well as for war. The reply of the French minister,‡ as far as regarded the exclusion of Spain, was equally decisive, but his tone and manner were less decorous; it was impossible, he said, to entertain the proposal which had been made to admit to the negotiation the Spanish insurgents; and he inquired what the English government would have said, had it been proposed to them to admit the catholic insurgents of Ireland, with whom France, without having any treaties with them, had been in communication, had made them

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* LETTER

FROM THE EMPERORS ALEXANDER AND NAPOLEON TO THE KING OF ENGLAND.

"SIRE,—The present circumstances of Europe have brought us together at Erfurth. Our first thought is to yield to the wish and wants of every people, and to seek, in a speedy pacification with your majesty, the most efficacious remedy for the miseries which oppress all nations. We make known to your majesty our sincere desire in this respect by the present letter.

"The long and bloody war which has torn the continent is at an end, without the possibility of being renewed. Many changes have taken place in Europe; many states have been overthrown. The cause is to be found in the state of agitation and misery in which the stagnation of maritime commerce has placed the greatest nations. Still greater changes may yet take place, and all of them contrary to the policy of the English nation. Peace, then, is at once the interest of the people of the continent, as it is the interest of the people of Great Britain.

"We unite in intreating your majesty to listen to the voice of humanity, silencing that of the passions; to seek, with the intention of arriving at that object, to conciliate all interests, and by that means to preserve all the powers which exist, and to insure the happiness of Europe, and of the generation at the head of which Providence has placed us.

Dated Erfurth, October 12, 1808.

(Signed)

"ALEXANDER.
"NAPOLEON."

† Count N. de Romanzoff.

‡ M. de Champagny.

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promises, and had frequently sent them succours. The British minister,* in reply, without condescending to notice the topics and expressions insulting to his majesty and his allies, declared it to be his majesty's determination not to abandon the cause of the Spanish nation, and of the legitimate monarchy of Spain; to do which would be to acquiesce in an usurpation without parallel in the history of the world. To this note, dated the 9th of December, no official answer was returned either by the Emperor of France or Russia, and upon this point the negotiation terminated.

While the intercourse was carried on between the court of St. James's and the ministers of the two emperors, Bonaparte was by no means inattentive to the means of prosecuting the war in Spain with his utmost strength and energy. Before he left Paris for Erfurth, the march of his troops towards that country had begun, and it was continued without intermission during his absence. On his return, he addressed the legislative body, in a speech filled with his plans and expectations. He made known to them the perfect union of sentiment between himself and the Emperor of Russia, with respect both to peace and to war; and he assured them that they had determined to make sacrifices in order to procure for the hundred millions of men whom they represented, an early enjoyment of the commerce of the seas. That the relinquishment of his designs upon Spain was not one of the sacrifices intended to be made by Bonaparte, was announced in his resolution to depart in a few days, for the purpose of putting himself at the head of his armies; and by their means to crown the King of Spain at Madrid, and to plant his eagles on the forts of Lisbon.

At the beginning of the month of November, the centre army of Spain, commanded by Castanos, quitted its position on the line of the Ebro, and concentrated itself on the left bank of the Aragon, occupying a line from Villa Franca to Sanguessa. The army of Blake in Biscay, was stationed on the right wing of the French. The army of Estramadura, under the command of Count Belveder, which was placed at Burgos, expected to be joined by British reinforcements to the amount of twenty-nine thousand men, who were advancing from Portugal and Corunna, under Generals Sir John Moore and Sir David Baird. The force under the Marquis de la Romana had joined General Blake, and swelled his army to upwards of thirty thousand men. The united army of Castanos and Palafox was estimated at sixty thousand, and the army of Estramadura at

twenty thousand men. At the beginning of the same month the head-quarters of the French army were removed to Vittoria, and on the 8th, the Emperor Napoleon, accompanied by a reinforcement of twelve thousand men, arrived in that city. The corps of the Duke of Cornegliano was posted at Kafalla, the left wing of his army having its position along the banks of the Aragon and the Ebro; the division of the Duke of Echlingen was at Guarda; the Duke of Istria was at Muanda, while part of the corps formed the garrison of Port Pancuba. The heights of Durango were occupied by the division of General Merlin, who guarded the heights of Mondragon from the threatened attack of the Spaniards.

As the army under the command of General Blake was at some distance from the united force of Palafox and Castanos, the first offensive operation of the French was to interpose their force between the Spanish armies, and if possible to break in pieces the army of General Blake. On the 31st of October the French commenced the attack on the Spaniards at Lornosa: after a long and well-contested action, General Blake was obliged to fall back, with the intention of forming a junction with the Asturian army; and his retreat was conducted in the best possible order, without the loss of either cannon, colours, or prisoners. In his march he was joined by the Asturians, the troops of the north, and the fourth division of Galicia. The French pursued them with great speed; and on the third of November they took possession of Bilbao. General Blake had scarcely taken up his position, and concentrated his army at Valmaseda, when he received information that a division of the French army, amounting to ten thousand men, were proceeding along the heights of Ontara, in order to take by surprise and cut off a part of his force, which occupied that place. For the purpose of protecting this body, and turning the manœuvre of the French against themselves, he left his position at Valmaseda at break of day on the 5th of November, and by one o'clock came up with and attacked the enemy. This battle, which equalled in obstinacy and perseverance that of the 31st of October, terminated in the complete defeat of the French, who were routed with great slaughter, and lost a considerable number of prisoners. On the 11th the battle was renewed; when, unfortunately, the left wing of General Blake's army, which was composed of the Asturians, sustained a complete rout, and a general retreat became unavoidable. The consequence of this disaster was fatal to the Spaniards; they were thrown into extreme con-

* Mr. Canning.

fusion, and a large portion of the army began to disperse. On the following day General Blake fell back on Reynosa, one of the strongest positions in the chain of mountains which stretch from east to west, along the boundary of the province of Biscay. There he intended to have concentrated his forces, and to have made a stand against the enemy. But it was the plan of the French to allow him no respite or intermission, until they had succeeded in rendering his army ineffectual, by dispersion or slaughter; and they did not quit the attack, or give up their pursuit, till they had disqualified the Spanish general for taking any formidable share in the subsequent operations of the campaign.

At the time that one part of the French army was attacking General Blake in Biscay, another part of the enemy's force directed its course towards the city of Burgos. The Duke of Istria led on the cavalry, and the Duke of Dalmatia the infantry, which Bonaparte dispatched to the attack of the Estramaduran army at that place. Three attacks were made on the city; in the two first the French were repulsed with considerable loss; at the third attack, which took place on the 10th of November, the issue was for a long time doubtful; the Spanish forces bravely resisted, and for thirteen hours repelled the assailants; but at last, by the great superiority of their numbers in point of cavalry, the French succeeded in compelling them to leave Burgos, and to retreat to Lerma. The enemy continued the pursuit with undiminished vigour, and the remains of the Estramaduran army, after undergoing many hardships, at last formed its headquarters at Segovia.

Bonaparte, having thus succeeded against the patriotic armies in the north-west of Spain, suddenly and unexpectedly directed his efforts against the forces under Castanos, on the Ebro. For this purpose the divisions of Ney and Victor were dispatched, with a celerity unusual even in the movements of the French army, from Burgos towards Villa Franca. The first advances of the enemy against Castanos took place on the 21st of November, with twelve thousand infantry, and four thousand cavalry, on the lines of Coma. In consequence of this movement, the Spanish general fell immediately back, and occupied a position from Tarragona to Tudela, the troops of the army of Arragon resting upon the latter place. On the 23d, three columns of the enemy were perceived marching in the direction of Tudela, and by eight o'clock in the morning he had occupied all the points of attack. Part of the field of battle was commanded by heights, which Castanos had neglected to occupy. Of this oversight the French took advantage, and at the same time penetrating the centre of the Spaniards, completely decided

the fortune of the day. One division of the Spanish army was successful and compelled the enemy to retreat; but, following the pursuit too far, they were taken in the rear by a part of the French army, which had penetrated through Tudela to the right. The Spaniards, thus broken into separate divisions, could not support each other, and a retreat became unavoidable. It is difficult to ascertain the exact loss sustained by Castanos in this engagement; but the French assert that the fruits of their victory were five thousand prisoners; and that four thousand Spaniards were left dead upon the field.

Thus, in the short space of three weeks, were the grand armies of Blake, Castanos, and Count Belveder, on which the principal hopes of the Spanish nation rested for the defence of the capital and the north of Spain, defeated, and in a great measure dispersed. In this, as in all his other campaigns, Bonaparte acted upon one simple principle; he brought his whole force to bear upon one well-chosen point; forced his way through the line in that quarter, and after having defeated one of his adversaries, directed his attention towards the weakened, alarmed, and dispirited remainder. This system, so much resembling Lord Nelson's naval tactics, he found equally successful, whether directed to the attack of a post, or the combination of entire campaigns. During these disasters of the Spanish army, the troops which had been sent by Great Britain to the aid of the patriots were not far enough advanced either to support their allies, or to oppose any efficient check to the progress of the enemy. Sir John Moore, with about fifteen thousand men, arrived at Salamanca on the 14th of November. Sir David Baird was at Astorga at the same time, with about fourteen thousand men: and a brigade of ten thousand men, under General Hope, were on their route towards Madrid. In consequence of the rapid advances and successes of the French, General Hope, after having reached the Escorial, found it expedient to retreat, and form a junction with Sir John Moore: and upon the latter receiving intelligence of the defeat of the army of Castanos, all the British forces began their retreat, but the two divisions soon after resumed their respective positions at Astorga and Salamanca.

On the 22d of November, eleven days after the battle of Tudela, the emperor removed his head-quarters from Burgos, and marched against Madrid, by the direct road of the Castiles. The van-guard of the enemy's army arrived at day-break on the thirtieth at the foot of the Somo Sierra. The Puerto, a passage of this mountain, was defended by a division of from twelve to fifteen thousand Spaniards, and

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by a battery of sixteen pieces of cannon. After an animated resistance, the Spaniards, finding themselves too weak to withstand the powerful army to which they were opposed, sought safety in flight, leaving their cannon in the hands of the enemy. On the 2d of December, Bonaparte, preceding the main body of his army, arrived, with his cavalry only, on the heights that overlook the capital of Spain. Instead of the order generally perceived on approaching fortified towns, where all the circumstances of the war are foreseen; instead of that silence, which is only interrupted by the deep and lengthened call of "*Sentry, take heed*," the bells of the six hundred churches of Madrid were heard ringing in continued peals, interrupted only by the piercing cries of the populace and the quick roll of the drum. The inhabitants of Madrid had only thought of their defence eight days before the arrival of the French armies, and all their preparations were marked by precipitation and inexperience. One of Marshal Bessieres' aides-de-camp was sent in the morning to summon Madrid, but when it was known that he was the bearer of a proposal for the city to submit to the French, he narrowly escaped being torn to pieces by the enraged inhabitants, and owed his life to the protection of the Spanish troops of the line. At nine o'clock in the morning of the 8d the cannonade commenced. Thirty pieces of cannon, under the command of General Cenaront, battered the walls of the Retiro, while twenty other pieces, and some light troops, made a false attack in another quarter, for the purpose of distracting the attention of the patriots, and of obliging them to divide their forces. In less than an hour the four thousand Spanish regulars who defended the gardens of the Retiro were overthrown; and at eleven o'clock the French soldiers occupied the important posts of the Observatory, the China Manufactory, the Great Barracks, and the Palace of Medina Cœli. The cannonade then ceased, and another envoy was sent into the city to demand its surrender. At five o'clock in the afternoon, General Morla, chief of the Military Junta, and Don B. Yriarte, deputed from the city, departed for the head-quarters of the emperor with the French envoy, and were conducted to the tent of the Prince of Neufchatel. In the mean time the inhabitants refused to lay down their arms, and continued to fire upon the French from the windows of the houses, surrounding the public walk of the Prado. Fifty thousand armed inhabitants, without any discipline, ran about the streets, vociferating for orders, and accusing their leaders of treason. The Captain-general, Marquis of Castellar, and other military men of rank, quitted Madrid during the night of the third, with the regular

troops, and sixteen pieces of cannon. On the 4th of December, at six o'clock in the morning, another deputation was dispatched from the city to the tent of the Prince of Neufchatel, and at ten o'clock the French troops took possession of Madrid.

It is impossible to review the affairs of Spain without lamenting the contrast which they exhibited in the months of August and December. At the former period, every thing connected with the cause of the patriots was bright and cheering: the French armies were flying in every direction, defeated by raw and undisciplined levies, or reduced to the necessity of submitting to capitulation. The sovereign who had been placed on the throne of Spain, after the nominal occupation of Madrid for a few days, fled in the most precipitate manner at the approach of the Spanish armies. At that period, the whole kingdom of Spain, with the exception of the frontier provinces of the north, was freed from the presence of French troops; and those which remained, reduced in numbers, and dispirited by their flight and defeats, were under the necessity of acting solely on the defensive. In the month of December, what a reverse does the picture present! The armies of Blake, Castanos, and Belveder, had been defeated and dispersed; the capital was again in the possession of the enemy; his immense armies, constantly increasing, spread themselves over the whole of the north and the centre of Spain; while the whole remaining hope of the patriots rested with the southern provinces, and with the troops that might be able to collect and rally in the other parts of the kingdom.

While Bonaparte was carrying on his schemes against Spain, he was not inattentive to her valuable possessions in America. No sooner had he procured from Charles and Ferdinand the abdication of the throne in his favour, than he sent dispatches by different fast-sailing vessels to their principal settlements. Fortunately most of these vessels were taken by the British cruisers, so that before the dispatches of Bonaparte appeared, the inhabitants of Spanish America were accurately informed of the events which had occurred in the mother country; of the treachery and violence which had been employed against the sovereign and his family; and of the insurrection of the "universal Spanish nation" against the French invaders. On the arrival of such of the vessels as had escaped the British cruisers, the crews were seized and imprisoned. Hostilities were declared against France in the Spanish West Indies, and in many parts of the main. Ferdinand VII. was proclaimed; the English were received and treated as friends, and voluntary contributions

in aid of the patriots were raised and transmitted to Europe.

Two grand objects occupied the mind of Bonaparte, and gave birth to most of his acts of atrocity and violence in the peninsula of Spain and Portugal; the aggrandizement of his own family, and the exclusion of British commerce from the continent; in order to further the accomplishment of these objects, Spain was deprived of her legitimate monarch, and made the seat of a sanguinary war; and the Prince Regent of Portugal was driven to seek a safer throne in the Brazils, while Portugal was over-run by the army of Junot, Duke of Abrantes.* From the deep-rooted aversion of the Portuguese to the French, Junot soon discovered that his situation in Lisbon was by no means desirable, and that all his exertions would be required to preserve the public tranquillity. By the constant and vigorous blockade of the port, the inhabitants began to experience much inconvenience, and were threatened with all the horrors and calamities of famine. Trade was entirely destroyed; money was so scarce that there was no sale for any goods but those of the most pressing necessity; scarcely any merchants paid their bills, or accepted those which were drawn upon them; the India House was shut up; and every thing bore the appearance of gloom and despondency. From all these causes, the minds of the people were excited to an extreme state of irritation; disturbances frequently took place in the city; and in the surrounding country assassinations were daily committed.† The hoisting of the French colours aroused the populace against their invaders; and the soldiers were obliged to fire repeatedly upon them before they could be compelled to disperse.

It is highly probable, however, that the French force would have eventually brought the inhabitants of Lisbon under complete subjection, notwithstanding the pressure of the calamities from inadequate and dear provisions, and from the total stagnation of trade under which they laboured, had not the Spaniards armed themselves in such a general and determined manner against the tyranny and the designs of Bonaparte. The news of this insurrection soon reached Portugal; the inhabitants of Lisbon, kept in awe and subjection by the army of Junot, were prevented at first from manifesting their joy at the intelligence. At Oporto, however, circumstances were more favourable to the wishes and the efforts of the Portuguese. A considerable body of Spanish troops occupied that city; as soon as they were made acquainted

with the occurrences in their own country, and had learnt that their services were required to avenge the captivity of their monarch, and to regain the independence and tranquillity of Spain, they determined to quit Oporto for the purpose of swelling the patriotic ranks of their countrymen. But, before their departure, they took the French general and all his staff prisoners, and delivered up the government of the city to Louise D'Oliveira, who had filled that office before the arrival of the French. As soon as the governor had resumed his functions, he ordered the Portuguese flag to be hoisted, and opened a friendly communication with the captain of an English frigate, which was cruising off that port.

The conduct of Oporto served as an example for the other parts of Portugal, and nearly the whole of the north of that kingdom rose in arms against the French. The inhabitants of the south do not appear to have come forward so generally, nor in so open and determined a manner, being kept back, in some measure, from their vicinity to the army of Junot, and by a strong and numerous French party among themselves. No sooner were the French expelled from the northern provinces of Portugal, and the authority of the Prince Regent re-established, than provincial Juntas, similar in their character and functions to those in Spain, were formed. Of these assemblies, that which met at Oporto exerted itself with the greatest zeal and effect in increasing and directing the enthusiasm and patriotism of the people, and in the establishment of such regulations and orders as the peculiar circumstances of the country demanded. After having taken the necessary steps for raising and supporting their army, the Junta of Oporto turned their attention towards England for assistance and support; and the army of Sir Arthur Wellesley, which had, in the first instance, been offered to the Spaniards, ultimately disembarked in Portugal. Destined to the profession of arms, and educated in the military academy at Angers, the commander of this expedition, now in the 40th year of his age, had served at Ostend, in Holland, and in Denmark; but he had particularly distinguished himself in India, in the Mahratta war with Scindiah,‡ while his brother, the Marquis of Wellesley, was governor-general, and had exhibited indications of those talents, by which, in the subsequent prosecution of his military career, the sceptre of Charlemagne was to be wrested from the grasp of its possessor, and Europe was to be liberated from a military

* See Vol. II. Book IV. Chap. V. Page 60.

† General Junot's Proclamation prohibiting the use of fire-arms.

‡ See Vol. I. Book III. Chap. III. Page 443.

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despotism, extending in its power or influence from the Tagus to the Baltic sea.

The force sent to Portugal under Sir Arthur Wellesley consisted of nearly nine thousand men, and was subsequently augmented, by reinforcements from the south of Spain, under General Spencer; from England, under Generals Anstruther and Ackland; and from the Baltic, under Sir John Moore. On the arrival of the expedition at Oporto, on the 24th of July, the commander-in-chief was informed by the bishop, that the Portuguese force in that quarter was sufficient to repel the attacks of the enemy; and after a consultation with Sir Charles Cotton, the British admiral stationed off the Tagus, Sir Arthur Wellesley determined to effect a landing in the bay of Mondego, having previously given orders to General Spencer to join him at that place. It was at the same time determined, in concert with the Junta of Oporto, that five thousand Portuguese troops should co-operate with the British army against the enemy, while the remainder of the native forces continued in the neighbourhood of Oporto. Before the disembarkation of the troops, the British general received advice from government, that five thousand men, under Generals Anstruther and Ackland, were proceeding to join him, and that about eleven thousand more, under Sir John Moore, lately returned from the Baltic, would speedily be dispatched for the same purpose.

About the same time, he received information that the army of General Junot, consisting of about twenty thousand men, had been considerably weakened, owing to that general having found it necessary to dispatch General Loison with about six thousand troops into the province of Montejo, to quell an insurrection in the south of Portugal. This information induced Sir Arthur Wellesley to commence the disembarkation of the troops without delay; soon after they had landed, the force under General Spencer arrived, and, on the 9th of August, advanced with the main body from Mondego bay on the road to Lisbon.*

Unfortunately a coolness arose between the Portuguese and the English generals, owing to a demand made by the former for a supply of provisions from the British stores, with which it was found impossible to comply, without exposing the British troops to insufficient and precarious sustenance. In consequence of this difference, the Portuguese troops separated from the English, but on the urgent representation of Sir Arthur Wellesley, and a promise on his part to supply them with provisions, one thousand regular infantry, four hundred light troops, and two hundred and fifty cavalry, joined the British army at Alcobaca, on the evening of the 14th, with Colonel Trant, and continued with him during the remainder of the operations. On the 15th the advanced guard of the British army

* ENGLISH AND FRENCH FORCE EMPLOYED IN PORTUGAL.

(From an Official Return, made in July, 1808.)

ENGLISH.

Commanders.		
<i>Sir Arthur Wellesley</i>	{ 5th foot, 1st bat. 990; 9th regt. 833; 38th regt. 957; 40th regt. 843; 60th regt. 936; 71st regt. 903; 91st regt. 917; 95th regt. four companies, 400; royal veteran battalion, 4 bats. 737; 36th foot, 1st bat. 647; 45th regt. 599. Also a detachment of the 20th light dragoons, about 300.	9,062
<i>General Spencer</i>	{ Artillery, 269; royal staff corps, 48; 6th regt. 1st bat. 1,020; 29th regt. 863; 32d regt. 941; 50th regt. 1,019; 82d regt. 991.	5,151
<i>General Anstruther's Brigade</i>	—9th regt. foot, 2d bat. 675; 43d regt. 861; 52d regt. 858; 97th regt. 769.	3,163
<i>General Ackland's Brigade</i>	—Queen's, 913; 20th regt. 689; 95th, two companies, 180.	1,782
<i>Sir John Moore</i>	(English)—4th foot, 1st bat. 1,006; 28th regt. 1,087; 79th regt. 913; 92d regt. 927; 95th regt. two companies, 300.	4,233
	(Germans)—3d light dragoons, 597; 1st bat. light infantry, 930; 2d bat. 916; 1st bat. line, 942; 2d bat. 770; 5th regt. 779; 7th regt. 697; 52d, 1st bat. 1,000; 18th light dragoons (to join) 640.	7,271
	One regt. under the command of Major-general Beresford (to join from Madeira.)	

Total British Force (of which 1,837 were cavalry, and 29,025 infantry).....30,602

FRENCH.

In Lisbon and the neighbourhood..... { Infantry 9,000
Cavalry 2,000
In forts south of the Tagus.....1,600
Troops marched to the eastern frontier of Portugal 1,700
Foreign infantry.....3,200

(Signed)

In other parts of Portugal.....3,000
One hundred and fifty Russians landed from each ship, and on duty at Lisbon. Very little French artillery in Portugal.

Total French Force.....20,500

G. W. TUCKER, Lieut.-Colonel.

came up for the first time with a party of the French at Ovidas, when a slight action took place, occasioned principally by the eagerness of the British to attack and pursue the enemy. On the 16th the army halted, and the next day Sir Arthur Wellesley formed the determination to attack General Laborde at Roleia. This place is situated on an eminence, with a plain at the end of a valley on its front. On the hills on both sides this valley the enemy had stationed his force, his right resting on the hills, the left on an eminence, and the whole covering and protecting the passes of the mountains which lay in his rear. The French force, thus strongly and advantageously posted, consisted of about six thousand men, with five pieces of cannon, and the British general having reason to believe that the right of the enemy would be strengthened by the arrival of a fresh force in the course of the night, under Loison, formed his plan of attack accordingly; the right, consisting of the few Portuguese auxiliaries, was appointed to turn the left of the enemy: the left, under the command of General Ferguson, was destined to ascend the hills, in order to turn the enemy's posts on the left of the valley; and the centre columns of the English army were ordered to act against the front of the enemy. By this judicious and skilful plan of attack, carried into execution on all sides with the utmost exactness and bravery, the French were soon driven from their position, and compelled to retire by the passes, into the mountains: their retreat they effected with great celerity, and without the least confusion or disorder. The British infantry in vain endeavoured to overtake them, and to complete the discomfiture which they had so successfully begun. As soon as the French reached the mountains, they occupied a very formidable position. All the passes were defended by the enemy, particularly that which was attacked by the 9th and 20th regiments. These regiments had advanced with so much rapidity, that they reached the front of the enemy's line before the arrival of the corps which had been dispatched to attack the flanks: a most desperate battle ensued, attended with very considerable loss on the side of the British; but at the close of the day the enemy was driven from all the passes of the mountains, which he had previously occupied, and part of the British troops reached the plains on their summit. The enemy, in order to cover the retreat of his defeated army, made three distinct, desperate, and gallant attacks upon the two regiments which first reached the mountains; in all of which he was completely repulsed; and his retreat might have been cut off, had the British army been supplied with the usual proportion of cavalry. The loss of the enemy in this action was very considerable, and three pieces of art-

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lery fell into the hands of the British. Our loss in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to nearly five hundred.

On the 18th the British army moved to Lourinha, in order to cover the debarkation of the troops under Generals Anstruther and Ackland, which took place on the 20th; and on the 21st they resumed their march towards Lisbon. Junot having been informed of the reinforcements which the British army expected under the command of Sir John Moore, resolved, notwithstanding the defeat of his troops at Roleia, on the 17th, to attack the British before their reinforcements arrived; for this purpose he left Lisbon with nearly the whole of his disposable force, amounting to about fourteen thousand men, and on the morning of the 21st came up with the army under Sir Arthur Wellesley, at Vimiera. This village stands in a valley, through which runs the river Maceira; on the west and north of the village is a mountain, the western point of which touches the sea, and the eastern is separated by a deep ravine from the heights, over which passes the road from Lourinha. The greater part of the British infantry, with eight pieces of artillery, were posted on this mountain, under Generals Hill and Ferguson. The riflemen, under General Fane, and the brigade of General Anstruther, were posted on a hill to the south-west of the village, and which is entirely commanded by the mountain on which the troops under Generals Hill and Ferguson were stationed. The cavalry and reserve of artillery were placed in the valley between the hills. Soon after the enemy appeared, it became obvious that his intention was to attack the advanced guard on the left wing; and the positions of the British army were immediately changed in order to repel the threatened attack. The French army, formed into several columns, began their attack upon the whole of the troops on the heights in the south-east quarter, and they advanced on the left, notwithstanding the fire of the riflemen, close to the fiftieth regiment; but they were checked and driven back by the bayonets of that corps. The 43d regiment, forming the 2d battalion, was likewise closely engaged with them in the road which leads to Vimiera, a part of that corps having been placed in the church yard, in order to prevent them penetrating into the town: here also the engagement commenced early in the day, and here again the enemy was repulsed by the bayonets of the 97th regiment, supported by the 52d regiment, which, by an advance in column, took the enemy in flank. On these points the British army had acted merely on the defensive; but General Anstruther, advancing for the purpose of occupying his position on the left, attacked their flank, which suffered severely from his

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fire, combined with the fire of the artillery, which was placed on the same heights as this brigade. The engagement on this eminence was long and obstinately contested; but at length the French were repulsed and thrown into complete confusion, leaving behind them in their flight seven pieces of cannon, and a great number of killed, wounded, and prisoners. A detachment of the 28th light dragoons pursued the retreating enemy, but owing to their superiority in cavalry, this detachment suffered much, and Lieutenant-colonel Taylor was unfortunately killed. Nearly at the same time, the enemy commenced an attack upon the heights on the road to Lourinha: a large body of cavalry supported this operation, which was begun with their usual impetuosity; Major-general Ferguson's brigade, consisting of the 36th, 40th, and 71st regiments, received this attack with steadiness. As soon as the enemy approached, they charged him in their turn, and again he gave way before the rampart of British bayonets with which he was resisted. As the enemy retreated, the British troops advanced, and in their victorious career, took six pieces of cannon, and a great number of prisoners. The last effort of the French was directed to the recovery of part of their artillery: for this purpose they attacked the 71st and 82d regiments, which had halted in the valley, where the captured artillery lay. The attack was so impetuous as to oblige the British regiments to retire from the low ground to the heights, which they had no sooner attained than they faced about and fired upon the enemy, and ultimately compelled him to retire from the valley with great loss, and without having accomplished the object of his enterprise.

In this action, in which the whole of the French force in Portugal was employed, under the command of the Duke of Abrantes in person; in which the enemy was certainly superior in cavalry and artillery, and in which not more than half of the British army was actually engaged,* the French sustained a signal defeat, and lost thirteen pieces of cannon, twenty-three ammunition waggons, and twenty thousand

rounds of musket ammunition, with about three thousand men killed, wounded, and prisoners; while the total loss of the British did not exceed eight hundred. The great superiority of the British troops in that most essential quality of a soldier—cool, steady, and persevering courage, was decisively and gloriously displayed throughout the whole of this memorable battle. The celebrated manœuvre, to which Bonaparte is indebted for all his victories—that of attacking by column, and endeavouring to break the line of his opponents, was attempted to be put in practice by Junot on the present occasion; but the attempt, though made with all the characteristic impetuosity of French tactics, completely failed. The British line remained firm and unbroken; and when they, in their turn, charged with the bayonet, they proved themselves as much superior to the French in attack as they were in defence. The enemy fled from the charge in dismay; and this, as well as every other battle in which the British have had recourse to the bayonet, proves, that with that weapon they are irresistible.†

Sir Harry Burrard had joined the British army on the morning of the battle of Vimiera, after the dispositions had been made, but before the action begun: with a feeling of delicacy towards Sir Arthur Wellesley, honourable to himself, he declined assuming the command till that general should have completed the operation which he had so well arranged. On the 22d, the day after the battle, Sir Hew Dalrymple, who had been ordered from his situation as Lieutenant-governor of Gibraltar, for the purpose of taking the command of all the different corps sent by the British government into Portugal, reached Cintra, the place to which the British army had moved. A very few hours after his arrival, a flag of truce came in from Junot, with a proposal for a cessation of hostilities, in order that a convention, by which the French should evacuate Portugal, might be settled and agreed upon. An armistice was accordingly signed by General Kellerman on the part of the French, and Sir Arthur Wellesley on behalf of the English, the principal articles of which formed the

* Sir Arthur Wellesley's Dispatches, dated Vimiera, August 22d, 1808.

† Of the many anecdotes relative to the battle of Vimiera, that prove and illustrate the honourable disposition as well as the personal courage of the British soldiery, two are especially worthy of being recorded. The French General Bernier, who was wounded and made prisoner, was rescued from the hands of the infuriated Portuguese by a Highland Corporal, of the name of Mackay, in the 71st regiment; the general, under an impulse of gratitude, presented Mackay with his watch and purse, but the gallant Caledonian declined to accept any remuneration from the hands of a fallen enemy, asserting that he had only done his duty. The other hero was an Highland piper in the same regiment; early in the action he received a desperate wound in the thigh, which prevented him from marching, but placing himself on the ground, he began to play his pipes with more than usual energy, exclaiming, "Weel, my bra' lads, I can gang nae farther wi' ye a-fighting; but deel ha'e me if ye sal want music!" and so saying, he continued, during the engagement, to animate the men with his martial music. Both of these heroes were rewarded, the corporal with a commission, and the piper, whose name was Stewart, with a handsome stand of Highland pipes.

basis of the convention of Cintra. By the definitive convention, so extraordinary in all its articles, it was agreed, that the English government should be at the expense of transporting the whole of the French army to any of the ports in France, between Rochefort and L'Orient. When the army arrived in France, they were to be at liberty to serve again immediately. All the property of the French army, as well as the property of the individuals, was to be sacred and untouched, and might either be sold in Portugal or carried off into France. The embarkation was to take place in three divisions; the first to sail within seven days from the date of the ratification of the convention. No native of Portugal was to be molested, or considered accountable for his political conduct, during the time the French had occupied that country; and such of them as were desirous of withdrawing into France, were to have full liberty to dispose of their property. When the insurrection in Spain first broke out, Junot had ordered a number of the Spanish troops, serving in his army, into confinement in the ships in the harbour, and in return for the delivering up of these Spaniards, the commander-in-chief of the British army engaged to obtain, from the Spanish Juntas, the release or restoration of such French subjects, either military or civil, as might have been detained in Spain, in consequence of the events that occurred about the end of May and the beginning of June. Respecting the Russian fleet, which by the articles of the armistice was to be allowed to depart from the Tagus without molestation, a convention was agreed to by Sir Charles Cotton, and Admiral Siniavin, the Russian admiral, by which the ships and stores were to be delivered up immediately, and sent to England; there to be held as a deposit, and not to be restored till six months after the conclusion of a peace between Russia and Great Britain. The Russian admiral, officers, seamen, and marines, were to be allowed to return to Russia, at the expense of the British government, without any stipulation with regard to their future services.

Had not the battle of Vimiera exhibited the most decisive evidence that the British army were victorious on that memorable day, the fact would scarcely have been deduced from the convention of Cintra. In Portugal, as well as in England, the terms of the convention produced loud murmurs and universal discontent. General Bernardin Freire, commander of the Portuguese troops, entered a formal protest

against the convention; and the coolness and alienation which had already so unfortunately taken place, were, by this means, aggravated to a degree nearly approaching to open hostility. On the 15th of September the French troops completed their embarkation, after a variety of discussions upon the execution of the convention; and on that day the kingdom of Portugal was completely freed from the presence of an enemy, who, for ten months, had inflicted upon the country the most severe calamities and privations.*

That the state and disposition of Portugal did not realise the public expectation, after the expulsion of the French, is evident from the large portion of the British army which remained in that country, at a time when their services were imperiously demanded by the situation of Spain. As the defeat of Junot and the liberation of Portugal were only mediate and not the final objects of the British expedition, as soon as that service was accomplished, the troops ought to have proceeded without delay to the assistance of the Spanish patriots. By sea they could not be sent, the transports being all occupied in restoring the conquered French army to their country. Instead, however, of compensating in some measure for the great length of time which a march by land would necessarily occupy, the troops did not begin their march towards Spain till two months after the ratification of the convention of Cintra, and even then, upwards of ten thousand men were left behind.

The fatal treaty by which the campaign in Portugal was terminated, drew after it a long train of disaster and disgrace. One of its first effects was to suspend all the operations of the army, and Sir Hew Dalrymple, Sir Harry Burrard, and Sir Arthur Wellesley, were all summoned to England, in consequence of the inquiry which it was seen proper to institute into that proceeding. The command of the British army was now vested in Sir John Moore—a general who had distinguished himself in the West Indies, in Holland, and in Egypt, and who had recently returned from Sweden, where he had been employed as commander-in-chief. No sooner had the command devolved upon Sir John, than the utmost activity was exerted to forward the expedition to Spain. The British army destined to act in favour of the Spaniards, and to assist in expelling the French invaders from that country, consisted of the troops which marched from Lisbon, on the 27th of October,

* The total number of French troops, &c. embarked from Portugal in virtue of the convention of Cintra, including the garrisons of Almeida and Elvas, amounted, according to the official returns made to the British government, to 24,735 men, 213 women, 116 children, and 759 horses.

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under the command of Sir John Moore,* and those which were sent from England, under the command of Sir David Baird.† The latter arrived at Corunna on the 13th of October, and Sir David Baird was astonished and disappointed to find that the Junta of Galicia at first refused him permission to land his troops; and when their tardy acquiescence was at length obtained, his reception was so extremely cold and dispiriting, that he was disposed to doubt whether the reluctance of the Spanish government, expressed in the first stages of their resistance to the French oppression, had yet been overcome. The same impression was made on Sir John Moore, when he arrived at Salamanca, on the 13th of November; and this officer wrote from that place to the British minister at Madrid, desiring him frankly to inform the Spanish government, that if they expected his army to advance, they must prepare themselves to pay more attention to its wants. The further Sir John Moore advanced into Spain, the more strongly was he impressed with the conviction, that the information upon the faith of which he had crossed the frontiers of Portugal, was utterly destitute of foundation. He had been officially informed that his entry into Spain would be covered by between sixty and seventy thousand men;‡ but so far was this from being the fact, that he had now advanced within three marches of the French army, and not even a Spanish piquet had appeared to protect his front. All the principal Spanish armies were beaten and dispersed; Burgos was in possession of the French; and even Valladolid had been entered and occupied by their cavalry. Under these circumstances, Sir John Moore determined to retreat; but before he could put his determination into effect, he received a communication from Mr. Frere, the British Ambassador at Madrid, strongly urging him to advance to that capital, and presenting a highly coloured picture of the enthusiastic and determined spirit of the people, as well as of the ample resources of the country. This communication was speedily followed by a messenger, sent expressly by the Prince of Castelfranca, and General Morla, the Governors of Madrid, with a paper dated September 2d, bearing their signatures, as the organ

of the Supreme Junta. This paper was still more flattering in its representations of the zeal and resources of the Spaniards than even Mr. Frere's letter; and in an evil hour, the British general suffered his judgment to give way to the representations of the Spanish government and the English minister. Under this influence, he was induced to suspend his retreat and to order Sir David Baird to advance. After the main body of the army had been joined by General Hope's division, they advanced towards Valladolid, with the corps under Sir David Baird in their rear. Before they had proceeded a day's march on their route, Sir John Moore learnt, by an intercepted dispatch, that Bonaparte, who had entered Madrid on the 4th of December, was advancing towards Lisbon, and that a body of eighteen thousand men, under Soult, was posted at Saldana, on the banks of the Carrion. Sir John, anxious to meet the wishes of his troops, by leading them against the enemy, and willing to embrace any opportunity of benefiting the Spanish cause, quitted his route towards Valladolid, and, by a movement on the left, having effected his junction with Sir David Baird, advanced by rapid marches to the Carrion. Here the advanced posts of the two armies first met, and the superiority of the British cavalry, under Lord Paget, was eminently displayed in a most brilliant and successful skirmish. But just as Sir John Moore had issued his orders for the main body of the army to commence a general attack, and had requested the Marquis of Romana to co-operate with his forces, he received, from different quarters, information on which he could confidently rely, that Bonaparte in person was advancing with his army in order to get into the rear of the British; that the army which had been stationed at Talavera had moved forward to Salamanca, and that Soult himself had received strong reinforcements. There was now no alternative; a retreat had become indispensable, and the only difficulty lay in the route that ought to be pursued.

The numbers of the French army that were now dispatched against Sir John Moore amounted to upwards of seventy thousand. The corps of Soult, before it was reinforced, consisted of eighteen thousand men; the right

* Effective strength of the force which marched from Portugal under the command of Sir John Moore:

Artillery,	686
Cavalry,	912
Infantry,	17,745
	<hr/> 19,343

† Effective strength of the troops that marched from Corunna under Sir David Baird:

Artillery,	611
Cavalry,	1,538
Infantry,	8,573
	<hr/> 10,722

Total, as stated in the Adjutant-general's Report—30,065.

Of this force 715 men were left to keep open the communication with Portugal.

‡ Lord Castlereagh's Dispatch of the 30th of September, 1808.

flank of the British was threatened by Junot, who, liberated by the convention of Cintra from his perilous situation in Portugal, had now again advanced into Spain with fifteen thousand men; while Bonaparte, who had quitted Madrid on the 18th, with forty thousand troops, was at this moment advancing, with his usual rapidity, upon the British force. So rapid was the march of the main body of the French army, under Bonaparte, and so closely did they pursue Sir John Moore, that the advanced-guard of the enemy reached Tordesillas on the same day that the British began to retreat from Sahagun. At Benevente the cavalry and part of the artillery of Bonaparte's army came up with the rear of the British, and another skirmish took place, which terminated greatly to the glory and honour of the British cavalry, and in which the French General Lefevre, at the head of his chasseurs, was taken prisoner. This check served to convince Bonaparte that his main force could not come up with Sir John Moore before he had quitted Benevente; and the presence of the emperor being required in France, he committed the further prosecution of the pursuit to Marshal Soult, the Duke of Dalmatia, who, with three divisions under his command, was ordered to follow the British without intermission, and to effect their destruction.

The situation of the British army was at this time dispiriting in the extreme. In the midst of winter, in a dreary and desolate country, the soldiers, chilled and drenched by deluges of rain, and wearied by long and rapid marches, were almost destitute of fuel to cook their victuals, and it was with extreme difficulty that they procured shelter. Their provisions were scanty, irregular, and difficult of attainment; the waggons, in which were their magazines, baggage, and stores, were often deserted in the night by the Spanish drivers, terrified by the approach of the French. Thus, baggage, ammunition, stores, and even money, were frequently obliged to be destroyed, to prevent them falling into the hands of the enemy; and the weak, the sick, and the wounded, were necessarily left behind.* In the midst of these distresses, the Spanish peasantry offered no assistance, and shewed no sympathy; on the contrary, though armed, they fled at the approach of the English, carrying with them every thing that could alleviate their distress, or contribute to their preservation or comfort. Neither money nor threats could induce them to afford any relief or assistance. In short, the whole behaviour of the Spaniards, during the retreat of Sir John Moore's army, was calculated to add, in no trifling degree, to the dissatisfaction of the Bri-

tish, who saw themselves exposed to a superior force, and suffering under the most cruel privations, in the cause of men, who would neither stir in their own behalf, nor assist those who, on their account, were encountering these accumulated evils.

The difficulties and anxiety of the British commander were increased by the relaxation which took place in the discipline of his army. The disappointment which they experienced, in not being allowed to measure their strength with the enemy; the privations and distresses under which they laboured, in a retreat which they considered as a disgraceful and unnecessary flight; and above all, the indifference to their sufferings which the Spaniards uniformly manifested; contributed to weaken their habits of order and subordination. Sir John Moore, well aware of the consequences to which this want of discipline might lead, found himself reluctantly compelled to issue such orders as might unequivocally point out his sense of so great an evil; and as might, at the same time, express his unalterable determination to punish, in the most severe and exemplary manner, every future offender.

The French army was now pressing hard upon the British, and Sir John Moore, having previously dispatched General Crawford's division, consisting of three thousand men, to Vigo, came to the determination to halt at Lugo, at which place he arrived on the 5th of January, 1809, and to offer them battle; but Marshal Soult did not think it prudent to attack the British in the strong and judicious position they had taken up near this place. Sir John Moore, not judging it safe, either to act offensively, or to delay his retreat any longer, quitted his ground in the night of the 9th, leaving his fires burning to deceive the enemy. On the 11th the whole of the British army reached Corunna, with the exception of General Crawford's division, which had embarked at Vigo; but, unfortunately, the transports had not yet arrived, and the next morning, the French army, under the Duke of Dalmatia, were seen approaching Corunna. On examining the different positions in the neighbourhood, Sir John Moore determined to occupy a range of hills near the town, and on the 13th he made the following arrangement of his army:—One division, under General Hope, occupied a hill on the left, commanding the road to Betanzos; the divisions under Sir David Baird extended from this village, and bending to the right, the whole formed a sort of crescent; the rifle corps on the side of Sir David Baird formed a chain across a valley, and communicated with General Fraser's

* Sir John Moore's last Dispatch, dated Corunna, January 13th, 1809.

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division, which was drawn up near the road to Vigo, about half a mile from Corunna; and the reserve, under Major-general Paget, occupied a village on the Betanzos road, about half a mile in the rear of General Hope. On the 14th, in the evening, the transports appointed to convey the British army to their native shores, hove in sight. On the 15th the enemy advanced to the height opposite the British position. About noon, on the 16th, he began to place some guns in the front of the right and left of his line, and followed up this preparatory movement by a rapid attack upon the division of General Baird. When the enemy's line first began to assume a hostile attitude, Sir John Moore was employed in visiting the outposts, and in explaining to the general officers his plans for conducting the embarkation. Surprised, but by no means disconcerted by this intelligence, he flew to the field of battle, expressing his regret that the advanced hour of the day would not allow the British army to reap all the advantages of that victory which he felt assured now awaited them.

The first attack of the enemy was directed against the right wing of the British, and Sir John Moore, well aware that this was his vulnerable point, placed himself in front of the position, in order to animate and to direct the operations of his troops. Early in the engagement, Sir David Baird, the second in command, while leading his division, had his arm dreadfully shattered by a grape-shot, and was in consequence obliged to quit the field. An attempt was now made by the French to turn the right flank of the British line; but this manœuvre was completely defeated by the 4th

regiment falling back, and opening a flanking fire upon the assailants. Sir John Moore, after exclaiming—"that is exactly what I wished," rode up to the 50th regiment, and directed them to charge the enemy; this order they obeyed, notwithstanding the intervention of an inclosure in front, and the enemy was driven out of the village of Elvina with great slaughter. The general next proceeded to the 42d, who, being addressed by him in the flattering and proud words, "Highlanders, remember Egypt!" charged the French with irresistible impetuosity, and forced their ranks to retreat. The career of this gallant officer was now drawing to a close; and at the moment when Captain Hardinge was reporting to him that the guards were advancing to the assistance of the 42d, a cannon ball from the enemy's battery struck Sir John Moore, and carrying away his left shoulder and part of the collar bone, left his arm hanging to his body by the flesh. The violence of the stroke threw him to the ground; but so composed and unaltered was his countenance, and so intently was his mind fixed upon the advancing Highlanders, that for a few moments it was hoped that he was rather stunned than materially hurt by the shot. It was soon, however, discovered that the wound was mortal, and the expiring hero was prevailed upon to suffer himself to be removed to the rear. On his way from the field he ordered Captain Hardinge to report his wound to General Hope, who now assumed the command.* The soldiers, although aware of the situation of their chiefs, continued to support the contest with undiminished constancy. The attack of the French upon

* The particulars of the last moments of General Sir John Moore are thus related by his friend, Colonel Anderson:—"I met the general in the evening of the 16th of January conveyed off the field in a blanket and sashes. He knew me immediately, though it was almost dark, squeezed me by the hand, and said, 'Anderson, don't leave me.' He spoke to the surgeons on their examining his wounds, but was in such pain that he could say little. After some time he seemed very anxious to speak to me, and, at intervals, got out as follows: 'Anderson, you know that I have always wished to die this way.' He then asked, 'Are the French beaten?' which he repeated to every one he knew, as they came in. 'I hope the people of England will be satisfied!—I hope my country will do me justice!—Anderson, you will see my friends as soon as you can—Tell them—every thing—Say to my mother'...Here his voice quite failed, and he was excessively agitated.—'Hope—Hope—I have much to say to him,—but cannot get it out—are Colonel Graham—and all my aides-de-camp, well?—I have made my will, and have remembered my servants.—Colborne has my will,—and all my papers.'

"Major Colborne then came into the room. He spoke most kindly to him, and then said to me, 'Anderson, remember you go to —, and tell him it is my request, and that I expect he will give Major Colborne a lieutenant-colonelcy.—He has been long with me,—and I know him most worthy of it.' He then asked Major Colborne, 'if the French were beaten?' and, on being told they were on every point, he said, 'It's a great satisfaction to me to know we have beaten the French.—Is Paget in the room?' On my telling him, no; he said, 'remember me to him.—It's General Paget I mean—he is a fine fellow.—I feel myself so strong—I fear I shall be long dying.—It is great uneasiness—It is great pain.' He thanked the surgeons for their trouble. Captains Percy and Stanhope, two of his aides-de-camp, then came into the room. He spoke kindly to both, and asked Percy,§ 'if all his aides-de-camp were well?' After some interval, he said, 'Stanhope,||—remember me to your sister.' He pressed my hand close to his body, and in a few minutes died without a struggle."

§ The Honourable Captain Percy, son of Lord Beverley.

|| The Honourable Captain Stanhope, third son of Earl Stanhope, and nephew of the late Mr. Pitt.

the right of the British line was completely repulsed; and they were, in their turn, obliged to draw back their left flank, to prevent it from being turned. Their next attempt was against the centre: but here they were successfully resisted by Generals Manningham and Leigh. The last effort of the enemy was directed against the left of the British army, but they were almost instantly driven back with loss; and although the discharge of cannon, and the report of musketry, continued till night put an end to the operations, yet at four o'clock in the afternoon the English had taken up a position in advance, and victory was no longer doubtful.

When all the disadvantages under which this complete and brilliant victory was achieved, are taken into consideration, the honour which it reflects on the British arms will be duly appreciated. Exhausted and worn out by rapid marches over a country two hundred and fifty miles in extent, in the most inclement season of the year, destitute of food and shelter, and deprived by sickness and the casualties of war of ten thousand of their companions in arms—fifteen thousand British troops resisted and successfully repelled the attacks of an enemy amounting to at least twenty thousand men;* and while the loss of the British in the battle of Corunna amounted to from seven to eight hundred, the loss of the French is estimated at two thousand.

General Hope, aware of the approaching succours of the French army, and of the circumstances under which the British troops were placed, judged it advisable to proceed in the embarkation, for which indeed the preparatory measures had been taken by Sir John Moore. Accordingly, about ten o'clock on the night of the 16th, the troops quitted their position, and marched into Corunna, where the embarkation for England immediately commenced; and so well concerted were the arrangements, that during the night, and in the course of the following day, the whole army, including the sick and wounded, were placed on board the transports without molestation from the enemy.

As it had always been the wish of Sir John Moore to die upon the field of battle, so it had been his earnest request that he should be buried where he fell. This request, so congenial to the

mind of a general whose distinguishing characteristic it was to have "spent his life among his troops," was strictly complied with. At the solemn hour of midnight the corpse was carried to the citadel of Corunna by Colonel Graham, Major Colborne, and the aides-de-camp, and deposited in Colonel Graham's quarters. A grave was dug on the ramparts by a party of the 9th regiment, the aides-de-camp attending by turns. No coffin could be procured, and the body was never undressed, but wrapped up by the officers of his staff in a military cloak and blankets. At eight o'clock in the morning of the 17th the interment took place; the officers of his family bore the body to the grave; the funeral service was read by the chaplain; and the earth received the remains of the departed hero.

The benefits derived to an army from the example of a distinguished commander, do not terminate at his death; his virtues live in the recollection of his associates, and his fame remains the strongest incentive to great and glorious actions. Educated in the school of regimental duty, Sir John Moore at an early period obtained, with general approbation, that conspicuous station in which he gloriously terminated his honourable life. His country, the object of his latest solicitude, has reared a monument to his lamented memory, and at his death the commander-in-chief held him forth as an example to the British army.†

This first campaign in Spain was disastrous in the extreme; the object of the enterprise, which was to drive the French from that country, entirely failed, and the apathy of the Spanish government, and of the native armies, favoured the supposition, that the first burst of patriotism, which had astonished all Europe, was merely a momentary ebullition. The British troops lost much in their retreat, but in battle they lost nothing. The battle of Corunna, which closed the glorious career of the commander-in-chief, and the sufferings of his followers, will for ever live in the recollection of his grateful country. Like Wolfe, Sir John Moore fell in the meridian of life, and in the moment of victory; and like that general, his memory will never cease to hold a distinguished place in the military annals of his country.

* Narrative of the Campaign of the British Army in Spain, by James Moore, Esq.

† See General Orders, dated Horse-Guards, February 1, 1809.

CHAPTER VII.

FOREIGN HISTORY: *Mediation of Austria—Perilous Situation of Sweden—Subsidiary Treaty between Great Britain and Sweden—Invasion of Finland by the Russians, under Count Buxhövden—Surrender of Åbo and Björneborg to the Russians—Fall of Sveaborg—Armistice between the Russian and Swedish Forces—Unsuccessful Efforts of Sweden against Norway—English Army dispatched to the Baltic—Operations of the Squadron under Sir Samuel Hood—Predominant Influence of French Politics at the Court of St. Petersburg—Expulsion of the Swedes from Finland—Death of Christian VII. King of Denmark—Changes in Italy—Establishment of an Order of Hereditary Nobility in France—Nomenclature of the Court of the Emperor Napoleon—(note)—French Annual Exposé—Relations between the United States of America and the belligerent Powers of Europe.*

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THE year 1808 was ushered in by an offer from the Emperor of Austria to become the mediator of a general peace.* A similar offer had been made in the spring of the preceding year,† when the emperor proposed his amicable mediation to the courts of London, Paris, Berlin, and St. Petersburg, and invited them to open a negotiation for peace; intimating that any place in his dominions, remote from the seat of war, might be fixed upon for assembling the congress. To this proposal the British government acceded, provided that the proffered mediation was accepted by the other belligerents.‡ The affairs of the continent at this period were, however, such as to afford little expectation of the return of tranquillity, and seven months elapsed before any thing more was heard on the subject. The Prince de Stahremberg, the Austrian envoy extraordinary to the court of London, then transmitted another note to the secretary of state for foreign affairs,§ announcing, that he had received positive orders from his court, to make the most earnest representations on the importance of putting an end to the struggle which still existed between England and France, the effects of which might produce to the rest of Europe the most fatal consequences; and the emperor, therefore, officially and earnestly requested a formal assurance from the British government, of its readiness to enter into a negotiation for a maritime peace. To this proposal Mr. Canning replied,|| that his majesty was now, as he had at all times been, prepared to enter into a negotiation for the conclusion of such a peace as should be con-

sistent with his fidelity to his allies, and should provide for the tranquillity and security of Europe. On the 1st of January the Austrian ambassador transmitted another note, stating, that he was charged by his court to propose to the British ministry to send plenipotentiaries immediately to Paris, for the purpose of treating for peace with all the powers at war with England; and in order to avoid every species of delay, he was authorised by France to give passports to the ministers who might be appointed to that mission. Mr. Canning, in reply, expressed the regret of his majesty, that, after the correspondence in the month of April last, the present overture did not notify the acceptance of the conditions then stated, as indispensable preliminaries to a negotiation; and extended only to the powers combined with France in the war against Great Britain, and not to the allies of Great Britain in the war with France. It was further urged, that the Austrian ambassador had omitted to explain from whom he received his commission to propose that plenipotentiaries should be sent to Paris, whether from his imperial master, or from the government of France, and that no intimation was given of the basis on which it was proposed to treat; his majesty, therefore, could only repeat, that he was willing to enter into negotiations with France on a footing of perfect equality, embracing the interests of the allies of both powers; but under such circumstances, his majesty did not think it expedient to give the Austrian ambassador any authority to speak in his majesty's name to the government of France: as soon as the basis

* Note from Count Stahremberg to Mr. Secretary Canning, dated London, Jan. 1, 1808.

† Note from the same to the same, dated London, April 18, 1807.

‡ Note from Mr. Canning to Count Stahremberg, dated April 25, 1807.

§ Dated November 20, 1807.

|| November 23, 1807.

was settled, his majesty would be prepared to name plenipotentiaries, but he would not again consent to send them to an hostile capital. Four days after the date of this answer, the Prince de Stahrenberg demanded his passports. At the same time Mr. Adair, the British envoy at Vienna, quitted that capital, in consequence of an intimation from the Austrian government; and in a declaration of war issued by the Emperor Francis against England, on the 18th of February, 1808, it was asserted, "that it was impossible not to perceive, in the course pursued by the British ministry, a disposition to remove the possibility of peace to a greater distance, and not to listen to whatever had any tendency to restore the tranquillity of Europe." Thus was the house of Austria added to the number of the enemies of Great Britain; but the local circumstances of the two countries, and their mutual apprehension of the power and influence of France, served to give to the contest the character rather of nominal than of real hostility.

The influence of the treaty of Tilsit upon the affairs of the north of Europe soon began to unfold itself; and Russia, now become the willing instrument of French policy, not only withdrew from her alliance with Sweden, but prepared to attack that country as soon as the season of the year would admit of hostile operations. Denmark, which, by the bombardment of her capital, and the seizure of her fleet, had been thrown completely into the arms of France, viewed Sweden, as the ally of England, with feelings of hostility and disgust. These feelings were increased and exasperated by the suspicion that Sweden had approved of the attack on Copenhagen, and had been by no means indisposed to occupy the island of Zealand, when it was left by the English. In this perilous situation, the King of Sweden, threatened with an invasion of the southern part of his dominions by the joint forces of Denmark and France, and with an attack on Finland by his powerful neighbour, the Emperor of Russia, it became the evident duty, as well as the interest, of Great Britain, to assist her weak but firm ally by every means in her power. Accordingly, on the 8th of February, 1808, a convention was entered into between his Britannic Majesty and the King of Sweden. By this subsidiary treaty it was mutually agreed, that Great Britain should pay to the King of Sweden the sum of twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling, in equal instalments of one hundred thousand pounds a month; this sum was to be employed by Sweden in putting in motion all her land forces, with her flotilla, and such part of her fleet as might be deemed necessary. By a separate article, the respective sovereigns agreed to arrange and concert, as speedily as circumstances

would allow, the measures which ought to be adopted, and the auxiliary forces which Great Britain should send into the Baltic, whenever the war between Sweden and Russia, or Denmark, should actually take place.

A very short time after this treaty was entered into, and before the rigours of a northern winter had subsided, the Russian troops, to the amount of forty thousand, crossed the frontier of Finland, and proceeded without interruption as far as Helsingfor; and this hostile measure, which was undertaken without the previous formality of a declaration of war, the Emperor of Russia attempted to justify on the ground that Sweden had refused to co-operate with him in a war against England, provoked by the hostile aggression committed by that power against the King of Denmark. This charge was not denied by Gustavus Adolphus, who admitted that, by the terms of the treaties existing between Sweden and Russia, he was bound to avenge the violation of the Baltic in the attack on Copenhagen; but, before he co-operated for this purpose, he called upon the Emperor of Russia to procure the liberation of the coast of that sea from the presence of the French army, and to open the German harbours to English vessels.

The declaration of Denmark against Sweden, which was issued on the 29th of February, dwelt at great length, and in very emphatic language, on the attack on Copenhagen. While all the rest of Europe resounded with cries of indignation at this atrocious crime, committed against a neutral and unoffending state. Sweden alone preserved a total silence; and had actually renewed her alliance with a power which threatened the neutrality of the Baltic and the ports of Zealand with her armaments. Under these circumstances, Denmark found herself compelled to adopt entirely the resolutions of Russia in respect to Sweden, and to declare that she would not separate her cause from that of her august and faithful ally. The answer of the King of Sweden to the Danish declaration of war was simple and satisfactory. The relations of the two countries were merely those of peace; they were not united for war. When, therefore, in 1806, Sweden, Russia, and Prussia, were leagued against France, Denmark preserved her neutrality without being called upon by Sweden to assist her in the war. From this circumstance, the King of Sweden was persuaded that the naval force of Denmark would not be employed for the interest of his kingdom, and after the treaty of Tilsit, he had every reason to fear that Denmark, overawed or persuaded by Russia and France, would direct her fleet against him. With these impressions and apprehensions, the King of Sweden did not think him-

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self called upon to interfere when England attacked Copenhagen.

Count Buxhovden, to whom the chief command of the Russian army in Finland was confided, had scarcely crossed the frontiers, before he issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, assuring them that the Russian army did not enter their country as enemies but as friends; and that the object of the emperor was to render Finland more prosperous and happy by incorporating that state with the Russian empire. The army which was sent by the King of Sweden to the defence of Finland was commanded by Count Klingspor, a general of uncommon talents and skill. On him Buxhovden endeavoured to prevail, by means of bribes and promises, to betray the cause of his master; but the Swedish general remained firm and unshaken in his integrity, loyalty, and zeal. But although the Swedes were unassailable by the weapons of corruption, they were by no means in such force as to enable them to oppose, with any prospect of success, the first advances of their enemies; and within a month after the invasion of Swedish Finland, Abo, the capital of that province, fell into the hands of the Russians. Biörneberg soon shared the fate of Abo; and Count Klingspor, finding the Swedish army too weak to sustain the contest, fell back upon his resources. This retreat, continued for upwards of four hundred English miles, through a country almost without roads, and deeply covered with snow, has been compared to the celebrated retreat of Moreau from Germany; and the Russians, disappointed in their attempt to surround or cut off Klingspor, returned from the pursuit towards the southern part of Finland.

The next place against which the Russians directed all their means, both of artifice and force, was Sveaborg. This city, from the great strength of its natural position, aided by the works which have been raised for its defence, has justly been called the Gibraltar of the north. The bombardment commenced at the beginning of April, but without much injury either to the houses or to the forces: few of the garrison were either killed or wounded, and not more than one-third of the ammunition had been expended, when the Swedish governor, not without strong suspicions of treachery, agreed to surrender the place into the hands of the enemy. After the capture of Sveaborg, the Russians advanced into the north of Finland, and in many places, particularly at Wasa, they committed the most atrocious and barbarous cruelties. For a short time, however, the Swedes were enabled to act on the defensive, and to drive the Russians back into the south of Finland, but these successes were only of a temporary nature; the Russian army suffered more from want of provisions than

from the partial victories gained over them; and when, by their vicinity to the more fertile part of the province, which borders on Russia, they had been recruited and supplied, they were again enabled to advance against the Swedes with a very superior force. Klingspor, after having performed the part of an able and skilful general, found himself obliged to conclude an armistice with the enemy, by which it was stipulated, that the operations in Finland should be suspended, and that they should not be renewed without eight days previous notice.

Gustavus Adolphus was not more successful against Norway. His first efforts against the unprepared Norwegians were attended with some success; but as soon as the peasantry had put themselves in a state of preparation, and obtained the co-operation of the regular forces, they were enabled not only to defend their own territory from the eruptions of the enemy, but also to act offensively and successfully against the Swedes.

Amidst the difficulties with which the King of Sweden was surrounded, Great Britain was not unmindful of the assistance which she had engaged to afford him. An English army, consisting of about twelve thousand men, arrived at Gottenburgh on the 17th of May; but after having remained on board the transports for several weeks, the troops returned to England without having been disembarked. The Swedish monarch, enraged at the refusal of Sir John Moore to expose his troops to loss and dishonour, without the smallest probability of benefitting the cause in which they were to be engaged, put the English general under arrest, and it was not without some difficulty that he effected his escape on board the British fleet. The squadron which was sent to the Baltic by the English government, under the command of Sir Samuel Hood, having joined the Swedish Admiral Naukhoff, with the Centaur and Implacable, sailed, on the 25th of August, in quest of the Russian fleet. On the day following the Russians were discovered off Hango Udd. The British ships out-sailed their allies; and about five o'clock on the following morning, the Implacable brought the Sewolod, of seventy-four guns, to close action. In the course of twenty minutes the enemy's ship was completely silenced, and her colours struck. The British commander used every manœuvre to bring on a general action, but the Russian admiral, aware of this intention, took refuge in the port of Rogerswick. The Russian ship which had engaged with the Implacable, grounded at the entrance of the harbour, and an attempt was made by Sir Samuel Hood in the Centaur to bring her off, but owing to the shallowness of the water, it was found impossible to get her

affoat. Sir Samuel Hood, finding all his endeavours fruitless, took the prisoners out of the Russian ship, and set fire to her. As soon as the Russian squadron had entered the port of Røgerswick, the men were employed in fortifying the harbour against the attacks of the combined fleet, and so successful were their exertions, that every attempt to injure the Russian ships proved ineffectual.

The influence of the French Emperor had now become predominant in the court of Russia. Of the nature and extent of that influence there were many proofs. Caulincourt, the Duke of Vicenza, was sent to St. Petersburg as the French ambassador, and his diplomatic talents were unremittingly exerted to guard the mind of the Emperor Alexander from every consideration which could interfere with the views of his master. Under this influence, the interests of Russia were sacrificed, and in order to inflict a feeble blow on English commerce, the Russian nobility were deprived of the means of disposing of the produce of their estates. The English merchants who remained at St. Petersburg were continually harassed with new restrictions, and exposed to every indignity and insult which the French ambassador thought proper to suggest. He alone possessed the confidence of Alexander, whom, sometimes by the allurements of pleasure, and at others by obscure threats of his master's vengeance, he managed with that facility which a man of experience and superior mind will always possess over one with less energy of intellect and less stability of character.

The King of Sweden soon became sensible of the influence which Bonaparte had exerted at the famous conference at Erfurth over the mind of Alexander. Scarcely had the emperor returned to St. Petersburg before orders were sent to his generals to renew the war in Finland, and the Swedes, incapable of withstanding the overwhelming force brought against them, were reduced to the necessity of negotiating a convention, by which they agreed to evacuate Uleaborg, and to retire to the west side of the river Kiemi, the utmost limit of Finland. Thus terminated a campaign, during the whole of which the Swedish army behaved with the greatest bravery, but in which the inferiority of their numbers obliged them finally to succumb to the northern Autocrat.

The French, who had passed over to the islands in the Baltic, for the purpose of invading the southern part of Sweden, soon discovered, that while the British and Swedish fleets kept possession of that sea, their project was impracticable. The Danes, however, continued to attack our merchant ships with great success, sometimes from the negligence of the British convoys, but more frequently from the frigates

not being able to injure the gun-boats. Christian VII., the King of Denmark, died this year, in a fit of apoplexy, and was succeeded by his son, the Prince Royal, who was immediately proclaimed King of Denmark and Norway, by the name of Frederick VI. The deceased monarch had long laboured under a mental infirmity, which rendered him totally incapable of all public business, and his death neither occasioned any sensation in Denmark, nor produced any change, either in the domestic policy or in the foreign relations of that kingdom.

The same spirit of personal ambition and of implacable hatred towards England which gave rise to the attack on the independence of Spain, induced Bonaparte, this year, to make considerable changes in the affairs of Italy. Under the plea that the temporal sovereign of Rome, as he stiled the pope, had refused to make war against England, and that the two kingdoms of Naples and Italy ought not to be divided by the intervention of a hostile power, he decreed, that the ecclesiastical duchies of "Urbino, Ancona, Macerata, and Comerino, should be forever united with the kingdom of Italy." The pope, in reply to some former aggressions of France, having appealed to his spiritual power and authority, Napoleon, in the decree of annexation, turned the arguments of his holiness against himself, by resting his own rights on those of his predecessor Charlemagne. At the same time that the territories of Rome were incorporated with the kingdom of Italy, Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, were annexed to the empire of France. The reasons assigned for this change proceeded on the usual principles of French policy; it was expressly declared that the whole coast of the Mediterranean sea must form a part of the French territory, that the Adriatic ought to be considered as naturally belonging to the kingdom of Italy; while the kingdom of Naples, lying on both sides, must be regarded as a distinct state, subject, however, to the same federative system, and to the same state policy. At the time of making these arrangements, Bonaparte also fixed the settlement of the kingdom of Italy. He adopted his son-in-law, Eugene Beauharnois, as his own son, and settled that kingdom upon him in tail male. It was at the same time expressly stated, that the right which Eugene received by adoption should never in any case authorise him or his descendants to bring forward any claim or pretension to the crown of France, the succession of which was irrevocably fixed. The kingdom of Naples was bestowed upon Joachim Murat, brother-in-law of the French Emperor, after Bonaparte had thought proper to call Joseph Napoleon to the throne of Spain.

While these changes were taking place in

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Italy, an order of hereditary nobility was created in France; and it was expressly declared that hereditary distinctions are, in some measure, essential to monarchical government. Thus, after all the storms of the revolution, was France rapidly returning to that state in which she was placed before the foundation of the republic.*

The exposition of the state of the French empire, which was laid before the legislative body in the beginning of November, was distinguished by an annunciation that the trial by jury, on the exact principles of the English law, should, in future, prevail in the French courts. In this *exposé*, the privations and distresses to which the French nation had been obliged to submit, in consequence of the operation of the British orders in council, were noticed, but it was principally to extol the resignation with which they were endured, and the genius of invention to which they had given birth. By these edicts, the French nation had been taught that a country, essentially agricultural, "can, by possessing in abundance all articles of utility, easily forego those which only form certain luxuries or conveniences of life, particularly when its independence and glory are at stake." Under the head of marine, the minister of the interior announced, that at Antwerp, and the other naval arsenals, the building of ships was proceeding in with great activity and spirit;

twelve sail of the line had been launched within the year, and twenty-five more, with as many frigates, were on the stocks. The statement of the military power and resources of France sufficiently proved that the views of Bonaparte extended to conquests not yet begun, and created, in the minds of the friends of peace and independence, the most alarming fears for what yet remained of liberty in Europe. The perfection of the military system was evinced by its simplicity and effect; and this system was calculated to raise the country to a height, unknown in the annals of mankind.

The United States of America presented this year a very singular spectacle. By the embargo they had cut themselves off from the old world; and those who imagined they were well acquainted with the character of the Americans, confidently predicted that this restraint on commerce would soon be withdrawn. These politicians held that the effects of the embargo would press with a heavy and immediate influence on many classes of the nation; and that, if the pressure were continued, it would extend itself to the majority of the people. These consequences would, as they imagined, oblige the American government to yield, or if they ventured to persevere, the union would be dissolved by disaffection and internal commotion. Every account that reached this country

* NOMENCLATURE

OF THE DIGNITIES CONFERRED BY NAPOLEON, EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH, ON HIS FAMILY, MARSHALS, MINISTERS, &c.:

KINGS	{ Joseph Bonaparte, } King of Spain	PRINCES	{ Bernadotte, } Prince of Ponte Corvo
	{ Louis, } of Holland		{ Berthier, (Marshal) } of Neufchatel
	{ Jerome, } of Westphalia		{ Davoust, (Marshal) } of Eckmühl
	{ Joachim Murat, } of Naples		{ Massena, (Marshal) } of Eisingen
	{ Maximilian, (Elec. of Bavaria) } of Bavaria		{ Ney, (Marshal) } of Moskwa
	{ Augustus, (Elec. of Saxony) } of Saxony		{ Talleyrand, } of Bechevente
	{ Charles, (Dk. of Wirtemberg) } of Wirtemberg		{ Eugene Beauharnois, } Viceroy of Italy
MARSHALS	{ Augereau, } Duke of Castiglione	MARSHALS	{ Maret, } Duke of Bassano
	{ Bessieres, } of Istria		{ Marmont, } of Ragusa
	{ Caulincourt, } of Vicenza		{ Moncey, } of Cornegiano
	{ Clark, } of Feltre		{ Mortier, } of Treviso
	{ Duroc, } of Friuli		{ Oudinot, } of Reggio
	{ Grouchy, } Count		{ Savary, } of Rovigo
	{ Junot, } Duke of Abrantes		{ Soult, } of Dalmatia
	{ Kellerman, } of Valmy		{ Suchet, } of Albufeira
	{ Lannes, } of Montebello		{ Victor, } of Belluno
	{ Lefebvre, } of Dantzic		{ Victor, } Duke of Cadore
	{ Macdonald, } of Tarento		{ Fouché, } of Ottranto
			{ Champagny, } Duke of Cadore

Fourteen of the French marshals either emerged from the ranks, by military merit, or rose from employments in humble life: *Bessieres*, originally a common soldier, became in 1796 a captain of infantry in the army of Italy.—*Brune*, a printer at the commencement of the revolution, a member of the club of Cordeliers, and an intimate friend of Danton, commenced his military career in 1793.—*Augereau*, a private in the Neapolitan service in 1787, became soon after a fencing-master at Naples; in 1792, entered as a volunteer into the army of Italy; and in 1794 was a general of brigade in the army of the Pyrenees. *Bernadotte*, at the commencement of the revolution, a sergeant in the regiment *de Royal Marine*; in 1794, a general of division.—*Jourdan* enlisted in 1678, but left the service in 1784; was a shop-keeper at the commencement of the revolution.—*Kellerman* began his career as a simple hussar in the regiment of *Conflans*.—*Lannes*, originally a common soldier, became, in 1795, adjutant of division in the national guard of Paris.—*Massena*, a subaltern in the Sardinian service at the beginning of the revolution, in 1793 became a general of brigade.—*Mortier*, a captain of a volunteer company in his native province at the same period.—*Ney*, an hussar, an adjutant-general in 1796, after passing through all the inferior grades.—*Lefebvre*, son of a miller of Alsace, became a sergeant of a regiment of French guards before the revolution.—*Soult* was a subaltern, before the revolution, in a regiment of infantry, and an adjutant-general in 1795.—*Murat* served originally in the constitutional guard of Louis XVI.; became afterwards an officer in the 12th regiment of *chasseurs à cheval*.—*Junot* began his career in 1792, as a grenadier in one of the volunteer battalions commanded by General Pille; and, in 1796, was one of the *aides-de-camp* of Bonaparte.

seemed to give some countenance to these predictions; many of the American newspapers were filled with the most bitter and violent invectives against the government, and the opposition to the embargo was represented to be so formidable and alarming, that no alternative seemed left, but its immediate removal. Still, however, Mr. Jefferson continued firm; while, at the same time, he employed every method to induce the British and French governments to rescind their anti-commercial decrees. It soon appeared, from the result of the elections, that the American newspapers had greatly misrepresented the sense of the nation; and that the predictions, so prevalent in this country, indicated rather the wishes of the commercial and manufacturing part of the community, than the sagacity of those by whom they were hazarded. On the 8th of November, the usual message of the president was read to the senate and the house of representatives. By this document, they were informed that the president, anxious to remove the evil consequences of the embargo, had authorised the ministers of the United States, in London and in Paris, to propose, that the commerce of America should be exclusively opened, to whichever of the belligerent powers should rescind her orders or decrees in relation to the commerce of the United States; and, that the ports of America should remain shut to the other power, in case of his refusal to adopt a similar policy. From France no answer had been received, and Great Britain had rejected this offer. In this state of things, nothing remained for America, but to persevere in a system, which, though it subjected her to some evils, was by no means unproductive of advantage. Not the least interesting part of this message related to the new direction which the suspension of commerce had given to the industry,

skill, and capital of the United States. The internal manufactures and improvements were carried on with more spirit and success, and to a greater extent than usual. The disadvantages arising from want of experience, from the comparative inferiority in machinery and capital, were abundantly compensated by cheaper materials and subsistence; by the freedom of labour from taxation, and by protecting duties and prohibitions. The embargo, therefore, when viewed as the means of changing the direction of their industry and capital, and of thus rendering them less dependent upon foreign nations, might justly be deemed a benefit, though unavoidably attended with partial and temporary mischief.

In weighing the nature and the amount of the aggressions which had been practised towards America by the belligerent powers at this period of the war, if there were any preponderance, it must be confessed that the balance was against Great Britain. The French decrees were indeed as obnoxious in their formation and designs as the British orders in council; but the government of France claimed and exercised no right of impressment, and the maritime spoliations of France were comparatively restricted, not only by her own weakness on the ocean, but by the constant and pervading vigilance of the fleets of her enemy. But on which side soever the balance of injustice was to be found, the crisis had arrived when the United States were compelled, either to adhere to a system of commercial interdiction, or to engage in open and active war; and if the act of embargo fell with a more severe pressure upon Great Britain than upon her enemy, this circumstance was rather to be imputed to the superiority of her commerce, and the extent of her former dealings with America, than to any undue partiality shewn towards France by the government of that republic.

CHAPTER VIII.

BRITISH HISTORY: *Meeting of the Parliament of 1808—Debates on the Bombardment of Copenhagen and the Seizure of the Danish Fleet—Petitions for Peace—Mr. Whitbread's Motion of Censure for the Rejection of the proffered Mediation of Russia and Austria—Bill for the Prevention of Reversionary Grants—Sir Francis Burdett's Motion on the Appropriation of the Droits of Admiralty—Lord Castlereagh's Proposal for reviving the Practice of Enlistment for Life—for the Formation of a Local Militia—National Finances—Sir Samuel Romilly's Bill for ameliorating the Criminal Code—Mr. Sheridan's Appeal in favour of the Spanish Patriots—Rejection of a Bill for fixing a minimum Price on Labour—The Session of Parliament closed by a solemn Pledge to support the Cause of the Spanish Patriots.*

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THE parliament of Great Britain assembled in the year 1808 under the most portentous circumstances. On the meeting of this assembly in former years, it had been the happiness of the sovereign to dwell upon the fidelity of his allies, and to animate the hopes of the national council with assurances of the cordial co-operation of the coalesced sovereigns of Europe against the common enemy; but on the present occasion, it was the painful duty of the commissioners, as the organ of their sovereign, to declare, that the determination of France to excite hostilities between Great Britain and her former allies had been but too successful, and that the ministers of the Emperors of Russia and Austria, and the King of Prussia, had all demanded and received their passports from his majesty's government. The speech from the throne, which represented the country as "in the crisis of its fate," embraced the great public questions that afterwards engaged the attention of parliament; and the expedition to Copenhagen, the relations of England with foreign states, and the orders which his majesty had issued in council, retaliating upon France her decrees against the commerce of Great Britain; formed prominent features in that document. In the lords, the usual address to the throne was moved by the Earl of Galloway, seconded by Lord Kenyon; and in the commons by Lord Hamilton, seconded by Mr. C. Ellis; and was in both houses carried without a division.

On the 3d of February, the subject of the late attack upon the capital of Denmark was brought under the consideration of parliament. The advocates of that measure contended,

1. That it was clearly the design of the French Emperor to draw the court of Denmark into his plan of maritime confederacy against England.

2. That he had the means of carrying this design into effect.

3. That the accomplishment of this object would have been most disastrous, if not fatal to Great Britain, and that the necessity of self-defence conferred the right to depart from the ordinary rules of procedure in order to avert an evil of such magnitude.

In support of the first of these propositions it was said, that his majesty's government had learned, that there were secret engagements in the treaty of Tilsit; and the views of the parties were to confederate all the powers of Europe, and particularly to engage or seize on the fleets of Denmark and Portugal. This information was derived from his majesty's ministers abroad, and from their faithful ally the Prince Regent of Portugal. They had received information of the hostile intention of Denmark from a quarter to which they had often been indebted for the first knowledge of the designs of Bonaparte; from, or rather through, the disaffected in Ireland! They learned through this medium that Ireland was to be attacked from two points, Lisbon and Copenhagen; and they had never found the information of these persons, however it was obtained, incorrect. Finally, ministers had received a confidential communication, that the question had been recently discussed in the council of the highest authorities in Copenhagen, whether they should, in case of the alternative, join England or France—on which occasion it was ultimately determined to unite themselves with the enemies of this country. With this information, ministers would have been traitors had they not secured the Danish fleet.* All Bonaparte's capitulations and decrees served to confirm this information as far as France was concerned; he had on these occasions frequently and publicly avowed his design, and his firm and irrevocable determination, to combine all the powers of the continent in a

* Lord Hawkesbury.

general confederacy against the maritime rights and the political existence of Great Britain; and after the confederacies of 1780 and 1802, it was perfectly clear that Denmark waited only for an opportunity to aid this purpose. The crisis had arrived when Denmark must take part in the war, and her former conduct sufficiently indicated to which party she would attach herself. In fact, the heart of the Danes was not with us; it was with our enemy.* That the conference at Tilsit had produced resolutions inimical to the naval superiority of Great Britain was perfectly manifest, for the moment the Emperor Alexander arrived at St. Petersburg, after signing the treaty with France, the first person he visited was the minister of marine, and the first order he gave was to repair the batteries at Cronstadt. It was the policy of France and Russia to make the Danish government a party to their designs; and even if the expedition against Copenhagen had never taken place, we should at this moment have been at war with Denmark, who had neither the strength nor the resolution to resist these powers.† The Prince Regent of Portugal, whom it was intended to make a party to this "Continental League," had been driven from his dominions, because he would not join France, Russia, and Denmark, in the confederacy against England.

To shew that Bonaparte had the means of accomplishing his object, it was stated by his majesty's ministers, that Denmark was on the point of being invaded at the time the expedition to Copenhagen was undertaken: French troops had assembled at Hamburg; the Danish army in Holstein had taken no steps to retreat into Zealand; they had no transports for that purpose, and upon the first approach of the enemy they must have laid down their arms, and surrendered at discretion. That no disposition was felt on the part of the Danes to abandon their continental possessions was evident from the fact, that the Danish fleet was not in a state of preparation to oppose the passage of the French from the continent. They had indeed at one time exhibited indications of such an intention, but they had soon after abandoned their preparations, and when the moment of danger arrived, Denmark was totally unprepared, and ready to throw herself into the arms of France.‡ Various endeavours had been made by the British government to bring the court of Denmark to an explanation of its views before the expedition was undertaken, but without effect; and the natural conclusion was that the crown

prince in the whole of his conduct had secretly favoured the views of France.||

The danger of the country, and a right to depart from the ordinary rules of procedure in so great an emergency, were insisted upon from the circumstance of France having issued her decree over the continent, "that the house of Brunswick had ceased to reign." The possession of the Danish fleet would have been one great step towards the accomplishment of this denunciation, and the combined navy of France, Spain, Russia, Holland, and Denmark, directed against the independence, and the very existence of Great Britain, would have placed this country in a state of imminent peril. To prove that the conduct pursued towards Denmark was consonant to the law of nations, it was argued, that the first law of nature, the foundation of the law of nations, is the preservation of man. It is on the knowledge of his nature that the science of his duty must be founded. When his feelings point out to him a mighty danger, and his reason suggests the means of avoiding it, he must despise the sophistical trifler, who tells him it is a moral duty he owes to others, to wait till the danger bursts upon his foolish head, lest he should hurt the meditated instrument of his destruction. And upon the general principle of the law of nations, the morality and the necessity of the expedition to Copenhagen were manifest.¶ As to the morality of the measure, ministers had a moral duty to perform to their own as well as to other countries, which was to vindicate its rights and to watch over its security and independence. Much was said on the law of nations, but there was no nation on the continent of Europe but one; they had all been swallowed up in the vortex of France; Russia, Germany, and Denmark, were but other names for France.** It had been laid down as a principle by a high authority, that when one nation was menaced by another, and a third power had resources that might be seized by the second to annoy the first, the nation thus threatened had a right, in self-defence, to take possession of these resources.†† The success of the expedition against Copenhagen, was the greatest disaster that Bonaparte had suffered since the beginning of his reign. It had disappointed his scheme of subjugating England; it had augmented our maritime power, and it had secured the means of universal deliverance from his yoke, for it had frustrated the project of annihilating the intercourse of nations.‡‡ So far from censuring his majesty's ministers for the conduct they had pursued towards Denmark, their

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* Mr. Canning.

† Lord G. L. Gower.

‡ Sir James Pulleney.

|| Lord Castlereagh.

¶ Mr. Lushington.

** Mr. Robert Thornton.

†† Secretary at War.

‡‡ Marquis of Wellesley.

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prompt and vigorous measures for preventing the Danish navy from falling into the hands of the enemy, intitled them to the gratitude of their country.*

It was on the other hand contended, that the conduct pursued by the British government towards Denmark, was marked with features of peculiar atrocity; that it was repugnant to the obligations of justice, and at variance with the principles of a liberal and enlightened policy. That Denmark had no intention to abandon the system of neutrality, from which she had derived so many advantages, was self-evident; and it was a matter of doubt, whether France would have so far committed herself as to throw Denmark into the hands of Great Britain by an attack on Zealand. But supposing this attempt had been made, the question then arose, whether the crown prince had the disposition to resist, and the power to give efficacy to his resistance. That Denmark was disposed to defend her insular territory was obvious from the dispatches of Mr. Garlick, the British envoy at Copenhagen, who had officially declared, in his communications with his own government, that the crown prince and his ministers had a spirit that would reject with disdain every demand on the part of France to surrender their fleet,† and this opinion was corroborated by the positive assertion of the crown prince himself. The British ministers had indeed held a different language; but instead of proving, from the documents they had thought proper to lay before parliament, that secret fraud or direct hostility had been intended against this country, it was manifest that the force of Denmark, in reliance upon the good faith of Great Britain, was actually employed in Holstein, to resist any attempt that might be made by Bonaparte; and that Zealand, drained of its military force, was exposed to our attack.‡ As to the previous hostile mind of Denmark, as evinced in the years 1780 and 1802, it was totally out of the question; and if this principle were to be acted upon, Sweden ought also to have been visited with the thunders of our navy, for she, as well as her neighbour, had proclaimed, "that free bottoms make free goods."§

In judging of the justice and policy of the expedition against Copenhagen, it was not enough to prove that France meditated the seizure of the Danish fleet; it should also be shewn that she had the means of executing her design. Was it to be supposed that Denmark would risk her most valuable colonies, her commerce, her ships, and every thing else dear to

her existence, merely to gratify the wishes of the French ruler? She was not, as had been represented, unprepared; she had a force of thirty-five thousand men in Zealand, and thirty thousand men in Holstein, to resist any attack that might be made by France; and with such a force for her defence, and protected as Zealand was by two branches of the sea, Denmark might and would have bid defiance to the armies of France;|| it was, in fact, easier to invade Great Britain from Boulogne, than Zealand from Funen.¶

As to the evidence of a hostile disposition on the part of Denmark, so much insisted on by ministers, it was no where to be discovered: on the contrary, all the evidence was on the other side; and it appeared from the papers on the table, that at the time when this unprovoked aggression was committed upon the capital, three hundred and twenty Danish vessels, valued at little short of two millions sterling, were, in the confidence of friendship, in the ports of Great Britain! but, that the whole transaction should exhibit the same character, these vessels were all detained, and, with their cargoes, placed in a state of sequestration.** But the secret articles of Tilsit, and the readiness with which Denmark would have lent herself to the provisions of that treaty, were urged as motives for the attack upon Copenhagen; a reference to dates would shew that this was impossible; the battle of Friedland was fought on the 14th of June, the armistice was signed on the 22d, and ratified on the 24th, the conference of the Niemen took place on the 25th, and the treaty was signed on the 7th of July: the king's pleasure on the expedition to Copenhagen was taken the 19th, and on the 26th of July Admiral Gambier sailed for the Baltic; it was therefore quite impossible that any such information as that which was pretended, could at the time have reached ministers from Portugal or Ireland.†† In urging this plea ministers had resorted to a mean, petty-fogging subterfuge. If they had even now the substance of the secret articles of Tilsit, why not give that substance to parliament? Precise legal evidence was not demanded from them, nor was it necessary to divulge the source from which they derived their information.‡‡ But they could not shew that which they never possessed; and the impolicy of the measure under consideration was as obvious, as the pleas resorted to in extenuation of its guilt were groundless. So far from the attack on Copenhagen being a measure of wisdom and security, it was the very

* Mr. Stuart Wortley.

† Earl Grey.

‡ Duke of Norfolk.

§ Dr. Laurence.

|| Mr. Ponsonby.

¶ Earl St. Vincent.

** Lord Sidmouth.

†† Mr. Whitbread.

‡‡ Mr. Sheridan.

reverse of those positions, and had plunged us into an unnecessary war with Russia, which, up to that period, was firm in her alliance; but from that moment she resolved on hostilities, and would have instantly declared war, had she not felt it her interest to be silent till she got her fleets into ports of safety. This declaration did not rest on vague information, but upon the authority of the emperor himself, who had repeatedly declared, in the presence of Lord Hutchinson, in the most peremptory language, tone, and manner, that he would have satisfaction for the unprovoked attack on Denmark.* Any temporary advantage derived from that expedition was much more than counterbalanced by the consequences of a measure, that had augmented the number of our enemies, countenanced the injurious representations circulated throughout Europe of our principles and designs, and had inflamed against us the warmest passions of neutral and friendly nations.† We had, indeed, taken from Denmark sixteen bulks; and what had we paid for them? We had given the whole maritime population of Denmark to France; we had given too to the enemy the hearts of the Danes; and much better for this country would it have been, to see the fleet of Denmark in forced hostility against us, manned by her sailors acting under compulsion, than to see them, after what had happened, moored in our own ports.‡ It was impossible to think so meanly of the power and resources of this empire, of the spirit of the people, or of the valour and discipline of our fleets and armies, as to admit that the seizure of the Danish fleet was necessary for any purpose of self-preservation. England had hitherto been considered as the conservator of the laws of nations; but the character of the country was lost by this act, which had humbled and degraded us in the eyes of Europe; it was an act that could neither be justified by state necessity, or national security, and would probably stand for ever unparalleled for national bad faith, unprovoked violence, and flagrant injustice.¶ Ministers ought to be warned against believing that nations may be absolved from the obligations of morality. France, by interfering between America and the mother country, had overwhelmed her own government, and sent her royal race into exile. Prussia and Austria had been severely punished for the share they took in the infamous partition of Poland; and so also was Russia, who was the third in that act of spoliation, and who was even reduced to the humiliating situation of an obsequious suitor of the victor Napoleon.¶

Ministers, to shew their energies, were running a race of injustice with the enemy; and how did they acquit themselves? Why, France had slain a giant, and England had fallen upon a helpless child. In such a case as this, the voice of the dead ought to be heard, if the admonitions of the living were disregarded, and the planners of the expedition against Denmark might be reminded of the words of a deceased statesman and patriot,** who had declared, that "whatever was morally wrong, could not be politically right;" and of the recorded declaration of one of the most eloquent and enlightened senators that ever occupied a seat in the British senate,†† who had held, "that justice is the standing policy of society, and that any flagrant departure from its changeless principles would be ultimately found to be bad policy."

To whatever attention these arguments, which were urged with great animation and perseverance, might be entitled, every attempt to censure the conduct of ministers was over-ruled, and the thanks of both houses of parliament were awarded, by large majorities, "to his majesty's ministers, for the prompt and vigorous measures adopted for the purpose of removing out of the reach of the enemies, the fleet and naval resources of Denmark."

Few subjects have been debated in parliament with more animation and pertinacity than the orders in council, issued during the recess; but as the views of the members, on both sides of the question, have already been stated,‡‡ the necessity for entering into the particulars of the debates originating in this new code of commercial warfare is superseded. During the present session of parliament, the opposition to ministers was unusually keen, vigilant, and persevering; but though the superiority of powers in reasoning and in oratory was on the left side of the speaker's chair, the majorities were generally found on the right; and the orders in council were pronounced, by the repeated votes of the senate, to be conformable to the laws of nations, justly retaliatory towards our enemies, and indispensably necessary for the maintenance of British commerce and British rights.

During the present year, when every port in Europe, with the exception of those of Sweden, was shut against British commerce, and when our relations with America were in a most precarious situation, the pressure of distress was felt with extreme severity by the manufacturing interest, and on the 22d of February, Colonel Stanley, one of the members for the county of Lancaster, presented a petition to the house of

* Lord Hutchinson.

† Earl Darnley.

‡ Mr. Whitbread,

¶ Lord Erskine.

¶ Mr. Ponsonby.

** Mr. Fox.

†† Mr. Burke.

‡‡ See Volume II. page 50.

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commons, from certain inhabitants of Great and Little Bolton, in that county, the prayer of which was, that no opportunity should be neglected for entering upon negotiations for the restoration of peace upon honourable terms. The petition in substance stated,

"That thousands of the petitioners were reduced to great distress by the stagnation of trade, and the cessation of the customary demand for labour. That in the opinion of the petitioners, this arose from the present situation of the continent, occasioned by the continuance of war; that great numbers of the petitioners had been reduced to poverty, and that they were threatened with still greater distress; that their petition did not spring from any dread of the enemy; that all they asked was, that no opportunity for negotiation should be let slip; and that if the ambition of the enemy should lead him to insist upon demands incompatible with a honourable peace, the petitioners would with one heart suffer much greater privations, rather than see the security and honour of their country compromised."

The petition was ordered to lay upon the table.

On the 29th Mr. Whitbread rose to propose certain resolutions of censure against ministers for their rejection of the proffered mediation of Russia and Austria, accompanied by a declaration, that there was nothing in the present circumstances of the war which ought to preclude his majesty from entering into a negotiation with the enemy for the termination of hostilities. The commissioners who were appointed to open the proceedings of the present session of parliament, had, he said, after an awful exposure of our present situation, called this "the crisis of the country's fate," and it was highly important that no time should be lost in taking such measures as might be deemed necessary to rescue the country from the dangers with which it was environed. These dangers had increased as time rolled on, and now we were told that they had reached their crisis. He had a month ago stated some of the symptoms of the public danger; and since that time several petitions had been presented to the house, of which the statements were most distressing, the prayer most moderate, and the general tone most patriotic.* He hoped the people would continue to express their feelings and their wishes till they made an impression upon ministers and upon that house; and till the problem was solved, whether it was possible or not to conclude a peace with the French government. All that could be expected or wished for, was peace on honourable terms; and such a peace, he maintained, was

better calculated to establish our security as a nation, than a prolongation of the contest. In the speech of his majesty's commissioners, parliament was told that the war was now purely defensive on the part of this country; all the brilliant visions which had so long been presented to our imaginations, and which had so unfortunately biased our judgments, were now given up; indemnity for the past and the expectation of dictating a constitution to France, or of curbing the power and restraining the ambition of Bonaparte, were no longer insisted upon, and our only aim now was to defend ourselves. This being the case, he would put it to ministers and to the house, whether a more honourable peace was likely to be concluded at a future time than on the present occasion. Before the treaty of Tilsit was concluded, an offer had been made by Russia to mediate a peace between Great Britain and France; an offer which he had always considered as an effusion of the heart of the Emperor of Russia towards this country. A similar offer had also been made by Austria; and from the documents before the house, he contended that there had been two opportunities wantonly thrown away, of trying, at least, whether it were possible to enter upon negotiation. On each of these points he had a resolution to propose; but there was another subject, of far greater importance, and which regarded our conduct for the future. The ruler of France had at three distinct periods made offers of peace to this country, in terms unobjectionable. The first was rejected. The second was not absolutely rejected, but Lord Mulgrave wrote a contumelious letter, informing him "that his majesty must consult his allies." We had then an opportunity of selling to Napoleon a recognition of his title; and we might have sold it many times before he had established himself, as he now had, in defiance of us; his majesty's allies were indeed consulted, not however to see whether they would agree to open a negotiation, but to try whether they would enter into another coalition to destroy the power of France. They did not enter into that coalition, and the event had shewn, that instead of crushing, they had increased the power of the enemy. But it was stated in the king's speech, that we were now looking about for an impartial mediator; there was, however, no such power to be found, and nothing remained but a direct communication. Ministers ought to send a direct offer of negotiation to France. This would be no degradation, as such a thing

* These petitions were chiefly from the counties of York and Lancaster. To the petition from Leeds, voted unanimously by a meeting supposed to consist of ten thousand persons, held in the yard of the Coloured Cloth Hall, on the 19th of January, 28,628 signatures were affixed. The Stockport petition was signed by 12,000 persons. A petition from Manchester by 47,000; and similar documents, very numerous signed, were sent from Bradford, Huddersfield, and Bingley.

was not unusual. The French Emperor had done it; and it had been done three times during the last war by Lord Grenville, who was incapable of compromising the honour of his country. If peace could not be obtained after a fair and candid attempt for that purpose, the knowledge of that circumstance would unite all hands and hearts in the war, which would then be manifestly just and necessary. It was said the French Emperor was ambitious, but great as was his ambition he had it under perfect command; and as it was his interest to make peace with this country, it was probable that he would accede to moderate terms. If the advice of the Archduke Charles had been taken, much of the power of France would have this day been on the side of other nations, who might in that case have been in alliance with us. "If the advice of that immortal statesman, Mr. Fox, had been taken," continued Mr. Whitbread, "who so often urged the policy of peace, and exposed the errors of the system which the government of this country had been so long acting upon; if his advice had been taken, who, from this spot where I stand, so often spoke the words of wisdom, and enforced his salutary councils in a manner so much better, God knows, than I can do; what misfortunes might we not have escaped! how much more elevated would have been our situation!" The honourable gentleman concluded by moving three resolutions; the first and second of which condemned the conduct of his majesty's ministers in not availing themselves of the mediation offered by the Emperors of Russia and Austria; and by the last it was stated, "that this house feels it incumbent on itself to declare, that there is nothing in the present circumstances of the war, which ought to preclude his majesty from embracing any fair opportunity of acceding to, or commencing a negotiation with the enemy, on a footing of equality, for the termination of hostilities on the terms of justice and honour.

Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Wilberforce, and Lord Milton, objected to the third resolution proposed by Mr. Whitbread, on the ground, that instead of promoting peace, it might, by inducing the enemy to propose inadmissible terms, have the effect of protracting the war.

Mr. Canning asked, what were the views of the enemy when he professed his anxiety for peace, and even while at peace with us? Did he not secretly employ every means to exclude our commerce, and to discourage and annihilate our manufactures? Would he allow, if he could help it, the importation of a single yard of cloth, or any other article of our manufactures? If such were his endeavours against the trade of this country at that time, what must they be now, when he had resolved to ruin the nation

through the ruin of her commerce? Would the cries of those for peace, whom he had more particularly resolved to undo by war, be a motive with him to listen to any terms of peace? On the contrary, would they not encourage him to persevere in war, as the surest means of ultimately accomplishing his object? He gave the honourable gentleman full credit for sincerity in the opinion he expressed; but, admitting negotiation to be desirable and good when there was a prospect of its leading to peace, it was, he contended, mischievous when it did not afford that prospect; by tending to excite deceitful hopes, and by paralyzing national exertion. The honourable gentleman was satisfied, that when Russia said we might have peace on honourable terms, the fact was so. But why, in that case, did not Russia state those terms? What Russia might look upon as honourable terms, might not be so esteemed in this country. The conduct of Russia had given reason to suspect that she was not favourably inclined towards this country, and her devotion to France was shown by her disinclination to complete the commercial treaty with Great Britain. The first offer of mediation from Austria was immediately subsequent to the battle of Eylau, and that offer was accepted without any other condition than that it should be agreed to by all the belligerent powers; but before this point could come to issue, the battle of Friedland had totally destroyed the hopes of the allies; and when Lord Pembroke, the British ambassador, mentioned the matter at Vienna, he was told, that things were so changed that nothing could be done. From that time till the 20th of November, 1807, when the communication was made by Prince Stahremberg, the matter was suffered to rest without further notice. The terms and tone of this second offer were different from the former, and bore evident marks of French dictation. Under such circumstances, it became the more necessary to ascertain the basis and the source from which it proceeded, and when Lord Pembroke asked at Vienna for some explanation of certain statements made by Prince Stahremberg, the Austrian government denied having given any authority for such statements. Mr. Canning concluded by giving his negative to the resolutions.

Mr. J. W. Ward, Lord Mahon, and Mr. Sheridan, supported the resolutions. With regard to the petitions for peace, they were decidedly of opinion that the best way to put a stop to them would be to pass the proposed resolutions, which would serve to satisfy the country that the house was strongly disposed to peace, when that object became fairly attainable. Thus alone would the suspicion which prevailed among the people, as to the hostility

BOOK IV. of ministers to peace, and which suspicion produced these petitions, be effectually removed.

CHAP. VIII.

1808

On a division of the house the first resolution was negatived by a majority of 210 to 70 voices, and the two succeeding resolutions by still larger majorities.

Few internal events have created so strong a sensation of disappointment and alarm as the rejection in the house of lords of the bill introduced into parliament by Mr. Bankes, as the chairman of the committee of finance, for preventing reversionary grants. The fate of this bill was singular, and of a nature to awaken the jealousy, not only of the friends to economical reform, but also of those who suspected a secret and powerful influence behind the throne. On the 21st of January, Mr. Bankes reminded the house of commons, that a bill for preventing the grant of places in reversion had passed through that house during the last session, and was only prevented from going to the lords by the prorogation of parliament. The house then thought the bill which he now should move for, to be of so important a nature, that they judged it necessary to present a petition to the crown, to which his majesty had been pleased to return a most gracious answer; and he now moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill to prevent the grant of offices and reversions during life, or with benefit of survivorship. This notice gave rise to some discussion, but the bill passed through all its stages in the commons this year, as it had done in the preceding session, almost without opposition. When the bill reached the house of lords, it was supported by several of his majesty's ministers, and the friends to the measure in the country augured a favourable issue; but on the second reading, on the 1st of March, a strenuous opposition to its further progress was commenced by Lord Arden, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Redesdale, and the Duke of Montrose; and in a more advanced stage of the proceedings the bill was thrown out by a majority of eighty voices. The objection to this measure was almost single, and it was urged with a pertinacity and frequency of repetition that gave a weight to the argument which it would never have derived from its intrinsic strength. The limitation of reversionary grants was held up as an infringement upon the royal prerogative.

It is certainly most consonant to the true and genuine spirit of the British constitution to maintain that the king can possess no prerogative, which, in its own nature and exercise, has not for its sole object the interest and happiness of his people. To suppose that the king of England can have any interest repugnant to, or separate from the interest, of the people over whom he reigns, and that he possesses a pre-

rogative which secures such an interest, is to disparage that constitution which is so justly the boast of Britons. The king no doubt has prerogatives, but they are possessed by him solely because he can thus better guard the sacred deposit of liberty and happiness which is lodged in his hands. The king's prerogatives may also be attacked or weakened; but the proof that they are so must be derived from a clear and express fact, shewing that the means he possesses through them of guarding the liberties, and securing the interests of his people, are attacked or weakened.

Conceiving that it was incumbent upon the house of commons, as the guardians of the national purse, not to abandon a measure so clearly connected with their public duty, Mr. Bankes, on the 7th of April, introduced another reversionary bill, similar in its object, but limited as to duration. By this modified measure it was proposed, that the crown should be restricted from granting offices in reversion for one year after the passing of the act, and from the close of that period to the end of six weeks from the commencement of the subsequent session of parliament. This limitation was proposed for the sake of harmony between the two branches of the legislature, and with an understanding, that the friends to economical reform gave up no part of the principle of the bill, but looked forward to the further object of rendering the measure permanent. A long conversation ensued, in which the most distinguished members in the house concurred in opinion with Mr. Bankes; and the bill thus modified was ultimately passed in the upper house of parliament.

The appropriation of the *droits* of admiralty, a fund arising from the sale of vessels taken at sea, or seized in the ports of this country previous to a declaration of war, was this session brought under discussion in the house of commons by Sir Francis Burdett. On the 9th of February the honourable baronet observed, that it was stated in some of the newspapers that certain large sums, arising from the *droits* of admiralty, had been granted by his majesty to several princes of the blood, and particularly that £20,000 arising in this way had lately been granted to the Duke of York. If this were really the case, he wished to ask, on what colour or pretext it was that the king came to seize on that property, and to dispose of it in such a manner?

Mr. Perceval had no difficulty in admitting that the sum of £20,000 had been granted to the Duke of York, being only equal to the sums formerly granted to the other younger male branches of the royal family from the same fund. The condemnation of the property alluded to was, he said, a judicial act of the court before

which it came to be tried, and the right of his majesty to these droits resolved itself into two distinct parts: the right of the crown, and his right as lord high admiral. As to the appropriation of the fund, a considerable proportion of it had been granted to captors under various circumstances; many grants had been made for the public service; relief had in some cases been afforded to the sufferers by the sudden breaking out of war; and the fund being completely under his majesty's controul, grants had been occasionally made to the younger branches of the royal family.

Sir Francis Burdett, after observing that the proceeds alluded to amounted to such a considerable sum, that he was convinced parliament could never endure that it should be left as the private property of the king, moved, with a view to an ulterior inquiry, "That there be laid before the house an account of the net proceeds paid out of the court of admiralty to the receiver-general of droits, of all property condemned to his majesty in right of the crown, or in right of the office of lord high admiral, since the 1st of January, 1793, with the balances now remaining,"—which motion, after a conversation between a number of members, was carried by a majority of twenty-five voices.

The vacillation in the military system of the country still continued to prevail, and every new administration produced some important change in the organization of the army. On the 8th of March, when the mutiny bill came under consideration in the house of commons, Lord Castlereagh, referring to Mr. Windham's system, said, he had no objection to limited service under certain modifications; but he thought that it ought not to be enforced to the exclusion of unlimited service, where men were perfectly

satisfied, and desirous to enter without limitation. With these views, the honourable gentleman moved, that a clause should be introduced into the mutiny bill, allowing such men as were inclined to enter the service, a fair option of enlisting for life; and after an animated debate, the proposition of the noble secretary was carried by a majority of one hundred and sixty-nine, to one hundred voices. Another and a more important measure relating to the army and the internal defence of the country, was submitted to the house by Lord Castlereagh on the 12th of April. His object was to create a force subsidiary to the regular militia, amounting to sixty thousand men. This body he proposed should form a local militia, and should be balloted for in their different counties, in proportion to the deficiency of volunteers of each, from among persons between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. Volunteer corps might, if they chose, transfer themselves, with the approbation of his majesty, into this local militia. The period of service during the year to be eight and twenty days, for which pay was to be allowed. This measure encountered strenuous opposition in its progress through parliament, but the bill, without any essential alterations, was ultimately passed into a law.

Since the advance of the property tax to ten per cent. the finances of the country had assumed a more flourishing aspect than usual, and the different taxes had become so productive, that the chancellor of the exchequer did not this year find himself under the necessity of increasing the public burden, except in a very trifling degree.* By an arrangement with the Bank of England, half a million of the unclaimed dividends were obtained for immediate use; a reduction in the charges of the bank for super-

* FINANCES.

PUBLIC INCOME of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1808.

Branches of Revenue.	Gross Receipts.			Paid into the Excheq.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Customs	9,573,060	6	3	7,462,380	4	10½
Excise	19,621,076	15	9	17,896,145	14	2
Stamps	4,545,971	17	5½	4,458,738	14	0½
Land & Assessed Taxes	6,909,190	12	9½	7,073,530	10	8½
Post Office	1,493,490	11	9	1,277,538	11	4½
Miscellaneous Permanent Tax	173,247	9	7½	170,818	17	11½
Herod. Revenue	57,760	2	3½	91,422	14	7½
Extraord. Resources.						
W. & A. { Customs	3,065,904	14	2½	2,730,791	14	6½
Excise	6,880,663	17	11½	6,273,580	18	10½
Property Tax	10,158,008	19	11	9,890,160	15	0½
Miscellaneous Income	2,887,130	5	0½	2,864,315	16	0½
Loans, including £1,500,000 for the Service of Ireland... }	15,257,211	19	3	15,257,211	19	3
Grand Total—	£80,062,607	12	3½	£75,446,626	11	6½

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, }
25th of March, 1808. } W. HUSKISSON.
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PUBLIC EXPENDITURE of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1808.

Heads of Expenditure.	Sums.		
	£.	s.	d.
Interest	20,701,252	0	4½
Charge of Management	297,757	16	14
Reduction of National Debt	9,479,164	12	3½
Interest on Exchequer Bills	1,574,561	18	5
Civil List	1,294,161	19	9
Civil Government of Scotland	85,359	3	2½
Payments in anticipation, &c.	674,899	3	9
Navy	16,775,761	9	3
Ordinance	4,190,748	6	6
Army	9,956,683	13	8
Extraordinary Services	3,431,867	0	11
Ireland	3,681,231	3	4
Miscellaneous Services	1,227,383	0	8½
Deductions for Sums forming no part of the } Expenditure of Great Britain..... }	75,670,641	8	2
	3,681,231	3	4
Grand Total—	£71,989,390	4	10

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, }
25th of March, 1808. } W. HUSKISSON.

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BOOK IV

CHAP. VIII.

1808

intending the pecuniary concerns of the public was effected to the amount of £64,000; and a loan of three millions sterling was granted by the directors to government, without interest, till six months after the termination of the war.

The great blemish in the criminal code of England consists in the numerous crimes for which the punishment of death is ordained; and the most pernicious consequences arise from the punishment appointed by law, and the punishment actually inflicted, being so frequently at variance. It is a sound maxim in criminal jurisprudence, that the proper end of punishment is much more effectually secured by its certainty, than by its severity.* The English law, in many instances, seems to proceed on the converse of this proposition: it enacts severe punishment, but the execution seldom following the enactment, this object and end is not answered.† Sir Samuel Romilly, in common with many other enlightened men, had long lamented, that in the criminal law of the country, capital punishments were appointed to be inflicted for so many crimes; and on the 18th of May he obtained permission to introduce a bill into parliament, which subsequently passed into a law, to repeal so much of the act of the 8th Elizabeth, cap. 4, as made private stealing a capital crime, without benefit of clergy. In pursuing the course which he had commenced for the purpose of rendering our criminal jurisprudence more consonant to the present state of society, and more conducive to the true ends of justice, Sir Samuel further proposed to grant a compensation to persons unjustly accused, and who were acquitted of crimes; but this object was not effected. It certainly is extremely desirable, in many instances, that persons in such a situation should be compensated for their sufferings and loss of liberty; but the difficulty of drawing the line, and the extreme liability to the abuse of such a principle, form objections and obstacles to the proposed measure hardly to be overcome.

The cause of the Spanish patriots had awakened the zeal and animated the enthusiasm of the people of this country to a degree almost unexampled; and Mr. Sheridan seemed only to be the organ of the public voice, when he rose in the house of commons, on the 15th of June, to direct the attention of the legislature to the affairs of Spain, and to demand their utmost exertions in favour of the Spaniards. "I am far, Sir," said Mr. Sheridan, "from wishing ministers to embark in any rash or romantic enterprise; but if the enthusiasm and animation

which now exist in part of Spain should spread over the whole of that country, I am convinced, that since the first burst of the French revolution, there never existed so happy an opportunity for Great Britain to strike a bold stroke for the rescue of the world. Hitherto, the administration of this country, instead of striking at the sore of the evil, have contented themselves with nibbling at the rind; I wish, therefore, Sir, to let Spain know, that the conduct we have so long pursued we will not persevere in, but that we are resolved fairly and fully to stand up for the salvation of Europe. Bonaparte has hitherto run a most victorious race. Hitherto he has had to contend against princes without dignity, and ministers without wisdom. He has fought against countries in which the people have been indifferent as to his success: he has yet to learn what it is to fight against a country in which the people are animated with one spirit to resist him. Sir, I think this a most important crisis. Never was any thing so brave, so generous, so noble, as the conduct of the Asturians. They have magnanimously avowed their hostility to France; they have declared war against Bonaparte; they have no retreat; they are resolved to conquer, or to perish in the grave of the honour and the independence of their country. It is that the British government may advance to their assistance with a firmer step, and with a bolder mien, that I have been anxious to afford this opportunity to the British parliament, of expressing the feelings which they entertain on the occasion." Mr. Sheridan concluded with moving for copies of documents illustrative of the present situation of Spain.

Mr. Canning declared that his majesty's ministers saw with a deep and lively interest the noble struggle which a part of the Spanish nation was now making to resist the unexampled atrocity of France, and to preserve the independence of their country; and assured the house, that there existed the strongest disposition on the part of the British government to afford every practicable aid in a contest so magnanimous. His majesty's ministers, regardless of the war existing between Spain and Great Britain, would have three objects in view; first, to direct the united efforts of the country against the common foe; second, to direct those efforts in a way that should be most beneficial to the new ally; and third, to give them a direction peculiarly conducive to British interests; though the last of these objects would be left entirely out of the question when compared with the

* Marquis Beccaria.

† In 1805, three hundred persons were capitally convicted in England and Wales, of whom only sixty-five were executed; and in 1806, three hundred and twenty-five were capitally convicted, of whom fifty-seven only suffered.

other two. In this contest in which Spain was embarked, no interest could be so purely British as Spanish success; no conquest so advantageous to Britain as conquering from France.

In the prosecution of all wars, the employment and prosperity of the manufacturers are subject to fluctuations and failure; but in the war by which the world was now agitated, when the belligerent powers of Europe were engaged in a contest of commercial proscription, and when America, to escape the evils of actual hostility, had proclaimed an embargo in all her ports, the interests of the merchants and manufacturers of England were sacrificed to a degree hitherto unexampled. In Yorkshire, this state of depression and suffering began to give way to better hopes and brighter prospects. The Brazils afforded an advantageous market for British woollens, and the manufacturers found their accumulated stocks diminish, and their capitals obtain a more beneficial channel of circulation; but unfortunately, the other manufactures of Britain did not equally partake of the renovation of commerce. The cotton trade of Lancashire still continued to labour under severe depression, and the wages of the weaver were insufficient to procure for his family the common necessities of life; while the habits contracted in more prosperous times, unfitted them for that patient endurance to which they were exposed by the pressure of the present crisis. To alleviate the sufferings of the operative workmen engaged in the cotton business, an attempt was made in the house of commons to fix the *minimum* wages of the weaver; but the bill introduced for that purpose was rejected, and soon afterwards, disturbances, rather distressing from their cause, than alarming for their nature and extent, broke out at Stockport, Manchester, and other manufacturing towns in that district. Several expedients and arrangements between the delegates of the weavers and the merchants and master manufacturers took place, but it was soon discovered, that an increased demand for Manchester goods afforded the only means of bringing the differences to an amicable and permanent arrangement; and this event, happily, soon afterwards took place. Many of the persons who had most distinguished themselves in the riots were apprehended, and brought to trial at the summer assizes for the county of Lancaster, but as the extreme distress by which they had

been driven to their improper and illegal conduct, made its just impression on government, the prosecutions were conducted with lenity, and the punishments inflicted were neither vindictive nor severe.

One of the last objects to which the attention of the session of parliament of 1808 was directed was the affairs of Spain and Portugal. The Duke of Norfolk, availing himself of his privilege as a peer of parliament, took an opportunity, on the 30th of June, to offer some advice to his majesty's ministers regarding the posture of affairs in the peninsula. The conduct lately displayed towards Spain on the part of the French Emperor was characterised by the duke as an act of the most wanton ambition, of the most foul and flagitious perjury, and of the most cruel and unprovoked oppression, ever recorded in the annals of the world. There was no man but what must wish success to a generous and gallant people, thus struggling in the cause of national independence. He hoped ministers would collect from the delegates of the brave people of Spain, now in England, the best information as to the real state of the country; but before they made common cause with the patriots, it was their duty to ascertain the principles on which they were acting, and the end to which their co-operation was to be directed.

Lord Hawkesbury, on the part of his majesty's ministers, declared, that the people of Spain had manifested a spirit and determination which would have done honour to the most glorious periods of their history; and that his majesty's ministers would feel it their duty to do every thing, in support of so glorious a cause, that the most generous heart could wish. On the 4th of July parliament was prorogued, and the commissioners, speaking in his majesty's name, declared that he would continue to make every exertion in his power for the support of the Spanish cause; guided in the choice and in the direction of his exertions by the wishes of those in whose behalf they were employed. In contributing to the success of this just and magnanimous struggle, the object of his majesty would be to preserve unimpaired the independence and the integrity of the Spanish monarchy; and he trusted that the efforts which were directed to that great object, might, under the blessing of divine providence, lead to the restoration of the liberties and peace of Europe.

BOOK IV
CHAP. VIII.
1808

CHAPTER IX.

FOREIGN HISTORY: *Military Preparations of the House of Austria—Rapture between France and Austria—Passage of the Inn by the Archduke Charles—Departure of Bonaparte from Paris to place himself at the Head of his Army in Germany—Battle of Ebensburg—Fall of Landshut into the Hands of the French—Napoleon and the Archduke meet for the first Time at Eckmühl, where the Austrians sustain a signal Defeat—Fall of Ratisbon—Advance of the French Army to Vienna—Battle of Esling—Operations in Poland and the North of Germany—Campaign in Italy—Battle of Wagram—Retreat of the Austrian Army—Termination of the Fourth Punic War by an Armistice—Treaty of Peace—Gallant Resistance of the Tyrolese—Annexation of the Papal Territories to France—Excommunication of the Emperor Napoleon—Imperial Divorce—Revolution in Sweden.*

BOOK IV.

CHAP. IX.

1809

AT the critical and gloomy moment in which the last hopes of Spain seemed to be extinguished, when her capital was occupied by the invaders, her armies defeated and dispersed, and the troops of her British ally obliged to seek safety on board vessels sent to convey them to their own shores; the important events which took place in Germany, brightened for a time the political horizon. Austria, whose strength had been broken by the disasters of Ulm and Austerlitz, and whose dominion and resources had been curtailed by the peace of Presburg, resolved to convert to her advantage the war in which France was engaged with Spain, and to make a grand effort to regain her ancient independence and power. From the period of the conferences at Erfurt, till Bonaparte crossed the Pyrenees for the purpose of putting himself at the head of his armies in Spain, Austria went on completing her military preparations. These advances towards a state of hostility were not viewed by France with indifference, and the watchful jealousy of Bonaparte was expressed by his ministers in reproaches and threats. Austria was charged with having opened the harbour of Trieste to the English; her vessels, loaded with British manufactures or the produce of the English colonies, were protected in the passage from Malta to the Levant by ships of war; an official messenger from the Spanish patriots was permitted to land at Trieste; accident, it was asserted, had put the French government in possession of a formal promise made by the cabinet of Vienna to assist the Spanish Junta with one hundred thousand men; and providence itself had interfered to unveil the hostile intentions of the Emperor Francis, by permitting the King of England to allude to them in no ambiguous language, in the official declaration published by that sovereign on the

rupture of the negotiations for peace. From Valladolid, Bonaparte sent his mandate to the princes of the confederation of the Rhine, to furnish their contingents, and to hold themselves in readiness for war; and soon afterwards he left Spain and returned to Paris.

In the month of March, 1809, the preparations for war were prosecuted by both parties with uncommon vigour and activity. The court of Vienna, as if sensible of the causes to which in a great measure its former misfortunes had been owing, adopted in almost every respect a different line of conduct from that which had been pursued in former wars with France: having placed the army, in point of numbers, on what was deemed an adequate establishment, continued and zealous efforts were next made towards the organization and discipline requisite to give efficacy to numerical strength. The blind and ruinous policy which had hitherto made advancement or rank to depend upon antiquity of birth and illustrious descent, was in a great measure relaxed. Different officers, who had distinguished themselves in former campaigns by superior skill or courage, were advanced to a higher rank, and placed in a more extensive sphere of action. The Austrian army was divided into nine corps, each consisting of from thirty to forty thousand men. The Archduke Charles, freed from the interference of the aulic council, was appointed generalissimo; and six out of the nine corps were placed under his immediate command; the seventh corps was sent under the Archduke Ferdinand into Poland; and the eighth and ninth to Italy, under the Archduke John. There were also two corps of reserve, one of them consisting of twenty thousand men, commanded by Prince John of Lichtenstein, and the other of ten thousand men, under General Kinmayer; exclusive of

the partisan corps and the landwehr, or militia, and by which the force at the disposal of the commander-in-chief, was swelled to four hundred thousand men.

The force on which Bonaparte principally relied at the commencement of the war, consisted of the troops of Bavaria, Wirtemberg, Saxony, and the other contingents from the confederation of the Rhine. The Bavarians were formed into three divisions, under the Duke of Dantzic, to whom the temporary command of the allied troops was confided till the arrival of Bonaparte. In the mean time, the whole of the north and west of Germany, and the interior of France, were stripped of troops, which proceeded by rapid marches towards the banks of the Danube. On the side of Italy, Prince Eugene, the Viceroy of that country, had concentrated a formidable army; and the Saxon troops, under the Prince of Ponte Corvo, were stationed in the neighbourhood of Dresden, to protect that capital from the Austrian army in Bohemia.

Before the actual commencement of hostilities, the Archduke Charles issued a proclamation of war, in the form of an address to his soldiers, by which they were informed, that the protection of their country demanded their services, and summoned them to new scenes of honour and glory. On the 8th of April, the archduke, having established his head-quarters at Dintz, in the archduchy of Austria, sent formal notice to the French general commanding in Bavaria, that he had received orders from his august brother, the Emperor Francis, to advance with the troops under his command, and to treat as enemies all who should oppose him. This notice served as an intimation to the King of Bavaria, who, quitting his capital, repaired to Augsburg. On the following day the Austrians threw a bridge of boats over the Inn, between Brannau and Scharding, and after crossing that river, advanced slowly into Bavaria.

On the 12th Bonaparte learned by the telegraph, that the Austrians had crossed the Inn; and in the evening of that day he quitted Paris, and arrived at Donawarth on the 17th; from which place he removed his head-quarters to Ingolstadt. On the 19th the Duke of Auerstadt advanced to the village of Pressing, where he met a division of the Austrian army; and an engagement immediately took place, which ended in the defeat of the latter. On the same day another French corps attacked an Austrian division in front, while the Bavarian troops, under the command of the Duke of Dantzic, fell upon their rear, and completed their rout. These partial and insignificant attacks were made by the French generals, apparently for the purpose of preparing the way for a general engagement, and to try the steadiness and courage of their German

allies. Bonaparte, during the few days he had passed with the army, had made himself completely acquainted with its positions; and had so far ascertained the situation of the country, as to be able to take advantage of the errors of his enemy. The Archduke Louis and General Keller had very imprudently drawn their divisions to so great a distance from the other corps of the Austrian army, as at once to present a weak point of attack to the French, and to expose the troops under the Archduke Charles to disorder or destruction. Bonaparte, perceiving this mistake, resolved to profit by it, and immediately attacked the archduke in front at Ebensberg. A brigade of light infantry, two battalions of horse artillery, and nearly the whole of the cavalry, commenced the attack: the Austrians having taken up their position on broken and intersected ground, were quickly dislodged; the infantry, chiefly composed of the troops of Wirtemberg and Bavaria, formed in column; and the Austrians, compelled to fall back, retreated in all directions, and in extreme disorder, before the victorious confederates, who, in this battle, took eight standards, twelve pieces of cannon, and eight thousand prisoners.

The flank of the Austrian army having been completely laid open by the battle of Ebensberg, Bonaparte lost not a moment in advancing to Landshut. The Austrian cavalry, which had formed before the city, was attacked and driven back by the Duke of Istria; the same fate awaited the infantry; and the town, with thirty pieces of cannon, nine thousand prisoners, and all the magazines established at that place, fell into the hands of the enemy.

At two o'clock in the afternoon of the 23d, Bonaparte arrived opposite Eckmühl, where four corps of the Austrians, amounting to one hundred and ten thousand men, under the immediate command of the Archduke Charles, were already posted. Never before had these chiefs been opposed to each other, and as neither of them had ever yet experienced a defeat, the utmost confidence reigned in their respective armies. Bonaparte's military eye immediately perceived that the left wing of the Austrian army was disadvantageously posted. This wing he ordered the Duke of Montebello to attack, while the front of the Austrians was opposed by the main body of the French. The contest was long and obstinate, but at the close of the day, the left wing of the archduke's army was turned, and being driven from all his positions, he was compelled to retreat. A large body of the Austrians, endeavouring to make a stand, under the covert of the woods in the neighbourhood of Ratisbon, were driven into the plain, and suffered dreadfully from the French cavalry. An

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attempt to cover the retreat of the main body of the army by the cavalry, was equally unsuccessful; the covering corps were attacked on both wings, but after maintaining their ground for a considerable length of time, they were at length obliged to give way, and to seek their safety in flight. The Archduke Charles narrowly escaped being taken prisoner, and it was entirely owing to the fleetness of his horse that the Austrian commander in person did not serve to swell the trophies of the enemy.

Under cover of the darkness of the night, the broken and discomfited divisions of the Austrian army collected at Ratisbon. At this place they endeavoured to make a stand; but after three successive charges, they gave way, leaving the field covered with eight thousand of their slain. The French troops, following up their successes, entered the city through a breach in the fortifications; here a sanguinary engagement took place, in which six Austrian regiments were either cut to pieces or taken prisoners; and the remainder, not having had time to break down the bridge, were closely pursued to the left bank of the Rhine. In these battles, Bonaparte pursued his usual plan, of breaking the enemy's forces into detached parts, and then attacking them separately; and the Austrians, uninstructed by experience, had so disposed their troops as to favour his operations. At Ebensberg, the two divisions of the Archduke Louis and General Keller were beat separately; at Landshut, Bonaparte broke through the centre of their communications, and took their magazines and artillery; and in the battle of Eckmühl, he defeated the remaining divisions of the Austrian army of the Danube, except that of General Bellegarde, which did not join the archduke till the day after his disaster. In the battles of Eckmühl and Ratisbon the French army took upwards of twenty thousand prisoners, and the greater part of the Austrian artillery; and in the short space of five days, the Austrians had lost forty thousand men, and one hundred pieces of cannon.

The defeat of the Austrian armies had laid open their capital to the invaders, and on the 10th of May, Bonaparte, without encountering any formidable resistance in his way from Ratisbon, appeared before the gates of Vienna. The Archduke Maximilian, to whom the command of the city was intrusted, animated and encouraged the citizens to resistance, as long as the imperfect nature of the fortifications, and their un-

skilfulness in the art of war, would permit. For four and twenty hours the French howitzers played upon the town; their fire, though destructive, did not shake the constancy of the inhabitants. When, however, the enemy had succeeded in crossing the smaller branches of the Danube, by means of the numerous craft which are constantly on that river, and when the communication with the left bank was on the point of being cut off, surrender became indispensable, and the regular troops, amounting to about four thousand, effected their retreat by means of the great bridge of Tabau, to which they soon afterwards set fire. The emperor, in anticipation of the advance of the French to Vienna, had quitted that city soon after the defeat of the archduke, and had taken up his abode at Znaim in Moravia. After the battle of Eckmühl, the Archduke Charles crossed to the north side of the Danube, and retreating in the direction of Bohemia, attempted to gain the capital by forced marches before the arrival of the French. But the capture of Vienna was an object of too much importance not to be aimed at by Bonaparte with all his powers, and when the archduke had advanced to Meissau, and before he could form a junction with General Keller, he learned, to his extreme mortification, that the Archduke Maximilian had been obliged to capitulate with the French for the surrender of the city. Deprived by this capture of a point of support for the operations of his army, the archduke fixed his head-quarters on the 16th of May at Enzersdorf, the chain of his out-posts extending on the right as far as Krems, while Presburg, lower down the river, was occupied by his left. The advanced guards were at the same time pushed forward on the banks of the Danube, and the cavalry was posted on the margin of a small rivulet, on ground covered and partly concealed by bushes.

Bonaparte lost not a moment in forming the determination to attack the Archduke Charles in his new position, and for this purpose the French army was marched down the south bank of the river to Ebersdorf, where two islands of unequal dimensions divide the river into three branches, of the average breadth of about two hundred yards.* On the 19th of May the French engineers threw two bridges from the right bank† of the Danube to the smaller island; and on the 20th two other bridges were erected from that island to the Isle of In-der-Lobau,‡ which forms a convenient rendezvous for troops, and

* See Sketch at page 111.

† It will always be understood that the *right* of a river is the bank to the right of any body floating down its stream; and as the Danube rises in Suabia, and passing Vienna eastward, empties itself into the Black Sea, the bank occupied at this time by the French was the right, and that occupied by the Austrians the left of the river.

‡ In-der-Lobau is about eight English miles in length, and four in breadth.

where Bonaparte fixed his head-quarters. In three hours, a bridge, consisting of fifteen pontoons, was thrown over that arm of the river which separates Lobau from the Marsh Field, and the archduke having formed the resolution not to interrupt the passage of the enemy, they were permitted to extend themselves along the left bank of the river without molestation. Bonaparte was accordingly left at liberty to fix on the field of battle, and he immediately determined to post the right wing of his army on the village of Essling, and the left on the neighbouring village of Aspern.

On the 21st, at day-break, the Archduke Charles formed his army in two lines on the rising ground behind Gerasdorf, near the Bisam-Hill. Between the Austrian army and the Danube was an extensive plain, which, from the even and unobstructed nature of its surface, appeared destined to become the theatre of a general engagement. The Archduke Charles, having duly considered the advantageous position of the French army, and the difficulties he had to surmount, ordered the attack to be made in five columns.

The 1st col. consisted of	10 batt.	and	22 squadrons.
2d,	20	.....	16
3d,	22	.....	8
4th,	13	.....	8
5th,	13	.....	6
The corps of cavalry, .....	—	.....	78
of grenadiers,	16	.....	—

103 battalions. 138 squadrons.

Constituting a force of 75,000 effective men. Of artillery there were eighteen batteries of brigade, thirteen of position, and eleven of horse artillery; in the aggregate two hundred and eighty pieces of ordnance of different calibres.

The possession of Aspern was essentially necessary, in order to enable the Austrian artillery to play with effect upon the centre of the enemy's lines, and the army being put into motion exactly at twelve o'clock, the first and second columns were ordered to attack that village. The contest here was most obstinate and murderous: in every street, every house, and every outbuilding, the battle raged with unexampled fury; every wall was an impediment to the assailants, and a rampart for the attacked; the steeple, attics, and cellars, were to be conquered before either party could style himself master of the place; and for seven hours the conflict continued, each army rivalling the other in courage and perseverance. Scarcely had the Austrians succeeded in gaining possession of one part of the village, when the French poured in strong reinforcements, and dislodged them at another; at length, the second column, combining its movements and attacks with those of the first, made itself master of

the upper part of the village, and maintained its position during the whole of the first day's combat. In the mean time, the enemy, having formed his left towards Aspern, and his right towards Essling, advanced in columns upon the main body of the Austrian army, supported by a heavy cannonade. The cavalry, unable to withstand the impetuosity of this shock, fell back in disorder; but the infantry, having reserved their fire till the French had advanced within ten paces, opened upon them with so much effect as to put them completely to rout. The Austrian line, thus disengaged from the enemy, obtained possession of the remainder of the village of Aspern, and maintained their ground in the face of all opposition.

The third column endeavoured to take advantage of the rout of the enemy, by advancing against them in close battalion, supported by their artillery; but the French cavalry, commanded by Lassalle, suddenly rushed forward, in such numbers, and with so much rapidity, that the Austrian artillery narrowly escaped falling into their hands, and the battalions were left to defend themselves by their own unsupported exertions. The enemy's cavalry had succeeded in turning both the wings of this column, and in the confidence of victory had summoned them to lay down their arms. This degrading proposal was answered by a steady and well-directed fire, and the enemy was ultimately compelled to abandon his object, leaving the field covered with his slain.

The fourth and fifth columns of the Austrian army were directed to drive the French out of the village of Essling, a position of as much importance to the right of the enemy as Aspern was to his left. Here the French fought with still greater obstinacy and courage than they had displayed in the defence of Aspern; the safety of their retreat depended upon the possession of this village, and although the Austrians succeeded in driving back the corps which were posted in front of the enemy's position, all their efforts to dislodge them proved ineffectual, and at the close of this day's engagement, the village of Essling remained in possession of the French. The battle of the 21st was terminated only by the night: the French had been driven from Aspern, but they still retained possession of Essling. New efforts were to be expected the following day; Napoleon's glory, as well as the existence of his army, was at stake, and the fate of the Austrian Monarchy was suspended upon the success of the army under the archduke. All the disposable troops in Vienna, under General Oudinot, were, during the night, transported across the Danube, in order to reinforce

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the French army; while the grenadier corps, which had not had any share in the first day's engagement, was ordered to advance from its position near Gerasdorf, to reinforce the Austrians, and the night was too short to complete their respective preparations for the second day's tragedy. The character of Bonaparte left no doubt, that on the morrow all his military talents would be stretched to retrieve the glory he had lost, and to compensate for the disappointment he had sustained. During the battle of the 21st, the archduke had ordered fire-ships to be sent down the river, and these vessels had been so well managed and directed, that the two bridges which connected the island of Lobau with the small island, and that island with the southern bank of the Danube, were destroyed. By the destruction of the bridges Bonaparte was rendered less able to repair the disasters and losses he had sustained; and in case the battle of the succeeding day should prove decidedly adverse, his retreat, it was apprehended, would be completely cut off. In this point of view, the burning down of the bridges might justly be considered as highly advantageous to the Austrians; but on the other hand, it led the archduke to expect a most obstinate defence from an army placed in such a situation of peril.

At four o'clock in the morning of the 22d the battle re-commenced, and the Duke of Rivoli again possessed himself of the village of Aspern. The regiments of Klebeck were now directed to make another effort to regain the village; but after a desperate contest, carried on for upwards of an hour in the midst of conflagrations, the Austrians were at length obliged to give way. The regiment of Benyowsky now rushed in, and at the first onset gained possession of the church-yard, the walls of which were immediately destroyed, by order of General Hiller, and the church, and the parsonage-house, soon after shared the same fate. This regiment, supported by some battalions under General Bianchi, succeeded in establishing itself at the entrance of the village; and maintained this position against the repeated attacks of the flower of the French army. The Archduke Charles was now enabled to act on the offensive; the corps of the Austrian General Bellegarde, having its right wing resting on Aspern, and its centre and left towards Essling, by degrees gained the right flank of the enemy; while the artillery, stationed near the former village in such a manner as to command the intervening space, was brought to bear on his left flank: thus attacked and exposed, the French army was compelled to give way, and retire towards the Danube. While the division of Count Bellegarde was engaged at Aspern,

the French cavalry, by a desperate effort, endeavoured to break in between the Austrian cavalry, commanded by Prince Liechtenstein, and the left wing of the Prince of Hohenzollern. Here the Archduke Charles particularly distinguished himself: the battalion of Zach seeming disposed to give way, he seized its colours, placed himself at its head, and inspired the whole army with the same enthusiasm with which he himself was animated. In the midst of this attack by the French cavalry, the Prince of Hohenzollern, perceived on his left wing, near Essling, an opening in the French line, formed during the heat of the engagement: of this circumstance he immediately took advantage, by ordering thither a regiment in three divisions, which succeeded in gaining and maintaining their position till the arrival of the grenadiers of reserve, by whose co-operation they were enabled to turn and attack the centre of the enemy. The only post which the French were now able to maintain was the village of Essling, which was attacked by Prince Rosenberg, and defended by the Duke of Montebello. The attack was made with redoubled bravery, and the Austrians pushed into the village with irresistible impetuosity; still, however, they found it impossible to maintain this post. Five times did these gallant troops rush up to the houses burning within, and placed in a state of defence; but all their efforts were fruitless, for their antagonists fought the fight of despair.

In the night between the 22d and the 23d the French accomplished their retreat to Lobau, and at three o'clock in the morning their rear-guard evacuated Essling, and all the positions they had held on the left bank of the Danube. Thus terminated a conflict of two days, which will ever be memorable in the military annals of the world. In this dreadful battle the loss of the enemy was prodigious; it can only be accounted for by the effect of the concentric fire on an exceedingly confined field of battle, where two hundred pieces of cannon crossed one another; and calculated by the following authentic data: the Duke of Montebello, Generals d'Espagne, St. Hilaire, and Albuquerque, were killed; Massena, Bessières, Molitor, Boudet, Legrand, Lassalle, and the two brothers Legrange, were wounded; and Generals Durosnel and Foulser made prisoners. Upwards of 7,000 men, and an immense number of horses, were buried on the field of battle; upwards of 5,000 were conveyed to the Austrian hospitals; and in Vienna and the suburbs there were 20,773 wounded, exclusive of 2,800 who were taken prisoners. The burying of the sufferers was continued for several days, and in the figurative language of the Austrian gazette, "a pestilence

tial air was wafted down the theatre of death."* The loss of the Austrians was also very great: their official accounts acknowledged the death of eighty-seven superior officers, and of upwards of four thousand subalterns and privates; and twelve of their generals, six hundred and sixty-three officers, and fifteen thousand six hundred subalterns and privates, were wounded.

In detailing the events of the battle of Aspern, and in estimating the loss of the respective armies, our information has been principally drawn from the official documents published by the Austrian government; but candour demands the acknowledgment, that these accounts are at variance with the French bulletins in many important particulars. According to the tenth bulletin, "the Austrian army, having sustained a defeat on the 21st, was on the point of being destroyed, when, at seven o'clock in the morning of the 22d, an aide-de-camp of the Emperor Napoleon came to inform him, that a sudden rise in the Danube had set afloat a great number of trees, which were cut down during the late events at Vienna, and that the bridges, which formed the communication between the right bank and the little island and that of In-der-Lobau, had thereby been carried away. All the reserve park of artillery, which were advancing, were, by the loss of the bridges, detained on the right bank of the river, as was also a part of the heavy cavalry, and the whole of the Duke of Auerstadt's corps. This dreadful accident induced the emperor to put a stop to the movements in advance."—"The Austrians, having learned that the bridges were thrown down, recovered from the frightful state of disorder into which they had been thrown; and from nine o'clock in the morning till seven in the evening they made the most astonishing exertions, supported by the fire of two hundred pieces of cannon, to throw the French army into disorder; but all their efforts tended to their own disgrace; and after discharging forty thousand cannon shot, they were obliged to return to their old position, leaving the French masters of the field. The loss of the Austrians was very great; it was estimated that they left more than twelve thousand dead upon the field. The French loss was also considerable, they had eleven hundred killed, and three thousand wounded."†

It is difficult to decide between the conflicting statements, at what period, or by what means, the bridges were thrown down; but it

is perfectly clear, from their own accounts, that the loss of the French was infinitely greater than they acknowledged. For ten hours the French army was retreating, and consequently in a disadvantageous situation, and during this time they were exposed to the fire of two hundred cannon, from which forty thousand shot were discharged, and by which an immense slaughter must have been inflicted. In the short demi-official accounts published by the Austrians immediately after the battle of Aspern, it was unequivocally and triumphantly declared, that the ruin of Bonaparte was complete; but the event proved the fallacy of these expectations; and the state of inaction into which the army of the archduke was suffered to fall after the 22d, too plainly indicated, that he had failed in his "principal object," which was to "drive back the enemy entirely over the first arms of the Danube, destroy the bridges he had thrown over them, and occupy the bank of the Lobau with a numerous artillery."‡

While the hostile armies are reposing after their sanguinary labours, busied in repairing their mutual losses, and in preparing for future combats, the attention of the reader may with propriety be directed to the operations of the subordinate armies in other parts of Germany, and in Poland and Italy: On the 15th of April the Archduke Ferdinand, who commanded the Austrian army in Poland, crossed the Perica, and entered the duchy of Warsaw. The Polish General, Prince Poniatowski, being much inferior in strength, retreated before the archduke, and Warsaw was occupied by the Austrians. This city they continued to occupy, as well as the surrounding duchy, till the disasters experienced by the main army, under the Archduke Charles, rendered it expedient, that, foregoing all subordinate objects, they should march to join their countrymen on the Danube, and contribute, if possible, to sustain the declining interests of the monarchy. At the beginning of the month of June the grand duchy was accordingly abandoned by the Austrians, while the Russian and Polish armies, in the service of France, occupied nearly the whole of Galicia.

The King of Saxony, having been compelled, like the other tributary princes of Bonaparte, to take up arms against Austria, soon found himself stripped of a great part of his dominions, and forced to abandon his capital. The Austrians, possessing a powerful army in that quarter—more powerful indeed than appeared

* Supplement to the London Gazette of the 11th of July, 1809.

† Tenth Bulletin of the French army, dated Ebersdorff, May 23, 1809.

‡ See the plan of the attack published by the Archduke Charles on the morning of the 21st of May.
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either necessary or advisable, when it is considered that the main prize was to be contended for on the banks of the Danube, not only obtained possession of Dresden and Leipsic, but even threatened the newly formed kingdom of Westphalia. The war in this part of Germany was attended with various success, but the operations do not, from their general character, claim any particular or detailed narration. A most formidable insurrection sprang up in Saxony, Westphalia, and Hanover, which, if it had been cherished and directed by the support and skill either of the British or the Austrians, would have rendered the situation of Bonaparte dangerous and critical in the extreme. Unfortunately, however, no such aid was afforded to the insurgents, so that, after having harassed the French, and prevented the march of troops to the Danube, they were at last crushed by superior numbers and discipline. At the head of these partisans appeared two men, well calculated by their characters, their talents, and their influence, to collect and to animate their followers. Schill, a Major in the Prussian service, filled with a strong and influential detestation of Bonaparte, found no difficulty in rousing the inhabitants of a conquered country; and although it does not appear that the corps which this officer commanded was at any time very numerous; yet it was formidable to the enemy by the rapidity of its movements, by its sudden and unexpected appearance, and by the countenance it afforded to the discontented inhabitants. After traversing the whole of the north of Germany in different directions, and perplexing and defeating the troops that were opposed to him, Schill was at length compelled, from the want of co-operation, and the pressure of superior numbers, to take shelter in Stralsund. Before he had recourse to this measure, he had made himself master of the whole of Mecklenburg, where he had levied very heavy contributions, and raised a great number of recruits. A strong body of Dutch troops, with a column of fifteen hundred Danes, pursued him to Stralsund; in this place, although deprived of its fortifications, Schill had, with incredible industry, perseverance, and skill, made very formidable preparations to defend himself, and resist the attacks of his enemies; but after an obstinate resistance the town was forced; the insurgents were driven from their guns, and the enemy gained possession of streets, filled with the bodies of dead men, who merited a better fate. Schill, and twenty of his officers were killed; and such of his officers as were taken prisoners were tried and executed as deserters from the service of the king of Prussia. The Duke of Brunswick Oels, though in his own person less unfortunate than Schill, did not effect by his army any thing more decisively or

permanently beneficial to the cause of Germany. The duke did, indeed, for some time distract the attention of the French, and occupy some of the troops destined to reinforce the army under Bonaparte; but he was at length compelled to seek for safety in flight, and succeeded in embarking with his little corps for England.

The operations and movements of the hostile armies in Italy were more important than those of the armies in Poland or in the north of Germany. At the beginning of the campaign in Italy, the Austrians were eminently successful; they soon made themselves masters of Padua and Vicenza, crossed the Adige, and threatened Venice itself. But the victories of Bonaparte in Bavaria rendered it advisable for the Archduke John, who commanded the Austrian army in Italy, to measure back his steps. To this determination he was also probably in some degree led, by the reinforcement of ten thousand men, which the Viceroy of Italy, Prince Eugene, received from Tuscany. Thus reinforced, the French army of Italy retook Padua and Vicenza, and attacked and overthrew the Austrians beyond the Piave, with the loss of sixteen pieces of cannon, and four thousand prisoners. A few days after this engagement the French crossed the Tagliamento, and after a few partial skirmishes, inflicted another defeat upon the Austrian army at Tarvis. Advancing towards Vienna in their victorious career, the French were enabled, on the anniversary of the battle of Marengo, to bring the Archduke John to another engagement at Raab. Victory was for a long time doubtful, but that part of the archduke's army which consisted of the raw and undisciplined troops of the Hungarian insurrection, at length gave way, and six pieces of cannon, four standards, and three thousand prisoners, fell into the hands of the French. After this engagement, the Archduke John retreated with considerable rapidity, and in some disorder, towards Pest, for the purpose of forming a junction with the main Austrian army. After the battle of Raab, the Viceroy of Italy advanced without impediment to the Austrian capital, and by the addition of the force under his command, served to swell the number of combatants in the approaching great and decisive battle of Wagram.

From the day of the battle of Aspern till the end of the first week in July, Bonaparte continued stationary on the south bank of the Danube; but though stationary, he was by no means inactive. That he was so, proved, both for his own situation, and from the effects which his repulse might have on the continent, was abundantly evident. Scarcely a day passed without producing a bulletin, the ostensible object of which was to register the rise and the fall of the Danube, and to congratulate his army on the

approach of the Russians, and the junction of the troops under the Viceroy of Italy. But amidst all this seeming trifling and gasconade, Bonaparte was making the most formidable preparations, not merely to protect himself against an attack from the Archduke Charles, but also to enable him to resume offensive operations in such a manner as might secure success. The construction of the bridges over the Danube was intrusted to General Count Bertrand. In the short space of a fortnight, this engineer raised a bridge of sixty arches to In-der-Lobau, so broad that three carriages could pass abreast, over four hundred fathoms of a rapid river.* A second bridge, eight feet broad, was constructed for infantry.† These bridges were secured against the effects of fire-ships by stuccadoes, raised on piles between the islands in different directions, and an armed flotilla cruised upon the river to defend these various and copious sources of communication. Each of the bridges was covered and protected by a *tête-du-pont*, a hundred and sixty fathoms long, surrounded by palisades, frizes, and ditches filled with water; and magazines of provisions, a hundred pieces of

cannon, and twenty mortars, were stationed on the island. Opposite Essling, on the left arm of the Danube, another bridge was formed by the Duke of Rivoli, guarded in like manner by a *tête-du-pont*.‡ At this time the Austrian army was strongly intrenched on the north bank of the Danube; the left wing stretching towards Enzersdorf, and the right resting on the village of Aspern, which was surrounded with field fortifications, for the purpose of opposing the passage of the river.

While Bonaparte was thus engaged in fortifying his positions, and in preparing such stupendous means for crossing the Danube, the Archduke Charles had not only raised works and planted cannon to secure himself against an attack, but he had also drawn from Germany, Poland, and Hungary, immense reinforcements. It is not easy to calculate exactly the number of troops in either army, but at a fair estimation they may be taken at 150,000 men each. As the principal means of passing the Danube had been formed directly opposite to the Austrian redoubts, between Aspern and Essling, the attention of the Archduke Charles was in a great

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SKETCH

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE BATTLES OF ASPERN AND WAGRAM.



* Marked (a) in the Sketch (a a.)

† Marked (b b.)

‡ Marked (c.)

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measure confined to this point. But the object of Bonaparte in making so much parade about this bridge, was to divert the attention of the archduke, and by no means to cross the river in the face of the enemy's most formidable position. On the 4th of July, at ten o'clock at night, General Oudinot, with 1,500 voltigeurs, embarked in ten gun-boats on the great arm of the Danube, and crossed the river opposite Muhl-leiten. During the night four new bridges were completed;* one of them, in a single piece eighty toises long, was fixed in less than five minutes, and the three others consisted of boats and rafts thrown over the river. The night was unusually dark, the rain fell in torrents, and the violence of the storm favoured the operations of the enemy. At two o'clock in the morning of the 5th the whole French army had crossed the Danube, the corps of the Duke of Rivoli forming the left; that of Count Oudinot the centre; and that of the Duke of Auerstadt the right. At day-break they were arranged in order of battle at the extremity of the left flank of the Austrians. The Archduke Charles was thus completely out-generaled; his works were rendered useless, and he was compelled to abandon his positions, and to fight the enemy on the spot chosen by themselves. At five o'clock, three bodies of the French cavalry, and as many of infantry, with an immense quantity of ordnance, were seen defiling near Wittau. At six o'clock the enemy had surrounded and taken all the Austrian fortifications between Essling and Enzersdorf, and the garrisons of which were almost all either killed or wounded. The whole of the 5th was spent in manœuvring, and during the night Bonaparte attempted to gain possession of the village of Wagram, but owing to the gallant resistance of the Austrians, and to a column of Saxons and a column of French mistaking each other in the dark, the operation failed.

A general engagement had now become inevitable, and at the dawn of the morning of the 6th, the two armies, each provided with upwards of five hundred pieces of cannon, were drawn out for battle. The right of the Austrian army, under Marshal Klenau, consisting of the third and sixth grenadier corps, extended from Sussenbrunn to the Danube; the left, commanded by Prince Rosenberg, supported by Prince Hohenzollern, was stationed in the neighbourhood of Wagram; and the centre, commanded by Count Bellegarde, and supported by the reserve cavalry, under Prince Lichtenstein, was posted in front of Aderklaa. The left of the French army was commanded by the Prince of Ponte Corvo; the right, by the Duke

of Auerstadt; and the centre, by Bonaparte in person.

The arrangements of the two hostile commanders were directly at variance with each other. Napoleon had passed the night in accumulating a force to strengthen his centre, where he placed himself in person within cannon-shot of Wagram. The Archduke Charles, who was with the corps of Bellegarde, had on the contrary extended his flanks and weakened his centre. The corps of Prince Rosenberg, and that of the Duke of Auerstadt, moving in opposite directions, encountered each other in the morning, and gave the signal of battle. At this time the Austrians were preparing to make a storming attack upon Ober Siebenbrunn, when the Archduke Charles, perceiving that the right wing had not arrived, ordered the prince to halt, and he was ultimately obliged to retire under a galling fire to his former position. This inauspicious commencement of the battle was succeeded by a vigorous attempt on the centre of the French lines at Raschdorf, where Napoleon, surrounded by sixty thousand men in close order, stood directing the operations of his army. The attempt to penetrate the French lines proving unsuccessful, two columns of infantry, protected by a body of cavalry, advanced towards Aderklaa; here the quantity of grape-shot poured in upon the Austrians became overwhelming, and a momentary panic seized the battalions under Marshal Bellegarde; but, at length, the heroism and energy of the field officers succeeded in restoring order, and the enemy was driven at the point of the bayonet towards Aderklaa. The cannonade now became general along the whole line, and the effect of the injudicious dispositions of the Austrian general, in weakening his centre, every moment manifested itself. Bonaparte, surprised at this manœuvre, at first suspected some stratagem, but he was soon convinced that the Archduke Charles had committed a fatal error, of which he hastened to take advantage. With this view the Duke of Rivoli was ordered to attack the Austrians at the extremity of the centre, while the Duke of Auerstadt was directed first to turn the position of Mark Grafen Neusiedel, and then to push upon Wagram. The attack upon Mark Grafen was vigorous in the extreme, and Prince Rosenberg was, after a desperate resistance, obliged to evacuate that village. The success of the enemy in out-flanking the Austrians continued to increase; and five battalions and one regiment of cavalry, sent by Prince Hohenzollern, were found incapable of arresting his operations. The tower of Neusiedel, built in ancient times to check the incursions of the

* Marked in the Sketch (d d d d.)

Hungarians, formed the key of this position, and was defended by Prince Rosenberg, with great gallantry and perseverance; but a concentric discharge of grape-shot mowed down his ranks with so much rapidity that he was at length obliged to give way, and to leave the French general in possession of the eminence. At the same moment that the attack upon Mark Grafen was taking place, a furious effort was directed against the Austrian centre. Napoleon, acting upon the principle of all his former campaigns, ordered the centre of his army to form in two columns, supported by two batteries consisting of one hundred and sixty pieces of artillery. As soon as these columns were formed General Macdonald advanced at their head at the *pas de charge*; General Reille, with the brigade of fusileers and sharp-shooters, supported Macdonald; and to render the attack irresistible, the guards at the same time made an advance in front. The Austrian centre, incapable of withstanding this tremendous onset, fell back a league. The right, perceiving the dangerous position in which it was now placed, retreated along with the centre; and the left, being outflanked by the Duke of Auerstadt, fell back upon Wagram. At ten o'clock in the morning, it was clear, to a military eye, that the fate of the day was decided, and from that moment the Austrians fought only to secure their retreat. At noon the important position of Wagram was carried; and the Archduke Charles, finding himself cut off from Hungary and Moravia, fell back upon Bohemia. At four o'clock in the afternoon, the Archduke John, at the head of his corps, arrived on the field of battle from Presburg, but the battle was then decided, and in the evening he retreated in the same direction in which he had advanced.

This battle, fought in the vicinity of the Austrian capital, by three hundred thousand warriors, in the view of an equal number of spectators, decided the fate of Germany. The number of the slain was immense; and ten pairs of colours, forty pieces of cannon, and twenty thousand prisoners, formed the trophies of the victory.* The French, in estimating the loss of the Austrians, stated that the battle of Wagram had deprived them of sixty thousand soldiers; and the Austrians, in their official returns, admit a loss, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, of upwards of thirty thousand men.† The loss of the French, was considerable; in their own bulletins it was stated at fifteen hundred killed, and four thousand wounded; but the Austrian accounts swell that number to twenty thousand.

One of the disastrous consequences of this sanguinary day, was the destruction of twelve of the most considerable villages in the beautiful plain of Vienna, and Bonaparte, with his usual address, imputed these conflagrations to the guilty men who had drawn down upon their country all these calamities.

The French, who lost no time in pursuing the Austrians, came up with the retreating army on the 10th of July at Znaim; here another battle was fought, which was terminated by a proposal from the Emperor Francis to conclude an armistice. On the 12th the armistice was signed, and the terms of this document too plainly indicated the extent of the Austrian losses, and the exhausted state of their resources. From causes which at the time were not understood, but which a subsequent matrimonial alliance tended in some degree to explain, the negotiations for a definitive treaty of peace between France and Austria proceeded very slowly, and were not finally closed till the month of October. When the terms of peace were made known they were generally regarded as by no means unfavourable to Austria. The cessions made by the Emperor Francis were, however, very considerable, and may be comprised under three heads: first, those to the sovereigns forming the Rhenish league generally; secondly, those to the French Emperor; and thirdly, those to the King of Saxony. To the King of Bavaria was ceded Salzburg, and a portion of territory extending along the banks of the Danube, from Passau to the vicinity of Lintz. To France, Austria gave up Fiume and Trieste, with the whole of the country to the south of the Saave, till that river enters Bosnia. The King of Saxony obtained several villages in Bohemia; and in Poland, the whole of Western Galicia, from the frontiers of Silesia to the Bog, together with the city of Cracow, and a district round it in eastern Galicia. Russia obtained so much of this latter province as should contain four hundred thousand souls. With respect to external politics, the Emperor Francis agreed to acknowledge Joseph Bonaparte King of Spain; to accede to the continental system; and to break off all intercourse with Great Britain. But the most mortifying and humiliating condition of this treaty was that by which the Austrian Monarch gave up the inhabitants of the Tyrol to Bavaria, with a provision indeed that Bonaparte should procure for them a complete and full pardon.

In every part of Germany peace was now established except in the Tyrol: the inhabitants

* Twenty-fifth French Bulletin.

† Müller's Relation of the Operations of the Austrian and French armies in 1809.
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of this country, though deserted and given up by that government in whose favour they had risen in arms, and to whom they had manifested an attachment unbroken by the most dreadful sacrifices and sufferings, still refused submission to the conquerors. Their resistance was most formidable; some of the most experienced generals of Bonaparte, at the head of his best troops, were repeatedly defeated, and driven back with great loss, even after they had penetrated into the centre of the Tyrol. At the head of the mountaineers appeared a man worthy of being a leader among a nation of heroes. The brave Hoffer animated and directed the actions of his countrymen; and before him, untutored as he was in the art of war, the experienced troops of Europe fled in dismay. In vain did Bonaparte pour in fresh forces, block up the passes of the mountains, and forbid all communication between the inhabitants and the neighbouring countries. All his schemes were foiled; and if for a short time the Tyrolese fled before his armies, or appeared not to oppose their progress, it was only to attack them to more advantage in the passes of the mountains, or to fall upon them when they were unprepared. On the conquest of the country, however, Bonaparte was determined, and at length he effected his purpose, by pouring in continued reinforcements, and by the capture and infamous execution of the gallant Hoffer.

While Bonaparte was at Vienna, and within a few days of the great battle of Aspern, when a less ambitious mind would have been solely fixed on military preparations, he caused proclamations to be made in the public squares and market-place of that city, that from the 1st of June the Papal territory should be united with the French empire; and that Rome should at the same time be declared a free and imperial city. This decree, which fixed the annual revenue of the pope at two millions of francs, was grounded on three propositions; first, that the territories of Rome were fiefs bestowed by the Emperor Charlemagne, the predecessor of the Emperor Napoleon, on the Bishops of Rome, to maintain the peace of his subjects; second, that ever since that time the union of temporal and spiritual power has been, and still is, the source of

dissension; and third, that the temporal pretensions of the pope are irreconcilable with the security of the French army, the repose and prosperity of the nations subject to the sway of Napoleon, and the dignity and inviolability of his empire. The pope solemnly protested against the violence and injustice by which he had been stripped of his temporal sovereignty; and at the same time issued an act of excommunication against the French Emperor, and all his co-operators in this act of unprovoked spoliation. But the thunders of the Vatican had lost their terrors; and an act, which three centuries ago would have roused to arms all the states of Europe, was now witnessed without one single effort on the part of the surrounding sovereigns to pluck the prey from the hands of the spoiler.*

A rumour had for a long time prevailed, which, though it occasionally died away, was always revived after a short interval, that Napoleon meant to divorce Josephine, for the purpose of uniting himself with a younger and more noble bride. On the 16th of December, this design to dissolve his marriage was formally announced to the conservative senate; and on the same day, the project of a decree was submitted to that assembly, and before the sitting terminated, the law authorising the divorce was enacted. To witness these proceedings most of the relations of the emperor and empress were summoned to Paris. The arch-chancellor was ordered to attend in the grand cabinet of Napoleon, where the Empress, the Kings of Holland, Westphalia, and Naples; the Viceroy of Italy; the Queens of Holland, Westphalia, and Spain; Madame, the mother of Bonaparte; and the Princess Pauline, were assembled. The emperor explained to the assembly his views, and the motives by which he was actuated: and the empress declared that she willingly consented to the divorce, in order to further the policy of the emperor and the interests of France. A proces verbal was then drawn up, which was signed by the kings, queens, princes, and princesses, present, as well as by the emperor and empress, and to which was annexed a decree, pronouncing the marriage contract between the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Josephine to be dis-

* ACT OF EXCOMMUNICATION.

"By the authority of God Almighty, and of St. Paul and St. Peter, we declare you, (Napoleon Bonaparte, Emperor of France,) and all your co-operators in the act of violence which you are executing, to have incurred the same excommunication, which we, in our apostolic letters, contemporaneously affixing in the usual places of this city, declare to have been incurred by all those who, on the violent invasion of this city on the 2d of February, last year, were guilty of the acts of violence against which we have protested, as well really in so many declarations, that by our order have been issued by our successive secretaries of state, as also in two consistorial colloquations, of the 16th of March, and the 11th of July, 1808, in common with all their agents, abettors, advisers, and whoever else may have been accessory to, or himself been engaged in, the execution of those attempts.

"Given at Rome, Santa Maria Maggiore, June 10, in the 10th year of our pontificate.

(*Locus Signi*)

"PIUS PAPA VII."

solved.* This extraordinary act, which was conducted with all the dignity and solemnity of which such a ceremony was capable, served to elicit a secret article in the late treaty at Vienna, and paved the way to that imperial alliance, which, by raising Napoleon to a giddy eminence, laid the foundation of his final ruin.

The affairs of Sweden had now become desperate; Gustavus Adolphus IV. whose romantic character set at defiance all the ordinary calculations of prudence, had embarked his country in a war to which its resources were totally inadequate. At the commencement of the contest with Russia the Swedes had displayed traits of heroism that would have reflected honour on the army of Charles XII. But notwithstanding the liberal subsidy granted by Great Britain, and the gallant exploits of the English fleet in the Baltic, under Sir James Saumarez, neither the population nor the finances of Sweden were equal to the exigency of their present situation. The progress of the Russians in Finland, and the increasing calamities of the war, aggravated by the ravages of a contagious distemper, and the knowledge of the army that it was the fixed purpose of the king again to measure his strength against the empires of Russia and France, excited universal discontent; and a confederacy was formed against Gustavus, which terminated in his expulsion from the throne of his ancestors. This bloodless revolution, which took place on the 18th of March, 1809, was effected without commotion, and the diet being assembled at Stockholm, the Duke of Sudermania, uncle to the king, was declared regent, and was afterwards chosen king to the exclusion of his nephew.

Charles XIII. on ascending the throne of Sweden, professed his determination not to consent to any peace with Russia that should be disgraceful to his country, or that should oblige her to take up arms against her faithful ally Great Britain. The war between Russia and Sweden was accordingly renewed, but misfortune still attended the Swedish armies, and peace was at length purchased by the sacrifice of Finland. Soon after the conclusion of the treaty of peace with Russia, negotiations were opened between Sweden and France, and on the 6th of January a treaty was concluded, by which Swedish Pomerania, with the principality of Rügen, was restored to Sweden; the former commercial relations between the two countries were revived; and the Emperor Napoleon, acting upon his usual policy, prevailed upon his new ally to adopt the continental system, and to exclude British commerce from the ports of the Baltic.

The time had now arrived when the efficacy of this system was to be fairly submitted to the test of experience: the ports of France, Italy, Holland, Russia, Germany, Denmark, and Sweden, were all closed by law against the introduction of English manufactures and merchandise; the continental system had become the law of the continent; but the spirit of British enterprise, co-operating with the wants of the various states of Europe, and assisted by the connivance of several of the involuntary auxiliaries of France, relaxed the rigours of commercial interdiction, and served to prove the futility of all attempts to destroy an intercourse grounded on the necessities and benefits of surrounding nations.

* IMPERIAL DIVORCE.

Extract from the Register of the Conservative Senate of Saturday the 16th of December, 1809:

His majesty the Emperor and King addressed the personages assembled to witness the ceremony in these terms:—

"The politics of my monarchy, the interests and wants of my people, which have constantly guided all my actions, require, that after me I should leave to children, inheritors of my love to my people, that throne on which providence has placed me; but for several years past I have lost the hope of having children by my marriage with my well-beloved consort the Empress Josephine. This it is which induces me to sacrifice the sweetest affections of my heart to attend to nothing but the good of the state, and to wish the dissolution of my marriage. Arrived at the age of forty years, I may indulge the hope of living long enough to educate, in my views and sentiments, the children which it may please providence to give me. God knows how much such a resolution has cost my heart; but there is no sacrifice that my courage will not surmount, when it is proved to me to be necessary for the welfare of France. I shall add, that far from ever having had reason to complain, on the contrary, I have been fully satisfied with the attachment and affection of my well-beloved consort. She has adorned fifteen years of my life, the remembrance of which will ever remain engraven on my heart. She was crowned by my hand. I wish her to preserve the rank and title of empress; but above all, that she should never doubt my sentiments, and that she should ever regard me as her best and dearest friend."

The Emperor having ended, her majesty the Empress spoke as follows:—

"By the permission of our dear and august consort, I ought to declare, that not preserving any hope of having children, which may fulfil the wants of his policy, and the interests of France, I am pleased to give the greatest proof of attachment and devotion which has ever been given on earth. I possess all from his bounty, it was his hand which crowned me, and from the height of his throne I have received nothing but proofs of affection and love from the French people. I think I prove myself grateful in consenting to the dissolution of a marriage which heretofore has been an obstacle to the welfare of France, which deprived it of the happiness of being one day governed by the descendant of a great man evidently raised up by providence to efface the evils of a terrible revolution, to re-establish the altar, the throne, and social order. But the dissolution of my marriage will in no degree change the sentiments of my heart; the emperor will ever have in me his best friend. I know how much this act, demanded by policy, and by so great an interest, has chilled his heart; but both of us exult in the sacrifice which we make for the good of the country."

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CHAPTER X.

BRITISH HISTORY: *Meeting of the Parliament of 1809—Monument voted to the Memory of Sir John Moore—Thanks of Parliament voted to Sir Arthur Wellesley, and the Officers and Troops under his Command—Augmentation of the Military Force of the Country—Discussions on the Convention of Cintra—Charges exhibited against His Royal Highness the Duke of York—Nature of the Evidence—Decision of the House of Commons at variance with the Public Voice—Resignation of the Commander-in-Chief—Expressions of Public Gratitude to Colonel Wardle—Abuse of India Patronage—Charge against Lord Castlereagh of trafficking in Seats in Parliament—Public Finances—Extortionate Conduct of the Dutch Commissioners—Charge of corrupt Practices preferred by Mr. Madocks against Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Spencer Perceval—Sir Francis Burdett's Plan of Parliamentary Reform—Mr. Wardle's Motion relative to the Public Expenditure—Prorogation of Parliament—Destruction of the French Fleet in Basque Roads—Naval Operations in the Mediterranean—Colonial Conquests—Relations between Great Britain and the United States—Disastrous Expedition to the Scheldt—Dissensions in the Cabinet—Duel between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning—Dissolution of the Ministry—Ministerial Arrangements—The Jubiles.*

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THE parliamentary session of 1809 was more distinguished for discussions regarding the domestic concerns of the country than for the agitation of those topics which concerned its foreign relations; and the charges against the commander-in-chief, grounded on an abuse of patronage in his official situation, and against his majesty's ministers, arising out of the corrupt disposal of high offices and seats in the commons house of parliament, occupied a large portion of the session, and imparted to its proceedings an unusual degree of interest and animation. On the 19th of January parliament assembled, when his majesty's speech was delivered by commission. This document, which related principally to the peninsula of Spain and Portugal, strongly recommended an augmentation of the regular army, in order that his majesty might be the better enabled, without impairing the means of defence at home, to avail himself of the military power of his dominions to conduct the great contest in which he was engaged, to a conclusion compatible with the honour of his majesty's crown, and with the interests of his allies, of Europe, and of the world.

The usual address to his majesty, which was moved in the house of lords by the Earl of Bridgewater, seconded by Lord Sheffield; and in the house of commons by the Honourable Frederick Robinson, seconded by Mr. S. B. Lushington; was carried in both houses with-

out a division, but not without several strong and pointed animadversions on the manner in which the war had been conducted, and on the general policy of his majesty's government.

One of the first subjects that engaged the attention of parliament, was the expression of the feelings of the country towards those distinguished characters whose services had tended in so eminent a degree to support its military renown; and on the 25th of January, the Earl of Liverpool, in the house of peers, and Lord Castlereagh, in the house of commons, moved the thanks of parliament to the officers and men under Sir John Moore, by whose gallantry and good conduct the victory of Corunna was achieved. The battle of Corunna, it was observed, was never surpassed in the annals of military fame. The engagement took place under the most adverse circumstances; and yet so complete was the victory, that the army, after remaining unmolested for the whole night on the field of battle, were on the following day able to embark in the presence of a superior force, and without leaving a wounded soldier, a piece of artillery, or any thing which the enemy could boast of as a trophy. The triumph was indeed damped by the death of the hero who achieved the victory. It was unnecessary to expatiate on the merits of Sir John Moore; they were fresh in the memory of his country; during the two last wars there was scarcely an important service in which he was not engaged; he had indeed

devoted the whole of his life to the public service, and his memory would live for ever in the gratitude of his country.* That country would cheerfully concur in handing down to posterity an expression of its gratitude for his eminent and illustrious deeds in arms, and devote to the memory of General Moore a lasting mark of national estimation, by erecting to him a monument, as a just trophy to his fame, and an excitement to those he had left behind him to imitate his example.

In every tribute to the memory of Sir John Moore, and in every eulogium upon his character, the opposition side of the house fully concurred. It was a mark of duty and of gratitude due from the house and from the country to that immortal commander to perpetuate his memory.† It was owing to the talents of Sir John Moore that any part of his army was brought away; and the conduct of the troops, like that of the commander, was above all praise. The failure and slaughter through which they had passed to the glorious exhibition of their valour, they owed solely to the disastrous councils which employed that valour upon a frantic and impracticable object.‡ For what purpose was so much precious blood shed? Did it produce any advantage to the country? Were the troops sent to Spain to escape from it?§ Their lives had been squandered as little to the advantage of the country as if they had been shot on the parade of St. James's Park.¶ The hand of Providence was upon us. Within three years we had lost two of the greatest statesmen the country ever saw; within the same time we had lost a naval hero of transcendent talents and courage; and now we had to regret the loss of a military chief, who, if it had pleased Providence to spare him to us, would have equally upheld the power and increased the glory of the country.

The motion for the thanks of parliament was carried unanimously in both houses, and a monument was voted to the memory of Lieutenant-general Sir John Moore.

These proceedings were succeeded by a motion for thanks to Sir Arthur Wellesley, and the officers and men under his command, for the brilliant victory obtained at the battle of Vimiera. In proposing this vote of thanks, Lord Castlereagh observed, that it was impossible to find in the military annals of Great Britain a more glorious instance of the superiority of her arms than had been displayed on that occasion. We had had our victories of Egypt and of Maida; but none of these triumphs ever exceeded the victory of Vimiera, which had afforded a further striking and unquestionable proof, that whenever

or wherever British troops were brought into action with the French, they were greatly their superior in courage, hardihood, and discipline.

Lord Folkstone was very ready to admit all the courage and gallantry which attached to the character of Sir Arthur Wellesley, and also the enthusiasm of the army under his command, but he objected to the vote of thanks for the battle of Vimiera, because he did not think it of that brilliant description to demand such a tribute from parliament, and because it fell short of those good consequences which ought to result from victory, and ended in a manner disgraceful to the country.

A long and animated debate ensued; after which the vote of thanks was carried with the sole dissentient voice of Lord Folkstone.

In the speech by his majesty's commissioners, at the opening of the present session of parliament, an augmentation of the disposable force of the country had been strongly recommended; and so early as the 2d of February a bill was introduced into the house of commons, by Lord Castlereagh, for that purpose. His lordship, in submitting this measure to the consideration of parliament, observed, that it had now been ascertained, that in every extraordinary crisis a considerable supply of troops could be had for the regular army by availing ourselves of the zeal and spirit which were always manifested on such occasions by the militia, who were ever willing to volunteer their services when there was a great and pressing necessity for increasing the disposable force; and out of twenty-eight thousand men permitted on a late occasion to volunteer from the militia into the line, twenty-seven thousand did actually enter within the space of twelve months. The extent to which he now proposed to limit the volunteering into the line would be, that no regiment of militia should be reduced to less than three fifths of its present force; and instead of thirty-six thousand men, to be raised in England, to supply the deficiency, he should now propose only twenty-four thousand. In order to relieve the counties from the great pressure of the ballot, he should propose, that the expense of raising the men to fill up the vacancies in the militia, should be defrayed, not by the counties, but by the public. The bounty to recruits he should fix at ten guineas; and if the voluntary enlistment for the militia did not succeed, and it was found necessary to resort to a ballot, it was his intention, in that case, to propose, that the bounty of ten guineas should be given to the balloted man to assist him in procuring a substi-

* Lord Liverpool.

† Lord Henry Petty.

‡ Lord Grenville

§ Lord Moira,

¶ Lord Erskine.

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tute. In the progress of this measure through parliament, it was stated by the Earl of Liverpool, that the regular army at the present moment consisted of upwards of two hundred and ten thousand infantry, and twenty-seven thousand cavalry. The infantry was disposed into one hundred and twenty-six first battalions, averaging nine hundred men each, and fifty-six second battalions, of which the average number was about four hundred men, and the object of this bill was to render the second battalions complete.

The inroad made by the army augmentation bill upon the constitution of the militia, and the uncertainty to what service this additional force was to be applied, called forth a very animated opposition, but the measure ultimately passed into a law by large majorities.

The terms of the convention of Cintra, and the circumstances which led to the conclusion of that treaty, were, on the 21st of February, brought under the consideration of parliament by Lord Henry Petty, who concluded a long and eloquent speech by moving the two following resolutions:

1. "That the convention concluded at Cintra, on the 30th of August, 1808, and the maritime convention concluded off the Tagus on the 3d of September, in the same year, appear to this house to have disappointed the hopes and expectations of the country.

2. "That the causes and circumstances which immediately led to the conclusion of those conventions, appear to this house, in a great measure, to have arisen from the misconduct and neglect of his majesty's ministers."

This motion was strenuously opposed by ministers, who contended that it was a brilliant addition to the military glory of the country, to have expelled, in the course of a short campaign of three weeks, an army of twenty-five thousand French from Portugal; and on the motion of Lord Castlereagh, the previous question was put, and carried by a majority of 203 to 152 voices.

The proposed vote of censure on ministers for the unfortunate termination of the campaign in Portugal, was succeeded by a motion introduced into the house of commons three days afterwards, by Mr. Ponsonby, for the institution of an inquiry into the causes, consequences, and events of the late disasters in Spain. This inquiry ministers judged it proper to resist, and a majority of the house confirmed their decision.

Amidst the momentous events which presented themselves on the continent, and the weighty deliberations which occupied the councils of the British nation, an inquiry was instituted in the house of commons, which for a time seemed to cast into the shade every other public consideration, and which in its consequences

involved the character of the commander-in-chief, the discipline of the army, and the future estimation of parliament. On the 27th of January, Colonel Wardle* rose in his place in the house of commons, to submit to that assembly a motion respecting certain abuses which had prevailed in the British army. In bringing forward this subject he was impelled by no other motive than a sense of public duty, and he should make no assertions that were not supported by positive facts. The power of disposing of commissions in the military service of the empire, had been placed in the hands of a person of high birth, and extensive influence; and he was sorry to say that this power had been exercised to the worst of purposes. The disposal of commissions in the army had been placed in the hands of the commander-in-chief for the purpose of defraying the charges of the half-pay list, for the support of veteran officers, and for increasing the compassionate fund for the aid of officers' widows and orphans; but he could bring positive proof that such commissions had been sold, and the money applied to very different purposes; and this duty, so essential to the rights of the army and the interests of his country, he should discharge without dismay. For this purpose it was absolutely necessary to call the attention of the house to an establishment of the commander-in-chief in Gloucester-Place; this establishment, which consisted of a splendid house, a variety of carriages, and a long retinue of servants, commenced in the year 1803, and at the head of it was placed a lady of the name of Clarke. Of that lady's name he should have occasion to make frequent mention, in connection with a number of names and facts, to shew the house that he had not taken up this subject on light grounds.

The first case which he should state was that of Captain Tonyn: this officer, who held his captaincy in the 48th regiment of foot, received his commission as a captain on the 2d of August, 1802, and was promoted to a majority in the 31st regiment, in August, 1804. He was indebted for his promotion to the influence of Mrs. Clarke. Captain Tonyn was introduced to that lady by Captain Huxley Sandon, of the royal waggon train; the terms of agreement were, that Mrs. Clarke should be paid five hundred pounds upon his majority being gazetted, and this sum was, in the mean time, lodged in the hands of Mr. Jeremiah Donovan, a surgeon, of Charles-Street, St. James's-Square. This Mr. Donovan was appointed a lieutenant in the 4th royal garrison battalion, in 1802, and was afterwards promoted to the 11th battalion, but since the day of his appointment he had never joined his regiment, and seemed to have leave of perpetual absence. Major Tonyn was gazetted, and the money which had been lodged in Mr. Donovan's hands, was then paid to Mrs. Clarke by Captain Huxley Sandon. The regulated difference between a company and a majority was £1100; but in this instance Mrs. Clarke gained £500, and the

* Gwyllym Lloyd Wardle, Member for Oakhampton, and Lieutenant-colonel in the Ancient British Light Dragoons.

£1100 was lost to the half-pay fund. This sum of £500 was paid by Mrs. Clarke to Mr. Birkett, a silversmith, in part payment for a service of plate for the establishment in Gloucester-Place, the balance for which plate was afterwards paid by the Duke of York. "From this case," said Colonel Wardle, "it is clearly deducible, that Mrs. Clarke possessed the power of military promotion; that she received pecuniary consideration for such promotion; and that the commander-in-chief was a partaker in the benefit arising from such pecuniary consideration."

The second case was an exchange, concluded on the 26th of July, 1805, through the influence of Mrs. Clarke, between Lieutenant-colonel Brooke, of the 56th regiment of infantry, and Lieutenant-colonel Knight, of the 6th dragoon guards. It was agreed that Mrs. Clarke should receive £200 on this exchange being gazetted, and as the lady wanted some money to defray the expenses of an excursion into the country, she urged the commander-in-chief to expedite this exchange; her request was made on Thursday; the exchange was gazetted upon the Saturday following, and Mrs. Clarke received in consequence the £200 from Dr. Thynne, a physician, who negotiated the transaction. Here then was a case which proved that exchanges, as well as promotions, were at the disposal of Mrs. Clarke, and that the purse of the commander-in-chief was saved by the supply which his mistress derived from such sources.

The next was the case of Major Shaw, appointed deputy barrack-master-general at the Cape of Good Hope. It appeared that the commander-in-chief had no favourable opinion of Major Shaw; but Mrs. Clarke interposes: he consents to pay her £1000. Of this money he immediately paid £200; shortly after he paid her £300 more; when she, finding he was backward in the payment, sent to demand the remainder; but seeing no chance of receiving it, she complains to the commander-in-chief, who immediately put Major Shaw upon the half-pay list. The honourable gentleman said, he had a letter from Major Shaw himself, stating the fact, and he never knew but one other instance of an officer being thus put on the half-pay list. Here then was a further proof, to show that Mrs. Clarke's influence extended to the army in general, and that it operated to put any officer on the half-pay list, and that the commander-in-chief was a direct party in her authority.

The next case to which he should advert, of the lady's influence, was that of Colonel French, of the horse guards. This gentleman was appointed to a commission for raising new levies in 1804, and the business was set on foot by Mrs. Clarke. He was introduced to her by Captain Huxley Sandon, and she was to have a certain sum out of the bounty for every recruit raised, and a certain portion of patronage in the nomination of the officers. She was waited on by Colonel French, of the first troop of horse guards, and as the levy went on, she received various sums of money by Colonel French, Captain Huxley Sandon, Mr. Corri, and Mr. Cokayne, an eminent solicitor in London. To so great a height had the practice of selling commissions in this disreputable manner arisen, that a written scale of Mrs. Clarke's prices, as contrasted with the regulated price of commissions, was sent by Mr. Donovan to Captain Tuck, to whom he very strongly recommended this path to promotion.

Mrs. Clarke's Prices.	Regulated Prices.
A Majority, £900	£2,600
A Company, 700	1,500
A Lieutenancy, 400	550
An Ensigncy, 200	400

From this scale it appeared that all this was lost to the

half-pay compassionate fund, to put money into Mrs. Clarke's pocket. BOOK IV.

The next instance was one in which the commander-in-chief himself was a direct partaker in the advantages of this traffic, by a loan to be furnished through Colonel French, the writings for which were drawn by a Mr. Grant, an eminent solicitor of Barnard's Inn, for the purpose of raising £3000; but he did not receive it, because a sum of £3000 was due from government to Colonel French. Hence then it was obvious that Mrs. Clarke exercised an influence in raising the military force of the country, in disposing of commands in that force, and in converting the purchase of commissions to her own private advantage.

The honourable gentleman next alluded to the case of Captain May, of the African corps, who had attained promotion in the army over the heads of all the subalterns, though he had never joined his regiment; and was in fact still a clerk in the office of Mr. Greenwood, the army agent.

There was another circumstance in this case which he could not pass unnoticed; it was the existence of a public office in the city of London, where commissions in the army were offered to purchasers at reduced prices, and where the clerks openly and unequivocally stated, in his own presence, and in his hearing, that they were employed by the present favourite mistress of the commander-in-chief, Mrs. Carey; and that, in addition to commissions in the army, they were employed to dispose of places in every department of church and state; and those agents did not hesitate to state, in words and writing, that they were employed under the auspices of two of his majesty's principal ministers.

Having gone through the whole of his statement, Colonel Wardle concluded by moving for a committee of inquiry into the conduct of the Duke of York, in respect to the disposal of military commissions; which motion was seconded by Sir Francis Burdett.

Few subjects have ever been listened to with such deep attention in the house of commons, as the speech delivered by Colonel Wardle on this occasion; and few subjects have ever taken such firm hold on the public mind. Confidently, however, as the charges were made, they were met with equal confidence by the friends of the royal duke. On the ministerial side of the house, it was said, that so far from shrinking from inquiry, the commander-in-chief was anxious for a full investigation of the business now submitted to the consideration of parliament. The matter had now assumed a tangible shape, and it behoved the honourable gentleman to establish the very serious and important charges which he had thought it his duty to exhibit. Every loyal subject had, for some time past, viewed, with the deepest concern, the continued and rapid current of anonymous scurrility which had been poured forth against the various branches of the royal family; and it was perfectly clear, that a vile jacobinical conspiracy existed against the illustrious house of Brunswick.* If, in bringing forward these

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* Mr. Yorke.

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charges, the honourable gentleman was actuated solely by patriotic motives, and a regard to the public welfare, his conduct was entitled to the highest admiration; but it was not to be disguised, that when such imputations were once exhibited, they must be brought to a conclusion, and ignominy and infamy must attach somewhere.* It was a great satisfaction to find such an universal concurrence of sentiment with respect to the necessity of examining, in the most solemn manner, the charges which had now been brought forward. It was a proud situation for the constitution of the country, as well as for the illustrious personage who was the subject of this accusation, to have a person the most exalted in rank of any subject of the realm, one excepted, desiring the same publicity in prosecuting the investigation against him, as would take place in the lowest and meanest subject.† It was true the proposed investigation would subject the house to extreme inconvenience, by protracting the business, both public and private; but if ever there was a case that required that all convenience should give way, this was unquestionably that case.‡

The members in the ranks of opposition concurred fully in this inquiry. It was expedient that the rumours in circulation to the disadvantage of the Duke of York, should be fairly brought to the test of investigation, before so grave, so honourable, and so competent a tribunal as the house of commons, and there receive the judgment and decision, which, no doubt, would be highly honourable to the character of the illustrious personage, who had been so vehemently assailed by them.§ As to the anonymous libels complained of, they had nothing to do with this inquiry; the charges now made were not anonymous, and the Duke of York ought to be obliged to the honourable gentleman who had brought them forward, and given him an opportunity of rendering his character impervious to future attacks.|| Not only the eyes of the country, but the attention of all Europe, would be fixed upon the pending investigation, and it behoved the house to act in the most grave and decisive manner.¶ At the conclusion of this debate, the chancellor of the exchequer said, that publicity had been mentioned as desirable; he was of the same opinion; and, on the motion of that right honourable gentleman, it was determined that the investigation should be conducted before a committee of the whole house.

The charges against the commander-in-chief, divested of their technicality, resolve themselves into this one point—that, availing himself

of his high office, he had knowingly permitted the woman whom he kept as his mistress, to traffic in commissions in the army, and did himself participate in the emoluments which were derived from this scandalous, corrupt, and illegal traffic. And the evidence on which Colonel Wardle supported this momentous charge arose from the testimony of Mrs. Clarke, the principal agent in these transactions, filled up where it was defective, and corroborated where it was weak, by the testimony of those to whom she had disposed of commissions, or by documents brought forward in the progress of the inquiry.

That Mrs. Clarke had received large sums of money from a great number of persons for the exertion of her influence, real or supposed, with the Duke of York, while she was living under his *protection* (such was the phrase) in Gloucester-Place, was proved beyond all possibility of doubt, by the evidence of Doctor Thynne, Mr. Robert Knight, Captain Huxley Sandon, Mr. Dowler, and others, who had themselves purchased her services, and who, for the most part, appeared as unwilling witnesses: but that the duke was cognisant to these corrupt practices, and that the money so raised was, with the knowledge of his royal highness, applied to defray the expenses of the establishment of his mistress, was not made equally clear. There was, however, strong ground of suspicion, and the prevailing opinion of the country was, that this charge also was satisfactorily established by the evidence of Mrs. Clarke, Miss Taylor, her relation, Mr. Dowler, of the commissariat department, and the documents elicited in the progress of the investigation. The history of the origin of this nefarious traffic was thus given by Mrs. Clarke. The establishment in Gloucester-Place, she said, consisted of two carriages, six or eight horses, and eight or ten men servants, of all of which she had to pay the expense. Her allowance from the Duke of York was a thousand a year; but for three months before his royal highness left her, he never gave her a guinea, and so far were the sums which she received from him from defraying the expenses of the establishment, that they would scarcely pay the servants their wages, and buy them liveries. This she often represented to his royal highness, and after they had been acquainted a few months, he told her, that if she was clever, she would never ask him for money; he added, that she had more interest than the queen, and that she might use it. Of these hints she did not fail to profit; and the duke was well

* Mr. Canning.

† Lord Castlereagh.

‡ The Chancellor of the Exchequer.

§ Sir Francis Burdett.

|| Mr. Whitbread.

¶ Mr. Wilberforce.

aware that she used her influence with him in order to procure money from military officers and others, and that the money so obtained was applied to defray the expenses* incident to her situation.

In the course of the cross-examinations, much important evidence was adduced; and one of the most conclusive proofs of the truth of the charges, arose from the fact that they derived additional strength from the means taken by the advocates of the commander-in-chief to refute them; indeed his royal highness was more indebted for the strong parts of the case made out against him to his friends than to his enemies; and the numerous letters brought to light by their means, of which the prosecutor at first was totally ignorant, placed Mr. Wardle on high ground, and induced the ministers of the crown to change the lofty tone of menace and defiance into the humble note of pity and commiseration. At the close of the evidence on the 22d of February, the opinion of the general officers, who were members of the house of commons, was asked with respect to the improvement of the army in discipline and condition, and whether the system of promotion had not been improved under the administration of the Duke of York. Generals Norton and Fitzpatrick, the Secretary of War, Sir Arthur Wellesley, and General Grosvenor, all answered these questions affirma-

tively, and pronounced high eulogiums on the character and conduct of his royal highness.

During this inquiry, which was continued for three weeks without the intervention of any other business, Mrs. Clarke, the heroine of the drama, was examined at the bar again and again; and by the readiness and smartness of her answers to the infinite number of questions proposed by the learned and honourable gentlemen by whom she was surrounded, gave a degree of relief to the protracted examinations. This new and splendid theatre for the display of her person and talents, seemed to afford her great satisfaction, and she sometimes carried her ease, gaiety, and wit, to the borders of pertness and indecorum.†

On the 23d of February a letter was addressed by the commander-in-chief to the house of commons, through the medium of the speaker, in which his royal highness, in the most solemn manner, upon his honour as a prince, distinctly asserted his innocence, and claimed from the justice of the house, that he should not be condemned without a trial. On the 8th of March the subject was resumed, when Mr. Wardle moved an address to his majesty, stating, that, after a diligent and laborious inquiry, it had been proved, to the satisfaction of the house, that corrupt practices had existed to a very great extent in the different departments of the military

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* The statement that the duke had allowed only £1,000 a year for the support of the prodigal and profligate establishment in Gloucester-Place, made so strong an impression on the public, that the chancellor of the exchequer was driven to the humiliating necessity of contradicting this assertion, by declaring, in the face of a burthened people, that the sum lavished by the Duke of York upon this seat of voluptuousness from January, 1804, to May, 1806, amounted to £16,760; this assertion, however, though it exposed the extravagance of the duke, did not invalidate the evidence of his discarded mistress, for when the purchase of the lease of the premises, the expense of furniture, and the presents of plate and jewels, were taken into the account, not more than a balance of £1,000 a year remained to meet the current domestic expenditure.

† Being asked by Mr. Croker, if she had not written an anonymous letter to the Prince of Wales? she answered, Yes. Did you sign any name to this anonymous letter, said Mr. Croker? Mrs. Clarke made no reply, but, looking archly at the chairman, burst into a fit of laughter, in which indeed she was joined by the whole house. Being asked by Sir Vicary Gibbs if she had given the same account to Mr. Wardle of the negotiation for the exchange between Colonels Brook and Knight, that she now gave to the house of commons? she replied, No. Which then is the true account? Both. In what then, enquired Sir Vicary, did they differ? They did not differ at all, replied Mrs. Clarke—she had not entered into the same detail with Colonel Wardle. The attorney-general, in order to weaken her evidence, by bringing her motives and general character into discredit, enquired if she had not said, that if the Duke of York did not come into her terms she would expose him? No; she had said that if the duke did not pay her the annuity of £400, which he had promised, she would publish his letters, and pay her creditors with the profits of the publication. Had she not sworn that she was not a married woman, when she was examined before a court-martial? No; she thought it would be improper to say that she was a married woman, when it was known that she had been living with the Duke of York, and she said she was not, but did not swear it. Had she not sworn that she was a widow? The duke had insisted that she should plead her marriage to avoid her debts contracted at Gloucester-Place, or else she might go to prison; and when she applied to him for a few hundred pounds, he returned for answer, that if she dared to speak against him, or to write against him, he would put her in the pillory or in the Bastille. Who brought this message respecting the pillory? said the attorney-general. A very particular friend of the Duke of York's, replied Mrs. Clarke, one Taylor, a shoe-maker in Bond-Street. By whom was the request sent for a few hundreds? By my own pen, said Mrs. Clarke. How was the letter sent? By this ambassador of Morocco. Who do you call by that name? The lady's shoe-maker. Here the chairman admonished the witness of the impropriety of giving her evidence in this flippant and unbecoming manner, and apprised her, that if she persevered in such conduct, she would expose herself to a heavy censure.

Mr. Sheridan, in the examination on the 17th of February, sprang a new mine of discoveries, by asking Mrs. Clarke if she had ever any negotiations respecting promotions unconnected with the military department—in the church for instance? Yes, said the witness, several; among others, Dr. O'Meara, an Irish divine, applied to me to be made a bishop; and the Duke of York, at my request, procured him an opportunity of preaching before royalty at Weymouth; but the duke told me that the king did not like the great O in the doctor's name, and the negotiation failed. This story was at first thought incredible, but a letter from the Duke of York, produced on the investigation, proved that his royal highness had actually corresponded with his mistress on this subject.

administration; and praying that his majesty would be graciously pleased to remove the Duke of York from the command of the army. To that address an amendment was proposed, by the chancellor of the exchequer, substituting two resolutions, the first stating that an inquiry had been instituted into the conduct of the commander-in-chief; and the second, that it was the opinion of the house that there was no just ground to charge his royal highness with personal corruption or criminal connivance. To this amendment another amendment was afterwards moved by Mr. Bankes, acquitting the Duke of York of personal corruption or criminal connivance, but expressive of an opinion that abuses could scarcely have existed to the extent to which they had been proved, without exciting some suspicion in the mind of the commander-in-chief, and suggesting that, after the exposures made by the recent inquiry, the cause of religion, and a regard to the public happiness and tranquillity, required the removal of the Duke of York from the command of the army.

The motion of Mr. Wardle, and the subsequent amendments, gave rise to many long and animated discussions, which continued for several nights; and in the course of these debates, it was urged, in favour of the original motion, that whatever might be due to the superior rank of his royal highness, the members of that house should, as representatives of the people, always bear in mind that it was their duty to protect the public interests, and to watch over the security and welfare of the state.* It was not meant to be insinuated that the Duke of York had put money in his own pocket, he was superior to such low and grovelling motives; what he had done had been as a favour to his mistress, and Mrs. Clarke had clearly shewn how she had effected it. In the outset of the business, it had been declared that there was a conspiracy against the Duke of York, extending even to the illustrious house of Brunswick, but the witnesses, instead of appearing to be in a conspiracy with Mrs. Clarke, seemed to be in one against her. It had been said too that infamy must attach some where; and where had it fallen? Not on the accuser most certainly. Jacobins had been talked of; but where did jacobins dwell? Jacobins indeed there were; and the genius of jacobinism presided in Gloucester-Place—there he held his midnight revels, and there sat the Duke of York himself as chairman of the festive board. There was the nest in which jacobinism was nourished. Jacobinism held its habitation as much in the palace of the prince as in the cottage of the peasant; and if we would exclude him from the latter, we must be cautious not

to admit him into the former. Jacobinism makes the food it feeds upon; it hangs upon a prince's follies, that it may turn them into vices, and even aims its venom at senates, in tempting them to neglect the faithful discharge of their duty. The house had been reduced to a melancholy situation by the letter of the Duke of York; they were obliged to credit the evidence they had heard, even against the honour of a prince.† It was a little extraordinary to observe the chancellor of the exchequer, the attorney-general, and in fact the whole legal phalanx of the house, whose constant and practical habit was accusation; now ranged, as if *undâ voce*, on the side of the accused. How did the Duke of York behave to Mrs. Clarke, she for whom he had expressed such fondness? What a picture did this woman present even when contrasted with a prince! What a melancholy comparison! She demanded her annuity only to pay the debts she had contracted under his protection, and he refused her that paltry pittance, because she could not produce his bond. So much for the honour of a prince.‡ As to the question whether the house ought to address his majesty to remove the Duke of York from his command, it was impossible to conceive a case in which the representatives of the people could address for the removal of a public servant from his situation if not upon the evidence they had before them. If once the opinion should prevail that the house of commons had heard of corruption existing in the state, and heard of it with indifference—if ever that fatal time should arrive, no man could tell the consequence.§

It was contended by the supporters of the Duke of York, that Mrs. Clarke was wholly unworthy of credit, and that there was no evidence to establish the corrupt participation or criminal connivance of the duke. Was it to be supposed that an illustrious prince, of such high rank, would associate himself with such miscreants as the witnesses in this investigation? If he had entered into so foul a plot, he would have found different agents; he would not have surrounded himself with men of honour and the avowed enemies of army-brokers, but he would have found some supple, bending, complying agent, for his military secretary. If it could once be supposed that the duke was a party in such a conspiracy, how was it possible that there should have been any distress for money, when there was a mint for making it constantly at work? There were then in the army upwards of ten thousand officers; and such was the eagerness for promotion, that there were always persons enow to give ample premiums above the regulated price. Had not his royal highness felt

* Mr. Wardle. † Mr. Whitbread. ‡ Sir Francis Burdett. § Sir Samuel Romilly.

secure in conscious innocence, was it to be supposed that he would have ventured to discard Mrs. Clarke, to withdraw her annuity, to irritate her to the utmost, and to set all her threats at defiance? * It was true indeed that Mrs. Clarke had obtained money by inducing a belief that she had great influence over the duke; but in no one instance could it ever be proved that his royal highness was acquainted with any of her stratagems, much less had he ever participated in the fruits of her impositions. † If the Duke of York had not entertained a high sense of the value of honour and character, he would not have parted from Mrs. Clarke, when he found her character would not stand the test of investigation. It ought to be recollected, that the person against whom the charge now under the consideration of the house was directed, was not only high in office and in rank, but one whose birth placed him so near the crown, that events might one day call him to the throne itself; and yet, by the proceeding now proposed, the house was called upon, on the most questionable evidence, to disgrace itself, by pronouncing the duke guilty of the lowest and most infamous species of corruption. ‡

In favour of Mr. Bankes's motion it was urged, that the case of Dr. O'Meara, which rested upon the Duke of York's own letter as much as upon the evidence of Mrs. Clarke, shewed that the duke held communication with his mistress on public concerns. It was astonishing that the constant applications of this woman did not create some doubts and suspicion in the royal mind of the duke. The house was not only the guardian of the public purse but of the public morals. It was impossible, after the evidence that had been given, to entertain any doubt that a public scandal had been brought upon the country by the conduct of his royal highness; and it was necessary, as a reparation to public morals and decency, to remove him from the command of the army. § The duke could not be ignorant that the mistresses of princes are in every instance the source and means of corruption. It was customary in that house to call things by very soft and gentle names. That which used to be called adultery is now living under protection; and by applying these delicate expressions to acts of immorality, a blow was levelled at the morals of the country. Suppose the case to be according to the mildest interpretation of his friends, that the duke had no knowledge or suspicion of the transactions, but that he was completely deceived and blinded by the woman whom he passionately loved, that would be a sufficient reason for calling for his removal from the command of the army; the

more innocent and unsuspecting he was described to be, the more danger there was that the enemy might find out his foible, and use it to the disadvantage, and even to the ruin of the country. ||

The first division on the question whether the house should proceed by address or resolution, decided the fate of Mr. Bankes's amendment, and there appeared for proceeding by address, one hundred and ninety-nine; for proceeding by resolution, two hundred and ninety-four; leaving a majority against Mr. Bankes's address of ninety-five. A second division then took place on Mr. Wardle's motion, which was supported by one hundred and twenty-three, and opposed by three hundred and sixty-four voices. On the 17th of March the chancellor of the exchequer brought forward his resolution, modified by more mature consideration, and expressed in these terms:—

That this house having appointed a committee to investigate the conduct of the Duke of York, as commander-in-chief, and having carefully considered the evidence which came before the said committee, and finding that personal corruption, and connivance at corruption, have been imputed to his said royal highness, find it expedient to pronounce a distinct opinion upon the said imputation, and are accordingly of opinion that it is wholly without foundation.

This motion being put, was carried in the affirmative; there appearing for the motion, two hundred and seventy-eight, against it, one hundred and ninety-six, majority eighty-two.

Previous to the divisions it was pretty generally understood that the Duke of York had come to the determination to resign his office of commander-in-chief; and on the 20th of March the chancellor of the exchequer rose in his place to announce, that his royal highness, having obtained a complete acquittal of those criminal charges which had been moved against him, was desirous of giving way to that public sentiment which those charges, however ill-founded, had unfortunately drawn on him; that, under these circumstances, he had tendered to his majesty his resignation of the office of commander-in-chief, and that the king had been graciously pleased to accept the same.

The issue of this great and important trial did honour to the English nation. It showed the people, notwithstanding the deficiency in the just measure of their representation in parliament, that their voice could be heard in any great political emergency, and that even a prince of the blood, enjoying the favour of his father, and himself so near the throne, could not resist the public will. The fate of the Duke of York sufficiently proved that responsibility is more than a name; but candour demands the admis-

* Mr. Burton. † The Attorney-general. ‡ Mr. Perceval. § Mr. Bankes. || Mr. Wilberforce.

sion, that the course of justice was in this case inverted; and that it was the nation, and not the representatives of the nation, that compelled his royal highness to resign. Although it might have been wished that the house of commons had acted more completely as the organ of the people; yet it is consolatory to remark, that while, on the one hand, the nation was not disposed to forego its privileges of assembling for the purpose of declaring its sentiments on public affairs; the ministers of the crown, on the other, felt the prudence and propriety of yielding to the public voice. When their extreme unwillingness to give up his royal highness is considered, and when the denunciation of infamy and the accusation of jacobinism which they suspended over the head of the accuser are recollected, some stirrings of indignation will arise; but when we reflect on what the British nation felt and expressed on this occasion, and on the effect which the expression of these sentiments produced, we look round in vain for any other people who would have been equally bold, persevering, temperate and successful. The intrepid and manly conduct of Colonel Wardle, and of those who had been his principal supporters, was publicly acknowledged in the warmest terms of gratitude, esteem, and admiration, by the cities of London and Westminster; and the impressive voice of the people, raised in almost every county, city, and town, in the kingdom, served to show, that a sense of public wrong, where injury has been sustained, and of public gratitude, where benefits have been conferred, are ever to be found amongst a free and generous people.

On the resignation of the Duke of York, the office of commander-in-chief was conferred on General Sir David Dundas, and the nation had the satisfaction to find, that one of the first consequences of the investigation was the enactment of a law, declaring the brokerage of offices, either in the army, the church, or the state, to be a crime highly penal.

In the course of the investigation into the conduct of the Duke of York, it was ascertained beyond all doubt, that there was a regular, systematic, and almost avowed traffic in East India appointments, as well as in subordinate places under government. These discoveries led to the appointment of a committee of the house of commons to inquire into the abuse of East India patronage; and from the report of that body it appeared, that a vast number of cadetships and writerships had been disposed of in an illegal manner. To remedy so great an evil, Mr. Thelluson, one of the directors, deeply implicated in these transactions, was, at the usual annual election, rejected by a great ma-

jerity; and the court, after long and animated debates, determined, that all those young men named by the committee of the house of commons as having obtained their appointments by corrupt practices, should be deprived of their employments and recalled from India.

The examination of the witnesses by the committee appointed to inquire into the abuse of India patronage, developed transactions intimately connected with the character of the house of commons, and the proceedings of some of its most distinguished members; and on the 25th of April, Lord Archibald Hamilton rose to submit a motion to the house, grounded on the conduct of Lord Castlereagh, who, in his evidence before that committee, had stated, that he, in the year 1805, delivered into the hands of his friend Lord Clancarty a writership, of which he had the gift, for the purpose of exchanging it for a seat in parliament. This negotiation, it appeared, was carried on between Lord Castlereagh and a Mr. Reding, an advertising place-broker, who was a perfect stranger to his lordship. The treaty was opened by letter; and it appeared from the evidence on the table of the house, that Lord Castlereagh told Mr. Reding that he did not want a seat for himself but for one of his friends. Different meetings took place between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Reding, but the nomination to the writership did not finally take place, and the negotiation was broken off; but this plea, said Lord Archibald Hamilton, cannot avail his lordship, for his intention was obvious, and of that intention the house was to judge.

Lord Castlereagh expressed his sorrow, that any act of his, or rather any intention, could be deemed such as to call for parliamentary inquiry; the case before them had no reference to pecuniary transactions; and he could only regret that any motives of private friendship or of public zeal should have induced him to do any thing requiring the cognizance of that house. If he had erred it was unintentionally, and he would submit with patience to any censure which he might be thought to have incurred: having made this declaration, his lordship bowed to the chair and retired.

After his lordship had withdrawn, the minutes of the evidence were read, and Lord A. Hamilton moved,

“That it appears to this house, from the evidence upon the table, that Lord Viscount Castlereagh, in the year 1805, he having just quitted the office of president of the board of controul, and being then a privy counsellor, and one of his majesty's secretaries of state; did deliver up into the hands of Lord Clancarty, a writership of which he had the gift, for the purpose of exchanging it for a seat in parliament. That merely from the disagreements of some subordinate agents employed, this design was not

carried into effect. That such conduct was a dereliction of his duty, as president of the board of controul, a gross violation of his engagements as a servant of the crown, and an attack on the purity and constitution of the house."

A long debate ensued, in which there was an unusual degree of mildness and forbearance, and in which it was contended, by the friends of his lordship, that the intention ought not to be punished with the same severity as the actual commission of an offence. There was no *malus animus*; no corrupt design appeared in the whole transaction; and it was evident that the noble lord had not acted in his official capacity, but merely as an individual wishing to oblige his friend. Officially he had committed no offence, and the degree of punishment ought to be proportioned to the degree of guilt.* On these grounds it was moved that the house should proceed to the order of the day.

It was on the other hand contended, that the intention manifested and acknowledged by Lord Castlereagh was sufficient to establish his criminality; and that if the negotiation failed, it was not for want of inclination on the part of the noble lord.† This was an abuse of the patronage of a minister with a view to make an attack on the independence of parliament; and if the house shrunk from the performance of their duty in this case, by passing to the order of the day, they would sanction the opinion, that they were always ready to punish the petty offender in retail, but that they passed over the wholesale trade in corruption without animadversion. The offence was one of the gravest kind. What was the crime of Hamlin compared with this? and yet the poor Plymouth tin-man was sent to gaol for offering Lord Sidmouth a bribe, while it was

recommended to pass over the conduct of the noble lord in silence. This would not be dealing out equal justice; it would not be doing justice to the character of the house, it would make the whole nation parliamentary reformers.‡

At the close of the debate the house divided, when the motion of Lord A. Hamilton was rejected by a majority of two hundred and thirteen to one hundred and sixty-seven voices. A motion was afterwards proposed, and carried, to the effect, that it was the duty of the house of commons to maintain and guard the purity and independence of parliament; but that the intention charged not having been carried into effect, no criminatory proceeding appeared to the house to be necessary.

The finances of this year, like those of the last, exhibited no feature of novelty;§ and the navy and army estimates were nearly the same as in 1808. The fourth report of the committee of public expenditure was, however, received with considerable surprise; and the disclosures it exhibited regarding the conduct of the commissioners appointed to manage, sell, and dispose of the Dutch ships detained or brought into the ports of Great Britain, could not fail to awaken the public indignation. This document, which was brought under the consideration of the house of commons by Mr. Ord, on the 1st of May, stated, that the commissioners were five in number, namely, James Crawford, John Breckwood, Allen Chatfield, Alexander Baxter, and John Bowles; that the appointment of the commissioners took place in the year 1795, and that their transactions were nearly brought to a close in 1799. As no fixed remuneration had been assigned to them, they resolved to remunerate

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* Lord Binning, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Canning. † Mr. C. W. Wynne. ‡ Mr. Whitbread.

§ FINANCE.

PUBLIC INCOME of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1809.

Branches of Revenue.	Gross Receipts.			Paid into the Excheq.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Customs	9,214,131	0	8	7,726,116	19	9½
Excise	19,894,315	9	0	18,182,174	12	1½
Stamps	4,821,865	2	2½	4,695,871	9	10½
Land & Assessed Taxes	7,606,192	18	3½	7,789,816	19	4½
Post Office	1,498,251	2	8½	1,268,536	2	1½
Miscel. Permanent Tax	168,238	11	4	164,223	13	5½
Herod. Revenue	65,119	16	5½	109,341	16	8½
Extraord. Resources.						
War Taxes { Customs	2,784,544	4	1	2,368,850	17	8½
{ Excise	6,876,798	17	7½	6,827,510	11	10½
{ Property Tax	11,413,562	4	0	11,135,192	2	1½
Miscel. Income	2,781,698	15	8½	2,758,967	17	2½
Loans, including } £1,200,000 for the } 10,102,620	10,102,620	15	6	10,102,620	15	6
Service of Ireland... }						
Grand Total—	£77,157,238	17	7	£73,129,183	17	4½

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, } (Signed)
24th of March, 1809. } W. HUSKISSON.

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PUBLIC EXPENDITURE of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1809.

Heads of Expenditure.	Sums.		
	£.	s.	d.
Interest	20,771,871	13	8½
Charge of Management	210,549	2	7
Reduction of National Debt	10,188,606	16	6
Interest on Exchequer Bills	1,610,562	16	10
Civil List	1,638,677	3	2
Civil Government of Scotland	85,470	4	1
Payments in anticipation, &c.	787,262	3	0
Navy	17,467,892	8	2
Ordnance	5,108,900	3	2
Army	11,553,299	12	10
Extraordinary Services	5,847,762	2	11
Loans to Sweden and Sicily, including } £2,589,166 13s 4d. to Ireland. }	3,989,166	13	4
Miscellaneous Services	2,920,491	8	3½
Deductions for Sums forming no part of the } 81,980,512	81,980,512	8	6½
Expenditure of Great Britain. }	2,589,166	13	4
Grand Total—	£79,391,545	15	2½

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, } (Signed)
24th of March, 1809. } W. HUSKISSON.

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themselves, and charged a commission of five per cent on the gross proceeds of their sales, which commission amounted in all to £132,000, being at the rate of £28,000 for each commissioner. Not satisfied with this enormous allowance, the money intrusted to their hands was employed in discounting private bills for their own emolument, and when an application was made to them by Mr. Pitt, in 1796, to pay a sum of money into the exchequer, in aid of the public exigencies, they refused to afford any relief to the state, although it was now obvious that they had at that time in their hands a balance amounting to £190,000. This conduct, Mr. Ord said, was the more to be deprecated, as one of the commissioners—Mr. John Bowles, was a monopolist of loyalty, the eulogist of existing power, and the denouncer of all who might condemn abuses, or call for reform, as vile and unprincipled jacobins. After an animated discussion, the house resolved that the commissioners, taking advantage of the omission of government to inquire into their proceedings, had, without authority, appropriated to their own use large sums of the public money, and had thereby been guilty of a flagrant violation of public duty.

The exposure of the conduct of the Dutch commissioners was followed by a charge, exhibited by Mr. Madocks, of corrupt practices against two of his majesty's ministers. The honourable gentleman, without giving the authority on which his information rested, stated, that at the last election a sum was paid, through the negotiation of Lord Castlereagh, to Mr. Henry Wellesley, as the agent of the treasury, by Mr. Quintin Dick, in consequence of which payment, a seat in parliament for the borough of Cashel was obtained by Mr. Dick; and that Mr. Spencer Perceval was privy to the transaction. Mr. Madocks stated, that Mr. Dick having accordingly taken his seat in that house, did, pending the discussions concerning the administration of the army under his Royal Highness the Duke of York, wait upon Lord Castlereagh, and acquainted him with the nature of the vote he intended to give upon that subject; on which Lord Castlereagh, after consulting with Mr. Spencer Perceval, suggested to Mr. Dick the propriety of resigning his seat rather than give the vote he proposed. These facts, the honourable mover said, he was prepared to prove, and moved that the house should resolve itself into a committee, to examine into the matter of the said charge.

Mr. Perceval and Lord Castlereagh protested against the dangerous precedent of entering into discussions and charges made without any specific proof; and the house, conceiving that no sufficient ground had been laid for entering on the inquiry, negatived the motion by a ma-

jority of three hundred and ten to eighty-five voices.

One of the first consequences of the exposure of public abuses made during the present session of parliament, was the introduction of a bill into the house of commons by Mr. Curwen, for better securing the purity and independence of parliament, by preventing the procuring or obtaining seats by corrupt practices, and likewise for the more effectual prevention of bribery. The unanimous leave of the house was given to introduce this bill, which ultimately passed into a law. But so completely were the salutary provisions of the original measure frittered away in its progress through parliament, that many of the friends to reform refused to vote for its enactment, under the apprehension, that it would stand in the way of more efficient regulations, and tend to give to the treasury a monopoly of parliamentary patronage. Pending the debates on this bill in the committee, the speaker took occasion to observe, that the question under consideration was no less than this—"Whether seats in this house shall be henceforth publicly saleable? A proposition, at the sound of which our ancestors would have started with indignation; but a practice," said he, "which, in these days, and within these walls, in utter oblivion of every former maxim and feeling of parliament, has been avowed and justified."

The parliament was now on the eve of terminating its labours for the present year, when Sir Francis Burdett submitted to the consideration of the house of commons a plan of parliamentary reform, grounded on the laws and constitution of the country, and resembling in the leading features the plan proposed by the Duke of Richmond thirty years before. The disease under which the country laboured, had, he contended, been caused by the disunion of property and political rights, and the remedy he should propose would consist in re-uniting them. For this purpose he should propose:—

"That freeholders and others, subject to direct taxation in support of the poor, the church, and the state, be required to elect members to serve in parliament.

"That each county be subdivided according to its taxed male population, and each subdivision required to elect one representative.

"That the votes be taken in each parish by the parish officers; and that all the elections shall be finished in one and the same day.

"That the parish officers make the return to the sheriffs' court, to be held for that purpose at stated periods.

"And that parliament be brought back to a constitutional duration."

It was not the wish of the honourable baronet to call for an immediate decision upon this momentous subject, but merely to move, "That this house will, early in the next session of par-

liament, take into consideration the necessity of a reform in the representation." The chancellor of the exchequer, and several other members; contended, that the plan now proposed would never produce the effects anticipated from it, unless the mover of the measure could alter, not only our political constitution, but the frame of the human mind; unless he could at once get rid of human prejudices and human passions. On a division of the house there appeared for the motion fifteen, against it seventy-four voices.

While the question of parliamentary reform was under discussion, Mr. Wardle observed, that an efficient reform in the commons house of parliament would ensure to the people in their representatives active supporters of their rights and faithful guardians of their purse; and he did not hesitate to say, that in such an event, the amount of the income tax might be saved to the public. This declaration he was loudly called upon to explain; and on the 19th of June, the honourable gentleman recapitulated the savings he had calculated upon, and stated them to be in the army £8,182,000; in the navy £3,822,000; in the management of the revenue £1,110,000; commissions of accounts and inquiry £75,000; pensions £300,000; colonies £500,000; bounties £150,000; allowance in management of debt £210,000; military expenditure of Ireland £2,000,000; making an aggregate saving of £16,349,000 per annum. In order to show how these savings might be effected, Mr. Wardle moved for a large mass of accounts in the respective departments of the state to which he had referred, all which documents were ordered to be laid on the table.

Two days after the introduction of this motion, parliament was prorogued, and never, perhaps, in the annals of the British legislature, had the attention of the nation been fixed with more deep and anxious interest upon the proceedings of that assembly.

The transactions of the British navy never failed to present a highly interesting and animating object; and the gallantry and skill displayed in the successful attack on the French fleet in Basque Roads, will serve to grace the naval annals of Great Britain. The enemy's fleet, consisting of eight sail of the line and two frigates, had recently sailed from the harbour of Brest, and effected their escape to the mouth of the Charante, where they were joined by four sail of the line and two frigates, and where they anchored under the batteries, in such a manner as to afford mutual support and protection to each other. In this situation it was determined to attack them; and Lord Cochrane, in the *Impérieuse*, was dispatched from England on this arduous and hazardous service. On the 10th

of April a number of fire vessels, and transports filled with Congreve's rockets, joined Lord Gambier's fleet; and the preparations for the attack were immediately begun. The fitting up and management of the explosion ship were entirely intrusted to Lord Cochrane, and the gallant captain determined that nothing should be wanting to render the preparations complete; for this purpose he caused puncheons, placed with the ends upwards, to be filled with gunpowder, and fifteen hundred barrels of this death-dispensing combustible were used to charge the hogsheads. On the top of the puncheons, nearly four hundred shells with fuses were placed, and in the intermediate space about three thousand hand grenades. In order that the explosion might be as violent and destructive as possible, the puncheons were fastened together by cables, and kept steady and immoveable by wedges, and sand rammed down between them. In this floating volcano, at which the imagination instinctively shrinks with dismay, Lord Cochrane, with one lieutenant and four seamen, committed himself. On the 11th, the fire-ships, led on by Captain Woodridge, and the explosion ship, bearing its small adventurous crew, proceeded to the attack, favoured by a strong northerly wind and the flood tide. On approaching the enemy's vessels, they perceived a boom stretched across the entrance of the roads in front of their line. This impediment, however, was soon broken down, and the English advanced, undismayed by the heavy fire from the forts in the Isle of Aix. Lord Cochrane, having approached with his ship as near to the enemy as possible, set fire to the fusee, and betook himself with his companions to the boat. Nine minutes after they had quitted the ship, and six minutes before the time calculated, she blew up with a tremendous explosion, and scattered death and destruction in every direction. His lordship had no sooner reached his own ship, than he proceeded to attack the French vessels, and sustained their fire for some time before any other man of war entered the harbour. Early in the morning of the 12th, Lord Gambier, in consequence of a signal from Lord Cochrane, announcing that seven of the enemy's ships were on shore, and might be destroyed, made the signal to unmoor and weigh, but the wind and tide being against him, the admiral was obliged to anchor again before he reached the roads. The enemy, availing themselves of this circumstance, succeeded in getting six of their ships up the river Charante. Four of the remaining ships were attacked by Lord Cochrane, in the *Impérieuse*, followed by the *Revenge*, the *Indefatigable*, and the *Valiant*, of seventy-four guns each: while the other ships advanced, his lordship laid his vessel alongside of the *Calcutta*, and compelled her.

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to surrender, although she had one-third more guns than the *Impérieuse*. His lordship, supported by the other English men of war, next attacked the *Ville de Varsovie*, and the *Aquilon*, and succeeded in taking them, in the face of the tremendous fire from the batteries of Aix. These ships it was found impossible to get off, and they were destroyed, along with the *Tonnerre*, another of the French squadron. By this brilliant and gallant achievement, one ship of one hundred and twenty guns, five of seventy-four guns, and two frigates, were driven on shore, and either totally destroyed or rendered useless; one of eighty guns, two of seventy-four, and one of fifty guns, with three frigates, were burnt, and the French had the mortification to perceive that their ships could not be secured from British intrepidity and skill, even by the batteries of their own forts, and the intricate and dangerous navigation of their own bays.*

In addition to the services performed by Lord Cochrane, and by some other naval officers in the Bay of Biscay, the fleet of Lord Collingwood, in the Mediterranean, distinguished itself in the cause of the Spanish patriots. Towards the end of October, three sail of the line, four frigates, and twenty large transports, were dispatched from Toulon, under the French Admiral Bauden, to the relief of Barcelona. As soon as this fleet was discovered, Lord Collingwood gave orders to Admiral Martin to chase them. The sight of the English fleet was the signal for the flight of the French; and in order to escape their pursuers, the line of battle ships, and one of the frigates, ran ashore between Cette and Frontignan, where they were set on fire by their crews, and destroyed, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the British. The transports separated from the men of war, and took refuge in the bay of Rosas; where, under the shelter of an armed store-ship, two bombards, and a xebec, they seemed to regard themselves secure; but in this situation they were attacked by Captain Hollowell, who headed the boats of the English squadron, and notwithstanding a gallant resistance, every ship and vessel of the enemy was either burnt or brought off, in the sight of thousands of spectators, who witnessed the humiliation of their countrymen, and the restless bravery of British seamen.

In the West Indies, the Island of Martinique,

and the city of St. Domingo, were this year added to our numerous possessions; and the colony of Cayenne, under the government of Victor Hughes, fell an easy conquest to a combined attack made by English and Portuguese troops. In the east, the Island of Bourbon surrendered to the English on the 21st of September, and nearly about the same time, the small Grecian Islands of Zante, Cephalonia, Ithaca, and Cerigo, acknowledged the sway of the British sceptre.

The unhappy differences between Great Britain and America this year assumed a more confirmed character, and while both countries professed an anxious desire for the revival of those amicable relations which had been so long interrupted, such was the tendency of the measures pursued, that a state of actual hostility was fast approaching. For the purpose of removing one of the most objectionable and irritating parts of the British orders in council, the board of trade, in the beginning of April, issued certain regulations, by which it was declared, that all neutral vessels were at liberty to trade with any port whatever, except those in a state of actual blockade; and the blockade was expressly defined to extend to the whole coast of France, Holland, and the ports of Italy under the dominion of France. By these regulations, America was therefore permitted to trade with Russia, Denmark, Sweden, and all the ports of the Baltic, without molestation; and all vessels conforming to these rules, though brought into our ports under the former orders in council, were to be liberated without expense or trouble. About the same time that these regulations were issued in England, an official assurance was given to the American secretary of state, by the Honourable D. M. Erskine, the British envoy extraordinary, and minister plenipotentiary to the United States, that he was authorised to declare, that his majesty's orders in council, of January and November, 1807, would be withdrawn, as respected the United States, on the 10th of June next, in the persuasion that the president would issue a proclamation for the renewal of the intercourse with Great Britain.† In virtue of this assurance, Mr. Madison, who had been elected President of the United States on the resignation of Mr. Jefferson, issued a proclamation on the following day, announcing

* In the course of this enterprise, Lord Cochrane displayed his humanity in as signal and noble a manner as his courage. A captain of one of the French seventy-fours, when delivering his sword to his lordship, lamented, that the conflagration of his ship, which was just about to take place, would destroy all the property he possessed. On hearing this, Lord Cochrane instantly went into the boat along with him, in order, if possible, to rescue the captain's property from the devouring element; but, unfortunately, his lordship's humane intentions were frustrated in a most shocking manner: as they passed a French ship, which was on fire, her loaded guns went off, and one of the balls striking the French captain, killed him by the side of his generous conqueror.

† Mr. Erskine's Letter to Mr. Smith, dated Washington, April 18, 1809.

that the trade between Great Britain and America would be renewed on the 10th of June.

The American merchants, presuming on this adjustment of the existing differences, prepared to renew their usual direct and uninterrupted communication with the different states of Europe; and the British merchants were congratulating themselves on the speedy and certain prospect of having the trade to America fully opened to them, when they were informed by the lords of the council, that the arrangements entered into by Mr. Erskine with the American government, were unauthorised by his instructions, and that, therefore, his majesty did not deem it proper or advisable to carry them into effect. At the same time Mr. Jackson was appointed by ministers to supersede Mr. Erskine, who, in his zeal to accommodate the existing differences with America, had, undoubtedly, exceeded his authority. Previously to the arrangement with Mr. Erskine, the American government, finding the embargo to fall with a severe pressure upon every part of the community, determined upon some relaxation; and accordingly the embargo was raised as to all other nations, and a system of non-intercourse and non-importation towards England and France, substituted in its stead.* By this act of congress, all voyages to the British and French dominions, and all trade in articles of British or French manufacture, were prohibited; with the reservation, however, that whichever of the belligerents should so revoke or modify her edicts that they should cease to violate the commerce of the United States, the trade with that country should be renewed.

Soon after the breaking out of the war between France and Austria, the British ministry began to make preparations for a large and formidable expedition, and 40,000 troops, meant to be assisted in their operations by the powerful aid of thirty-five sail of the line, and about two hundred sail of smaller vessels, were assembled on the coasts of Kent and Hampshire. Although it was the intention of the government to keep the precise destination of the expedition a profound secret, yet long before its departure the point of attack was generally known in England, and publicly announced in the French newspapers. It is probable, however, that when the expedition was first planned, and up to the period of the fatal battle of Wagram, the British ministry had other objects in view besides the occupation of Flushing, and the destruction of the French ships of war in the Scheldt; and it may be fairly presumed

that their intention was at once to make a diversion in favour of Austria, and at the same time to secure an object exclusively British.

The expedition was fitted out in the most complete manner, and nothing seemed wanting to secure it as much success as the nature of the enterprise would admit, except the appointment of an able military commander. But here, unfortunately, the formidable strength, and the complete equipment of the troops, were rendered useless; and when it was known that the command was to be conferred on the Earl of Chatham, a man proverbial for indolence and inactivity, the nation no longer looked forward to the result with confidence.† At length, on the 28th and 29th of July, the expedition sailed from the Downs; and on the 1st of August Flushing was invested. On the 13th the batteries were completed, and the frigates and smaller vessels, having taken their respective stations, the bombardment commenced on that day. The town suffered dreadfully from the effects of Congreve's rockets, while the fortifications were little injured. The French General Monnet, the commander of the place, made an attempt to inundate the island; but this purpose was not so far effected as materially to retard or impede our offensive operations. On the 14th, Sir Richard Strachan, to whom the naval part of the expedition was confided, cannonaded the town for some hours, with so much effect, that a summons was sent in; but some delay and difficulty having arisen, the attack recommenced, and the advanced post was carried at the point of the bayonet. The next day the enemy demanded a suspension of arms, which was succeeded by the surrender of the town, and the garrison, amounting to more than four thousand troops, were made prisoners of war. While the operations were proceeding against Flushing, the troops who were unemployed were suffered to remain cooped up in transports, instead of being sent against the forts of the Scheldt, and soon after the surrender of their fortress a rumour reached England that no ulterior operations would be undertaken. It afterwards appeared that no decision on this point had been come to before the 27th of August, when Sir Richard Strachan, having waited upon Lord Chatham in person to learn his lordship's plans, was informed that he had come to the determination not to advance. The French, in the mean time, had not been inactive; every preparation was made to oppose the passage both of our army and navy; the interior of the Netherlands, and of France as far as Paris,

* Act of Congress, dated 1st of March, 1809.

† When his lordship held the office of First Lord of the Admiralty, he was, in allusion to his hour of rising, called the late Earl of Chatham.

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was stripped of the national guards; and an army, formidable from numbers, if not from discipline and experience, had actually been collected for the defence of Antwerp and the shipping; the naval stores were removed, and preparations were made for conveying the ships so high up the river, as to put them beyond the reach of either the invading army or navy.

While the commander of the British land forces displayed none of the requisite qualities of a general, and while, by his delay and indecision, he gave the enemy an opportunity of assembling force sufficient to oppose our progress, Sir Richard Strachan acted with the usual promptitude and decision of a British sailor. He offered, in the most unqualified manner, every assistance and co-operation which the navy was capable of affording, and received with undissembled dissatisfaction and indignation the determination of Lord Chatham to reject his proffered assistance, and proceed no further.

The most melancholy and disastrous part of this ill-judged and ill-conducted expedition remains to be told. Lord Chatham, with a great proportion of the troops, returned to England; and the remainder found it expedient to give up all their conquests but the Island of Walcheren. This pestilential station it was resolved to keep, for the purpose of shutting up the mouth of the Scheldt, and for enabling our merchants to introduce British merchandise into Holland. But, from this island, the sole fruit of one of the most formidable and expensive expeditions ever sent from this country, we were doomed to be driven by an enemy more cruel and destructive than the French. A malady of the most fatal kind soon showed itself among the troops, and suggested, in a language that could not be misunderstood, the necessity for immediate recall. Ministers, however, clung with paternal attachment to this dearly-bought acquisition, and it was not till a great proportion of the forces had either died of the prevailing epidemic, or been rendered incapable of performing their duty, that the fortifications, which we had repaired at an enormous expense, were destroyed, and the island was evacuated in the sight of an enemy, who, knowing that the ravages of disease would render any attack unnecessary, took no measures to expel the British forces from their fatal conquest.

The attention of the people was soon diverted from the disastrous expedition against Walcheren, by two circumstances of a very opposite nature—the intrigues and disputes among

the ministry, and the celebration of a jubilee, on the king having attained the fiftieth year of his reign. It had long been suspected that the members of the British cabinet were at variance; and the failure of the expedition to Holland called forth those disputes into a disgraceful act, calculated to awaken the public indignation at home, and to lower the British government in the estimation of foreign states.* On the 21st of September, a duel took place between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning, two members of his majesty's cabinet, holding the highest official situations in the state; the former being secretary for the war and colonial department, and the latter, secretary for foreign affairs. The parties, who met on Putney-Heath, fired a first time without effect; and as the nature of the difference did not appear to the combatants to admit of explanation or apology, they fired at each other the second time, when Mr. Canning received his antagonist's ball in his right thigh. This duel was preceded, and immediately occasioned, by a letter from Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Canning. In this letter, his lordship accuses the foreign secretary of having clandestinely endeavoured to procure his removal from his situation, and of having obtained a positive promise to that effect from the Duke of Portland. His lordship declares that he would not have deemed the conduct of Mr. Canning improper or unfair towards him, if he had not concealed his intention from his lordship, who, as the person most interested, ought explicitly, and at first, to have been made acquainted with Mr. Canning's proposal for his removal. But instead of pursuing this manly and liberal course of conduct, Mr. Canning, notwithstanding he had declared his conviction that Lord Castlereagh was unfit for his situation, and had prevailed upon the premier to consent to his removal, continued to treat his lordship as if he still possessed his confidence and good opinion, and permitted a minister, whom he had denounced as incapable, to plan and carry into execution the most extensive and formidable expedition perhaps ever sent from the British shores.

Against these serious charges, equally implicating Mr. Canning as a gentleman and a public minister, the nation naturally expected a prompt if not a satisfactory reply; but nearly a month elapsed before Mr. Canning found himself prepared to enter on his defence; and in the mean time the ministry was completely dissolved. The Duke of Portland gave in his resignation, on account of his age and infirmities; and Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning

* Bonaparte, in a letter to the Emperor of Russia, pending the negotiations at Vienna, and dated the 10th of October, 1809, says, "I send your majesty the English journals last received; you will see that the English ministry are fighting with each other, that there is a revolution in the ministry; and that all is perfect anarchy."

Coins &
of the Sovereigns,
FROM 1789.

Medals &
of the States of Europe
TO 1816.





resigned. At length Mr. Canning's statement made its appearance. In this document it is admitted that the proposal and plan for Lord Castlereagh's dismissal continued from Easter till September; but Mr. Canning contends that it was entirely owing to his lordship's friends that the actual dismissal was delayed till the termination of the expedition to the Scheldt. The principal point on which he insists is, that he supposed his colleague knew that his dismissal was in contemplation, and that the proposal originated with him. Upon the futility of this reasoning it is unnecessary to dwell. The line of conduct which Mr. Canning ought to have pursued is obvious and simple; it was chalked out to him by the usual practice of parliament; there no member ever makes a motion against another, till he has given notice to the gentleman who is to be the object of his censure; and if such a proceeding be deemed necessary in parliament, it is still more requisite in the cabinet.

On the day after the duel, Mr. Perceval, on whom, in consequence of the resignation of the Duke of Portland, the ostensible, as well as the real superintendence of the government of the country had fallen, wrote to Earl Grey and Lord Grenville, inviting them to co-operate with him, "for the purpose of forming an extended and combined administration." Both these noblemen were at that time in the country, and Earl Grey, in reply to Mr. Perceval's letter, declined coming to London, since it was utterly impossible for him to form an union with his majesty's ministers, with any hope of promoting the interests of the country. Lord Grenville immediately repaired to town; but the day after his arrival he sent a reply, objecting to an union with his majesty's present ministers, and adding, that his objections were not personal, but applied

"to the principle of the government itself, and to the circumstances which attended its appointment." After this refusal, Mr. Perceval applied to several public men, who were known to be generally favourable to the line of politics which he had pursued; and after suffering the mortification of several refusals, the arrangements were at length completed. Mr. Perceval himself took the office of first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; the Marquis of Wellesley succeeded to the foreign department; Lord Liverpool was transferred from the home to the department of war and colonies; Mr. Ryder was appointed to succeed Lord Liverpool; and Lord Palmerston was at the same time appointed secretary at war, in the room of Sir James Pulteney.

Amidst all the disasters of their arms and the embarrassments of their councils; the British people were not unmindful of the virtues of their sovereign. Hence the enthusiasm manifested on that day, which, for the third time in the annals of their country, saw a monarch, deservedly dear to his people, enter the fiftieth year of his reign. Nor was the celebration of this day more remarkable for the enthusiastic loyalty which was displayed, than for the wise and humane manner in which the gratitude of the nation to providence was expressed, for having permitted their sovereign to reign so long, and for the continuance of independence and prosperity in the midst of the wreck of Europe. Numerous institutions of benevolence and utility were founded in various parts of the empire; the hungry were fed; the naked were clothed; the prison doors were thrown open to numbers of unfortunate debtors; and every heart which man was capable of making glad rejoiced on this memorable day.*

* In surveying the surrounding states on this day of Jubilee, it appeared that the short period of twenty years had swept from their thrones all the sovereigns of Europe, that monarch alone excepted whose long and eventful reign the national festival of the 25th of October, 1809, was appointed to celebrate: and the following brief but comprehensive record, will afford an impressive illustration of the mutations of the present age, and of the instability of human greatness.

Louis XVI. King of France, deposed 10th of August, 1792, executed January 21st, 1793.
 Louis XVII. died in the Temple, June 9th, 1795.
 Joseph II. Emperor of Germany, }
 Leopold II. Emperor of Germany, }
 Catharine II. Empress of Russia, } Died { Feb. 20th, 1790.
 Frederick-William II. King of Prussia, } { March 1st, 1792.
 Christian VII. King of Denmark, } { Nov. 17th, 1796.
 Stanislaus, King of Poland, deposed Nov. 25th, 1795; died Feb. 12th, 1798. } { Nov. 16th, 1797.
 Pope Pius VI. deposed February, 1798; died August 19th, 1798. } { March 13th, 1806.

William V. Stadtholder of Holland, deposed, Jan. 1795; died, April, 1806.
 Charles Emanuel, King of Sardinia, }
 Charles IV. and Ferdinand VII. Kings }
 of Spain, }
 Gustavus Adolphus IV. King of Sweden, } Deposed { June 4th, 1801.
 Pope Pius VII, } { May, 1806.
 Ferdinand IV. King of Naples, } { March 13, 1809.
 Gustavus III. King of Sweden, } { June 1st, 1809.
 Paul I. Emperor of Russia, } { Jan. 23d, 1799.
 Selim III. Grand Seignor, } { March 27th, 1792.
 Maria Frances Isabella, Queen of Portugal, ex-patriated, Nov. 1807. } { March 29th, 1801.
 } { May 29th, 1807.

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CHAPTER XI.

SPANISH CAMPAIGNS: *State of the hostile Armies at the Beginning of the Year 1809—Capture of Oporto by the French—Defeat of the Spaniards at Medellin—Treaty of Peace and Alliance between Spain and Great Britain—Return of Sir Arthur Wellesley to the Peninsula—Expulsion of the French Army from Oporto—Second Siege and Fall of Saragossa—Defeat of General Blake in Catalonia—Battle of Talavera—Retreat of the British and Spanish Armies after the Victory of Talavera—Elevation of Sir Arthur Wellesley to the Peerage—Appointment of the Marquis of Wellesley as Ambassador Extraordinary to Spain—The Nature of his Mission—Recall of the Marquis—Defeat of General Venegas near Toledo—Signal Defeat of the Spanish Army under General Arizaga—Defeat of the French Army at Zamames—Battle of Alba—Fall of Gerona—Popular Commotion at Seville—Fall of that City—Advance of the French Armies to Cadiz—Dissolution of the Supreme Central Junta and the Appointment of a Council of Regency—Abortive Attempt to rescue Ferdinand VII.—Military Operations in Portugal—Plan of the Campaign—Advance of the French Army under Massena into Portugal—Fall of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida—Battle of Busaco—Retreat of Lord Wellington to the Lines of Torres Vedras—Close of the Campaign—Election of the Spanish Cortes—Meeting of the Cortes in the Isle of Leon—The Proceedings of that Body—Appointment of a new Council of Regency—Situation of the Peninsula at the Close of the Year 1810.*

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FROM the moment that Bonaparte left the peninsula in order to prepare for war against the Emperor of Austria, the operations and movements of the French armies in Spain became not only less interesting, but more difficult to be traced and narrated. The marshals of France, instead of following up the grand scheme of their emperor, by connecting and uniting their whole force, and pressing forward against the different Spanish corps successively, divided their forces into as many bodies as there were hostile armies opposed to them. Instead of distinguishing themselves by the celerity of their movements, and by quickly following up their successes, they advanced slowly, and generally remained stationary after a victory. It must, however, be observed, not only in justice to the enemy, but as a tribute due to the Spaniards, that a victory in Spain did not, as in Germany, open the way for a rapid and secure advance. The Spanish armies were almost always conquered in regular and general engagements, but the spirit of the people, although it sometimes unaccountably slumbered, generally broke out immediately after the defeat of their armies, and never failed to fill up the vacancies in the patriot ranks. After the army under Sir John Moore had embarked for the peninsula, the attention and movements of the French were principally directed to the pursuit and discomfiture of the Spanish corps, which still occupied the centre

of the kingdom, and to the occupation of such of the sea-ports in the north and east as kept open the communication with England, or that contained the Spanish navy. Accordingly, in the centre of Spain the Duke of Belluno attacked and defeated the division of the Duc del Infantado's army, under the command of General Venegas; while in the north the Duke of Dalmatia advanced to Ferrol, and, through the pusillanimity and perfidy of the civil and military authorities, made himself master of that place, as well as of the fleet moored in the harbour. The next place against which the operations of the French were directed was Oporto, and of this city, though defended by twenty-four thousand troops and two hundred pieces of cannon, the Duke of Dalmatia possessed himself without encountering any formidable resistance.

In the beginning of April, 1809, the principal Spanish and French armies occupied the following positions: The Marquis del Romana was at Villafranca; General Cuesta, having been joined by the division under the Duc d'Albuquerque, had halted in his retreat before the French near Talavera; General Reding, having suffered severely in an attempt to surprise Barcelona, and in a succession of engagements near Tarragona, had been reinforced by the army of General Blake, and was, with that general, employed in opposing the progress of the French in Catalonia. Of the French forces, Soult was

at Oporto; Ney in the neighbourhood of Corruna and Ferrol; and Victor was advancing towards Lisbon, by the route of Badajoz, with the Spanish force under General Cuesta in his front.

The only engagement worthy of notice, either on account of its general nature, or the consequences which resulted from it, was fought between Marshal Victor and General Cuesta, at Medellin, a town of Estramadura, equi-distant from Merida and Truxillo. Towards this place the Spanish general marched with a determination to attack the invaders, and on the 29th of March he found the whole of Victor's division, consisting of twenty thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry, drawn up in front of Medellin. Unintimidated by the force and skilful dispositions of the enemy, Cuesta determined upon a rapid and general attack, and by the gallantry and steadiness of his infantry, one of the French batteries was carried. To support this vigorous operation, the Spanish cavalry regiments of Amania and Infante, and the two squadrons of the imperial chasseurs of Toledo, were ordered to advance, but instead of executing the orders of their commander, they fled before the enemy, and threw the left wing of the Spanish army into disorder. The French general, availing himself of this circumstance, directed his undivided efforts against the right and centre of the Spaniards, and General Cuesta, finding all his endeavours to rally his forces unavailing, was obliged to commence a disorderly retreat. In this engagement the patriots lost, according to the French accounts, fourteen thousand men in killed and wounded, with six standards, and the whole of their artillery.

The disposition of the British government towards the Spaniards still continued favourable; and disappointment and disaster had by no means damped their ardour in the patriotic cause. The relations of the two countries had hitherto been destitute of the usual formalities; but, early in the present year, a solemn treaty of peace and alliance was entered into between Great Britain and the authorities administering the Spanish government in the name of Ferdinand VII. By this treaty, which was negotiated on the part of the Spaniards by Don Pedro Cevallos, his Britannic Majesty pledged himself to assist the Spanish nation in their struggle against the tyranny and usurpation of France, and not to acknowledge any other King of Spain and the Indies than his Majesty Ferdinand VII. his heirs, and lawful successors.

In order to carry into effect the promised assistance which the British government had determined to afford to the patriots, and at the same time to free Portugal from the presence of the French army, Sir Arthur Wellesley sailed

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from Portsmouth on the 15th of April, and arrived at Lisbon on the 22d of the same month, to take the command of the British army, which, by reinforcements sent principally from Ireland, had been swelled to thirty thousand men. On the arrival of Sir Arthur Wellesley at Lisbon, he determined to dispossess the French under Marshal Soult of the city of Oporto; and with this view he assembled the British army at Coimbra, on the 7th of May, and advanced towards the Douro. Marshal Soult, aware of the magnitude of the force which was advancing against him, and sensible that he was by no means equal to the combat, withdrew the main body of his army, and the second city in Portugal fell into the hands of the British almost without resistance. Sir Arthur Wellesley, having placed Oporto in a proper state of defence, returned to the south of Portugal, where his presence had become necessary in order to protect Lisbon and its vicinity from the French army, which was advancing along the Tagus, under Marshal Victor. This general, finding the capital open to his attack, commenced a rapid march from Badajoz, and was diverted from his purpose only by the return of Sir Arthur Wellesley, accompanied by the intelligence that he had received of the flight and partial defeat of the Duke of Dalmatia.

In the mean time, the affairs of the patriots were chequered with alternate success and disaster in the greater part of the peninsula, but in Galicia their successes greatly preponderated. In the north-east prodigies of valour had been displayed; the second siege of Saragossa rivalled the first, and will for ever occupy a distinguished place in the military annals of Spain. A body of about ten thousand men, who had escaped from the battle of Tudela, had thrown themselves into Saragossa, and the citizens and peasants from the country swelled the number of its defenders to about fifty thousand men. The second siege was commenced about the middle of December, 1808, and Palafox ordained, that all the inhabitants, of whatever rank or condition, should consider themselves bound to devote their persons, their property, and their lives, to the defence of the city. To a summons from Marshal Mincey to surrender, this heroic chief replied—"Talk of capitulation when I am dead!" and the soldiers and the citizens proved themselves worthy of their illustrious leader. On the 10th of January the bombardment began; and Mincey being incapacitated by sickness, Marshal Lannes was sent by Bonaparte to take the command of the besieging army, which consisted of from fifty to sixty thousand men. The French, well aware that the only way to conquer Saragossa was to destroy it house by house, and street by street,

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proceeded upon this system, and three companies of miners and eight companies of sappers were continually employed in carrying on this subterranean war. During the bombardment, which continued two and forty days, there was no respite either by day or by night for this devoted city; even the natural order of light and darkness was destroyed—by day the place was involved in a red sulphureous atmosphere of smoke, which hid the face of heaven; and by night, the fire of the cannons and the mortars, with the flames of burning houses, kept the hemisphere in a state of terrific illumination. After a glorious defence, the garrison began to experience a want of ammunition, which was succeeded by the horrors of famine; and a pestilential disease appearing at this moment in the city, served to fill up the dreadful climax. On the 1st of February, the situation of the place appeared hopeless; but the governor-general still refused to capitulate, and for seventeen days more the defence was continued; when Palafox himself, being seized with the contagion, was obliged to transfer his authority to a Junta, of which Don Pedro Maria Ric was appointed president. On the 19th the enemy obtained possession of the Puerto del Angel, and to such a deplorable situation was the garrison reduced by its accumulated miseries, that all the efforts of Don Ric proved fruitless. Disease had subdued the inhabitants; two thirds of the city had been destroyed; thirty thousand of the people had perished, and from three to four hundred were dying daily of the pestilence. Reduced to this situation, the city capitulated, and the French, after a siege of two months, obtained possession of a mass of ruins.

The supreme junta of Spain pronounced the funeral oration of Saragossa in an address to the nation—"Spaniards!" said they, "the only boon which Saragossa begged of our unfortunate monarch at Vittoria, was, that she might be the first city to sacrifice herself in his defence. That sacrifice has been consummated. But, Spaniards, Saragossa still survives for imitation and example; still survives in the public spirit, which, from her heroic exertions, is for ever imbibing lessons of spirit and constancy. Forty thousand Frenchmen, who have perished before the mud walls of Saragossa, cause France to mourn the barren and ephemeral triumph which she has obtained, and evince to Spain, that three cities of equal resolution will save their country and baffle the tyrant. Time passes away, and days will come when these dreadful convulsions, with which the genius of iniquity is now afflicting the earth, will have subsided. The friends of virtue and of patriotism will then come to the banks of the Ebro to visit the majestic ruins of Saragossa, and beholding them with

admiration and with envy, will exclaim—'Here stood that city, which, in modern ages, realized those ancient prodigies of heroism and constancy, which are scarcely credited in history. The subjection of this open town cost France more blood, more tears, more slaughter, than the conquest of whole kingdoms; nor was it French valour that subdued it; a deadly and general pestilence prostrated the strength of its defenders, and the enemy, when they entered, triumphed over a few sick and dying men, but they did not subdue citizens, nor conquer soldiers!'"

After the fall of Saragossa, an attempt was made by General Blake to regain possession of that city, but in this he entirely failed, and the Spanish army under his command became exposed to a fatal and inglorious defeat at Belchite. According to the account of this battle published by the Spanish general, one of his regiments was thrown into confusion by the discharge of the enemy's grenades; the panic spread rapidly; regiment after regiment fled without discharging a gun; and in a short time, the general and his officers were left alone to oppose the enemy. The fruits of this victory, disgraceful to the Spaniards, rather than honourable to the French, were nine pieces of cannon, immense quantities of stores and provisions, and upwards of three thousand prisoners.

The inactivity to which the army of Sir Arthur Wellesley had been doomed after their return from Oporto, was relieved by a plan concerted between the British general and General Cuesta, by which it was proposed to attack the central French armies, and to obtain possession of the Spanish capital. With this view, a junction of the British and Spanish forces took place in the neighbourhood of Plasencia, on the 20th of July. Sir Robert Wilson, who commanded a Portuguese corps, which he had brought into a state of excellent discipline, was ordered to advance to Ascolona, on the river Alberché. The division of the Spanish General, Venegas, at the same time broke up from Madridejos, and advanced to Arganda. After these preparatory movements had been made, the combined British and Spanish army, amounting to about sixty thousand men, of which twenty-four thousand were British, proceeded to Talavera, where the French army, under Marshal Victor, thirty-five thousand strong, had been for some time stationed. On the 22d the allied forces moved upon Oropesa, and drove in Victor's rear-guard, which was drawn up in order of battle upon a plain about a league from Talavera. The hostile armies were now in sight of each other, and Sir Arthur Wellesley determined to attack the French general the following day, and to bring him to action before he was joined by Joseph Bonaparte and General Sebastiani, who were

both marching to his relief. For this purpose the British columns were formed at five o'clock in the morning; but, at the moment when the troops were ready to advance, they learned, to their extreme disappointment and mortification, that General Cuesta, not wishing to profane the sanctity of the sabbath by secular employments, had determined to delay the attack till the following day. On the morning of the 24th, the British and Spanish armies were again drawn out; but Victor, less scrupulous than Cuesta, had, during the evening of the sabbath, retreated from his position in order to effect a junction with other divisions of the French army of the centre; and so deficient was the combined army in the means of transport, that it was found impossible to pursue the enemy. This inconvenience had long been felt, and Sir Arthur Wellesley, before he left Plasencia, was under the necessity of informing General Cuesta, that it would be impossible to continue to co-operate with the Spanish armies, unless the means of transport were supplied. To aggravate this evil, both the British and Spanish commissariats were in the most deplorable state, and the combined armies became, in a certain degree, competitors for subsistence. Thus circumstanced, the British troops halted from absolute necessity, and Sir Arthur Wellesley came to the determination to return to Portugal, if more vigorous exertions were not made by the supreme junta to supply the wants of his army. Cuesta appeared fully sensible of the propriety of this resolution, and, trusting that the possession of Madrid, which seemed now almost within his reach, would relieve all the wants by which the combined army was surrounded, he determined to advance in the pursuit of Victor.

On the 25th, the French force, under Joseph Bonaparte and General Sebastiani, formed a junction with Marshal Victor at Toledo. By this accession of strength, the force of the enemy was swelled to forty-five thousand men; and General Cuesta, finding himself unable to withstand so formidable an army, fell back, in great disorder, and with considerable loss, upon the British position at Talavera.

It was now obvious that the enemy intended to try the result of a general action, and Sir Arthur Wellesley selected the neighbourhood of Talavera as the scene of operations. The position taken up by the troops extended more than two miles; the ground was open upon the left, where the British army was stationed, and it was commanded by a height, on which was, in echelon, and in second line, a division of infantry, under the orders of Major-general Hill. Between this height and a range of mountains still further upon the left, was a valley, which it was not at first judged necessary to occupy.

The right, consisting of Spanish troops, extended, immediately in front of the town of Talavera, down to the Tagus, where the ground was covered with olive trees, and much intersected by banks and ditches. The road leading from the bridge over the Alberché, and the avenues to the town, as well as the town itself, were occupied by the Spanish infantry. In the centre, between the armies, there was a commanding spot of ground, with an unfinished redoubt, and which post was occupied by Brigadier-general Alexander Campbell, with a division of infantry, supported in their rear by General Cotton's brigade of dragoons, and some cavalry.

At about two o'clock in the afternoon of the 27th, the enemy appeared in strength upon the left bank of the Alberché, and manifested an intention to attack General Mackenzie, who had been placed, with a division of infantry, and a brigade of cavalry, as an advanced post, in the wood which covered the left flank of the British army. These troops suffered considerably, but they were withdrawn in perfect order, and took their place in the line. The enemy now cannonaded the left of the British position, and attacked the Spanish infantry with his horse, hoping to break the ranks, and carry the town; but he was bravely withstood, and finally repulsed. Early in the evening, Marshal Victor pushed a division along the valley, on the left of the height occupied by General Hill; this he considered the key of the British position, and the efforts of the French to obtain this eminence corresponded with the estimation in which it was held. For a moment the attack was successful; but General Hill instantly charged the assailants with the bayonet, and regained the post. Undismayed by this repulse, the French repeated their attack about midnight; but they were again repulsed with great slaughter. Both armies passed the night on the field, and several partial engagements were fought before the dawn of the following day. These nightly combats were conducted with the most determined fury; the men, after they had discharged their fire-arms, frequently closed, and beat out each other's brains with their muskets.

In the course of the evening, the French had ascertained that any attack upon the town, posted as the Spaniards were, was hopeless; they had also discovered that no impression could be made upon the centre, and consequently that the left, where they had already suffered so much, was the only practicable point of attack. Accordingly, at day-break on the 28th, General Ruffin advanced with three regiments in close columns against the eminence occupied by General Hill; but here again they were resisted by the bayonet, and driven back, leaving the field covered with their slain. About

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eleven o'clock, the enemy, finding himself baffled in all his efforts, suspended the attack, and dined upon the field of battle. Wine and bread were at the same time served out to the British troops, and during this pause in the work of destruction, the men in both armies repaired to a brook to quench their thirst, and stooped to the stream in the presence of each other without molestation; at this moment the heat and exasperation of battle was suspended; the troops felt that respect which proofs of mutual courage had inspired, and numbers of them shook hands across the brook before the battle recommenced.

About noon, Marshal Victor ordered a general attack with his whole force upon that part of the position of the allies which was occupied by the British army. In consequence of the repeated attacks made upon the left, Sir Arthur Wellesley had now placed two brigades of British cavalry in the valley, supported in the rear by the Duc d'Albuquerque's division of Spanish cavalry. The general attack began by the march of several columns of infantry into the valley, with a view to make another attack on the height occupied by General Hill. From the moment this operation commenced, the firing of the musketry was heard on all sides like the roll of a drum, with scarcely a moment's interruption, during the remainder of the day; and the deeper sound of the heavy cannonade resembled continual peals of thunder. The operations of the French were deranged by Leval's division, which, instead of forming in echelon in the rear, advanced to the front. Sebastiani, perceiving the blunder committed by this division, sent a brigade to extricate Leval from his perilous situation, which, after considerable loss, was effected. This attack upon the hill was formidable in the extreme, but, like all the former, it failed. The French General, La Pisse, who was the first to cross the ravine, was mortally wounded, and his men were driven back with severe loss. About three o'clock in the afternoon the enemy again advanced to the attack, with his whole force. Marshal Victor had resolved to storm and carry the heights that had so repeatedly and so successfully defied his former attempts; and placing himself at the head of his troops, he led them to the foot of the hill, while General Vilatte advanced to his support from the valley. At this moment General Anson's brigade, consisting of the 1st German light dragoons, and the 23d dragoons, with General Fane's brigade of heavy cavalry, were ordered to attack the French, who had formed in two solid squares, protected by a deep ditch, and supported by a tremendous fire of musketry and artillery. Here the brunt of the action lay; numbers of men and horses fell into the ditch, which, till now, had been un-

discovered, and numbers were mown down by the artillery; but still the columns advanced, and made a desperate charge upon the solid and impenetrable squares of the enemy. The British suffered dreadfully; and the 23d regiment in particular was almost annihilated. This gallant attempt, although it was not attended with success, had the effect of preventing the execution of the enemy's plan, and no further attempt was made upon the hill, which was now covered with the dead and the dying.

The attack upon the centre was repulsed by Brigadier-general Alexander Campbell, supported by the king's regiment of Spanish cavalry, and two regiments of Spanish infantry; and while the Spaniards turned the enemy's flank, the English took their cannon. At the same time an attack was made upon Lieutenant-general Sherbrook's division, which was on the left and centre of the first line of the British army. This attack was gallantly repulsed by a charge with the bayonet by the whole division; but the brigade of guards, impelled by their military ardour, advanced too far, and laid themselves open, on the left flank, both to the fire of the enemy's batteries and to their retiring columns. The enemy lost not a moment in seizing the advantage that now presented itself, and for some time the fate of the day appeared worse than doubtful. At this crisis, the skill and foresight of Sir Arthur Wellesley turned the current of success which had set in so strongly against him, and secured a victory which had so long hung in suspense. Seeing the guards advance, and aware of the danger to which they would be exposed, Sir Arthur Wellesley moved a battalion of the 48th from the heights to their support; and this timely succour, with the assistance of the second line of General Cotton's brigade of cavalry, enabled the guards to extricate themselves from the impending danger, and decided the fate of the battle.

Shortly after the repulse of the general attack, the enemy commenced his retreat in the most regular order across the Alberché, leaving twenty pieces of cannon in the hands of the combined army. The loss on both sides was severe; the enemy had entire brigades of infantry destroyed; and his loss in the engagements of the 27th and 28th was estimated by the English commander at ten thousand men. On the same authority it is stated, that the British had eight hundred killed, three thousand nine hundred wounded, and six hundred and fifty missing, exclusive of the loss of the Spaniards, which amounted to twelve hundred and fifty in killed and wounded. In the official account of this memorable engagement, Sir Arthur Wellesley particularly laments the loss of Major-general Mackenzie; of Brigadier-general Lang-

worth, of the king's German legion; and of Brigade-major Beckett, of the Coldstream regiment of guards.*

On this occasion the British army sustained nearly the whole weight of the contest, and acquired the glory of having vanquished a French army, double their numbers; not in a short and partial struggle, but in a battle obstinately contested on two successive days, and fought under circumstances which brought both armies into close and repeated combat. The king, in contemplating so glorious a display of the valour and prowess of his troops, was graciously pleased to command that his royal approbation of the conduct of the army serving under the command of Lieutenant-general Sir Arthur Wellesley, should be publicly declared in general orders. And the commander-in-chief received his majesty's commands to signify, in the most marked and special manner, the sense he entertained of Sir Arthur Wellesley's personal services, not less displayed in the result of the battle itself, than in the consummate ability, valour, and military resources, with which the many difficulties of this arduous and protracted contest were met and provided for, by his experience and judgment. The conduct of Lieutenant-general Sherbrook, the second in command, obtained for that officer expressions of the king's marked approbation. His majesty observed, with satisfaction, the manner in which he led on the troops to the charge with the bayonet—a species of combat which on all occasions so well accords with the dauntless character of British soldiers. His majesty was pleased also to notice, with the same gracious approbation, the conduct of the several general and other officers, and to declare, that most of them had eminently distinguished themselves, and that “*all had done their duty.*” The royal approbation and thanks were at the same time expressed in the most distinct and most particular manner to the non-commissioned officers and private men. In no instance had they displayed with greater lustre their native valour and characteristic energy, nor had they on any former occasion more decidedly proved their superiority to the enemies of their country. These sentiments, which were expressed in general orders, were acquiesced in by both branches of the legislature, who voted the thanks of parliament to Sir Arthur Wellesley, and to the officers and men under his command; and as a special mark of his majesty's favour and approbation, the commander-in-chief

at the battle of Talavera, was, on the 26th of August, elevated to the peerage, by the title of Viscount Wellington of Talavera and of Wellington, and Baron Douro of Wellesley, in the county of Somerset.

Scarcely had the British troops time to congratulate themselves on the achievement of this brilliant victory, when the unexpected intelligence was received, that Marshals Soult, Ney, and Mortier, had advanced through Estramadura, and were already in the rear of the combined British and Spanish army. There was now no time for hesitation or delay; a retreat had become indispensable, and promptitude alone could save the army. The bridge of Almaraz, by which one of the divisions of the English was to have crossed the Tagus, was destroyed, and the bridge of Arzobispo alone remained for the passage of the whole army. As no doubt could be entertained that the army of Victor would again advance as soon as he heard of the approach of the French forces through Estramadura, it became necessary that part of the combined troops should remain at Talavera, as well for the purpose of checking the advance of the French, as for taking care of the sick and wounded of the combined army. General Cuesta was accordingly left at Talavera, where it was hoped he might be able to maintain his position; but in any event it was understood that he should by no means abandon the wounded. On the 3d of August the British force left Talavera, and marched to Oropesa, on the way to Plasencia, with an intention to attack the force under Marshal Soult. On the evening of that day Sir Arthur Wellesley received information that Cuesta meant to quit Talavera immediately; and that, for want of conveyance, he should be obliged to abandon his hospitals. The Spanish general was not deficient in personal gallantry, but he was obstinate, intractable, and unfit for command; and his reason for leaving the sick and wounded, by quitting his station even before the French approached, seemed to partake of the imbecility of old age: it was not that he had any apprehension for the safety of his own army, but he was afraid that Sir Arthur Wellesley would not be able to contend with the French force that was coming against him; and he had in consequence left Talavera that he might be enabled to support his British ally. Surrounded by difficulties, with an army of thirty thousand men under Soult pressing upon him from the north, and with an army equally strong

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* Captain Samuel Walker, of the 3d regiment of guards, like his gallant companion in arms, Captain Richard Beckett, fell on the 28th of July, in the prime of life, and in the moment of victory, on the plains of Talavera. These officers had fought the battles of their country in Egypt, in Germany, in Denmark, and in Portugal; and their fellow townsmen, the inhabitants of Leeds, erected a monument in the parish church of that place to commemorate their public services, and to hand down their memory to future ages.

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under Victor advancing from the east, the British general determined to retreat and to take up a position at Deleytosa on the way to Truxillo. Here he remained unmolested by the French, and was enabled to recruit his army; but finding that the junta were by no means disposed to supply the wants which had prevented his pursuit of the French before the battle of Talavera, he determined to retreat to Badajoz, where, during the remainder of the year, his army continued inactive, and exposed, from the unhealthiness of the situation, to the ravages of a fatal disorder.

The victory gained at Talavera may undoubtedly be ranked among the most splendid efforts of British courage in the military annals of our country. But it may be questioned whether a consummate general—a commander, whose object is not merely to gain battles, but to reap and secure all the advantages of victory, would have advanced so far into Spain, doubtful as Sir Arthur Wellesley was of the hearty and cordial co-operation of the Spaniards; destitute of the means of following up a victory or of securing a retreat, and ignorant of the strength or movements of the enemy in his rear. Possessing, as the British general did, skill, courage, and enterprise, he still wanted one trait in his character to constitute him a finished soldier; this indispensable requisite was acquired in the Spanish campaign of 1809, and the *circumspection* given to the mind of Sir Arthur Wellesley by the battle of Talavera shewed itself in all his future operations, and tended in an eminent degree to acquire for him, at no distant period, the proud designation of the first captain of the age.

When the combined armies, under Sir Arthur Wellesley and General Cuesta, were reduced to the necessity of retreating from Talavera, Sir Robert Wilson, who had pushed almost to the gates of Madrid, was suddenly recalled. This partizan corps, owing to some impediments that had not been anticipated, did not arrive at Valada till the night of the 4th of August, when the commander, conceiving it too late to retire by the bridge of Arzobispo, was obliged to take the route of Banos, where he was attacked by Marshal Ney and defeated. Sir Robert Wilson, on his defeat, retired along the mountains, and after a harassing march succeed-

ed at length in forming a junction with the British army.

The appointment of the Marquis of Wellesley as ambassador extraordinary to Spain, was announced in the London Gazette of the 1st of May; but it happened, unfortunately, that the intrigues in the British cabinet did not permit his departure from England for Cadiz till the latter end of the month of July. The Marquis of Wellesley was received with the greatest attention and respect in Spain, and in conducting the delicate mission with which he was intrusted, he abstained, as much as possible, from every thing that could be considered as an interference with the domestic relations of that country. In his communications with the junta, he pointed out the only course that could be pursued with any rational prospect of success, and, in particular, he pressed upon their attention the propriety of calling forth and concentrating the military resources of the kingdom. Another point at which he aimed was, to give a tone to public opinion, to excite and direct the national spirit, and to apply its energy to national objects. With these views, the British ambassador recommended the appointment of a council of regency, and the speedy convocation of the Spanish Cortes*—the former to discharge the sovereign functions, and the latter to support the government in the great work of delivering the Spanish nation from French usurpation. He suggested, that "the same act of the junta by which the regency should be appointed, and the cortes called, should contain the principal articles of redress of grievances, correction of abuses, and relief of the exactions in Spain and the Indies, and also the heads of such concessions to the colonies as should secure to them a full share in the representative body of the Spanish empire."† What effects might have resulted from the further exertion of the influence of the Marquis of Wellesley over the Spanish government, can only be conjectured, for, in the Autumn of the present year, he was called from the councils of that nation to assume a distinguished place in the British cabinet.

In directing our attention from the civil concerns to the military transactions of this period, too many proofs are exhibited of the

* The supreme assembly or parliament. By the original prerogatives of the cortes—a body, partly hereditary and partly elective, no tax could be imposed, no war could be declared, nor any peace concluded, without the permission of its members. The power of rescinding the proceedings of all inferior courts, the privilege of inspecting every department of administration, and the right of redressing all grievances, belonged to the cortes; and those who were aggrieved addressed this body, not in the humble tone of supplicants, but with the boldness of persons who demanded the birth-right of freemen. This sovereign court was held annually in Arragon for several centuries; but subsequently it was convoked only once in two years; and ultimately it sunk into a mere assembly for registering the edicts of the court.

† Dispatch from the Marquis of Wellesley to Don Martin de Garay, dated Seville, September 8th, 1809.

necessity of those maxims inculcated by the Marquis of Wellesley on the junta of Spain. In the early part of the month of August, soon after the battle of Talavera, General Venegas, with an army computed at thirty thousand men, descended from the mountains of the Sierra Morena, and on the 10th of that month took up a strong position about three leagues from Toledo. On the advance of General Venegas into the plain, he found himself opposed to a French corps under the command of General Sebastiani. On the commencement of the engagement, which took place on a rising ground beyond the village of Almonacid, near Toledo, his line was penetrated in every direction by squadrons of French cavalry; and the Spaniards incapable of sustaining the charge, threw down their arms and dispersed, leaving their baggage, artillery, and ammunition, in the hands of the enemy.

The disaster of Toledo was followed by a change in the command of the army of La Mancha, which was now taken from General Venegas and confided to the Marquis of Areizaga. This army, by extraordinary exertions, was soon re-assembled, and swelled by the addition of new levies to the number of fifty thousand men. With this force, the new commander formed a bold, but hazardous determination, to advance direct to Madrid. To oppose this enterprise, the French forces under Joseph Bonaparte took up a strong position near Toledo. The numbers of the Spanish army failed to inspire them with sufficient confidence to pursue their march, and instead of advancing, as was at first proposed, they retreated along the banks of the Tajo, followed by the enemy, who came up with them near Ocana. On the vast plain by which this place is surrounded, a general battle was fought on the 19th of November. The action commenced at eleven o'clock, and in less than two hours the fate of the day was completely decided. The Spaniards, animated by the superiority of their numbers, made a vigorous resistance, and for some time victory seemed to incline to the side of the patriots. The acclamations of triumph had already burst forth from their ranks; but at that moment, a regiment of cavalry appointed to cover a large body of Spanish infantry, gave way. The panic instantly became general, and the French, too well skilled in the art of war to let a circumstance so favourable to their success pass unimproved, pressed upon the deranged battalions and completed their overthrow. This signal victory was on the following day announced to the inhabitants of Madrid, in the most glowing language—"Yesterday," said the official bulle-

tin, "the king gained a splendid and decisive victory at Ocana. Two hours were sufficient to disperse the army of the insurgents, who expected within two days to make their triumphal entry into Madrid. Four thousand men were left dead on the field of battle; twenty thousand were made prisoners; and, in a word, the whole army was dispersed or destroyed. From thirty to forty thousand muskets, twenty standards, thirty pieces of artillery, and an incredible quantity of baggage, were the fruits of this memorable victory."

The battle of Ocana was speedily followed by the reduction of Cordova and Seville, and a road was thus opened to Cadiz. The threatening aspect of public affairs awakened the fears of the junta; apprehending that the popular indignation might burst forth in some fatal explosion, and anxious, perhaps, at the same time, to remove a responsibility that became every day more solemn and insupportable, they issued a manifesto, dated at Seville, on the 28th of October, convoking the cortes on the first day of the ensuing year, and appointing the 1st of March as the period at which they were to enter upon their functions. The idea of appointing a regency was rejected by the junta, from an apprehension, that, by vesting the supreme power in the hands of a few persons, pretensions might be raised incompatible with the public tranquillity, and to the prejudice of the rights of their "adored king," Ferdinand.*

The Spanish armies, in the early part of the month of November, consisted of three divisions; the army of the right under the command of General Blake; the army of the centre under Don Juan Carlos de Areizaga and the Duc d'Albuquerque; and the army of the left under the command of the Duc del Parque. The forces under this general, amounting to about thirty thousand men, were posted on the heights of Zamames, about six leagues to the south of Salamanca. The French army, under General Marchand, had for some time evinced by their movements an intention to lay siege to Ciudad Rodrigo, but their design could not be carried into effect till the Spaniards were dislodged from the neighbouring heights. In order to effect this purpose, General Marchand left Salamanca, and attacked the Duc del Parque in his strong position, but after an obstinate and long continued contest, the assailants were compelled to retire with the loss of a thousand men, and the Spaniards, following up their success, obtained possession of the city of Salamanca.

The French, after their defeat at Zamames, gradually accumulated a force amounting to twenty thousand men, with an intention of

* Manifesto of the Supreme Junta, dated Seville, October 28th, 1809.

BOOK IV. making a second attack upon the army under the Spanish general, who had now occupied a position on the heights of Pena de Francia, in the vicinity of Salamanca. The Duc del Parque, seduced by the advantages he had already gained, and anxious to co-operate with the army of the centre in the proposed advance to Madrid, quitted his strong position, and crossed over the Tormes to the right bank of that river. Here Marshal Kellerman was posted, with an army with which he would not have ventured to attack the patriots, but which, when acting on the defensive, proved itself their superior. The battle was fought at Alba, on the 28th of November, and terminated in the total defeat of the Spaniards. The victory was not long doubtful; either from some accidental disorder or sudden alarm, the Spanish cavalry, that constant depository of panic, took to flight without firing a shot, and all the efforts of their officers to rally the troops, and to retrieve the fortune of the day, proved ineffectual. The Spaniards, in their precipitate retreat, abandoned their baggage, and left in the hands of the enemy fifteen pieces of cannon, six standards, ten thousand muskets, and about two thousand prisoners. In this fatal engagement, according to the French accounts, thirty thousand Spaniards were vanquished by twelve thousand French troops, and the loss of the retreating army amounted in slain to three thousand.

In the mean while, the fortress of Gerona was compelled to surrender to Marshal Augereau on the 10th of December, after having sustained a siege of nearly six months, and endured all the horrors of famine. The garrison and inhabitants emulated the exploits of their countrymen at Saragossa, and the patriotic devotion of these fortresses was required to prevent the friends of national independence from despairing of the Spanish cause.

The close of the year 1809 witnessed the successive defeat and dispersion of the principal armies of Spain, as well as the fall of several of the fortresses of that country. Of the causes which led to these disasters, some are obvious and indisputable. None of the patriot generals had displayed any extraordinary military talents, their measures were taken without concert, and they by no means adhered to that mode of warfare which was best suited to the situation of their country. The zeal of the people, at first so animated, seemed to have suffered considerable diminution. And the supreme junta—that body, whose duty it was to keep the public enthusiasm in active exercise, and to give to the national exertions a direction the most conducive to the success of the patriot cause, were miserably deficient in those statesman-like talents, by which alone the liberty and independence of

their country could be secured and rendered permanent.

After the battle of Ocana, the French advanced into the south of Spain: knowing how easily the barrier of the Sierra Morena would be forced, they looked upon the possession of Cadiz as secure. The command of the army destined to this enterprise was vested in Marshal Soult, assisted by Marshals Victor and Mortier, and accompanied by King Joseph in person, who attended to take possession of the kingdom of Andalusia. The Spanish General, Areizaga, had lost his presumption at Ocana, and was prepared for defeat before he was attacked. On the advance of the enemy, the Spaniards gave way at every point; and on the 20th of January, 1810, the head-quarters of the French army were established at Baylen, the place where, at a former and not very distant period, they had suffered so signal a disaster. Five days before the French army entered Andalusia, the supreme central junta at Seville had announced their intention of transferring the seat of government to Cadiz; and the island of Leon, which is separated from that city by the river of Santi Petri, was fixed upon as the place where the cortes should hold their sittings. The junta had now entirely lost the public confidence, and the termination of their power was at hand. Every hour brought fresh tidings of the progress of the enemy, and the murmurs of the people of Seville became louder as their agitation increased. The members of the government were hastening their departure for Cadiz; their equipages were conveyed to the quays, and the papers and archives from the public offices were embarked on the Guadalquivir. A conspiracy had been forming for some days, at the head of which stood Count de Montijo and Don Francisco Palafox, one of the members of the junta, and the brother of the hero of Saragossa. On the morning of the 24th, the populace assembled in the Square of St. Francisco, and in front of the Alcazar; some demanded the deposition of the junta; others, more violent, insisted that they had betrayed their country, and that they should be put to death; but the universal cry was, that the city should be defended, and that no person, whatever his rank or authority, should be suffered to quit the place. In this emergency, Don Francisco de Saavedra, the minister of finance, was called upon to take the direction of public affairs. Montijo and Palafox, who had some days before been placed in duress by the junta, on a charge of conspiring against the government, were liberated; and the Marquis Romana was nominated to the command of the army of the left, from which he had been lately removed by that body. The people, however, called upon

Romana to take upon himself the defence of the city; but the marquis, brave and patriotic as he was, evaded their importunities, and hastened to Badajoz to protect that important fortress; while Seville, incapable of withstanding the force by which it was soon after assailed, shared the fate of Cordova, and passed under the French yoke.

But the possession of the country and all the inland towns of Andalusia was of little importance, compared with the occupation of Cadiz. Were it possible that the fate of Spain could have depended upon any single event, it would have been the capture of Cadiz at this crisis; and the French, well aware of its importance, advanced to the coast with all their usual rapidity. The city was utterly unprepared for an attack; there were not one thousand troops in the island of Leon, and not as many volunteers as would man the works. The batteries of St. Fernando, one of its main bulwarks, were unfinished; the people of Cadiz, indeed, had considered the danger as remote, and had it not been for the genius, energy, and decision of a single individual, Bonaparte might have executed his threat of taking vengeance on Cadiz for the loss of his squadron. At the time that the French advanced across the Sierra Morena, the Duc d'Albuquerque was on the banks of the Guadiana; but by a rapid march of two hundred and sixty miles, performed in eight days, he placed himself on the 30th of January between Cadiz and the French army, and, on the 2d of February, entered the island of Leon at the head of his small army, which consisted only of eight thousand troops. Having saved this place by his prudence, the duke lost no time in securing his possession; and the people, who, as he observes, when they are guided by their first feelings, usually see things as they are, hailed him as their deliverer, and conferred on him the office of governor by general acclamation.

It was essential to the salvation of the country that a government should be established at Cadiz, which should be recognized by the whole of Spain, and the members of the supreme central junta, who had arrived in the island of Leon, feeling that they had lost the public confidence, yielded reluctantly to the necessity of appointing a council of regency. The persons elected to the discharge of the duties of this high office were, Don Pedro de Quevedo Quintana, the Bishop of Orense; Don Francisco de Saavedra, late President of the Junta of Seville; General Castanos; Don Antonio de Escano, Minister of Marine; and Don Esteban Fernandez de Leon, a Member of the Council of the Indies, as the representative of the colonies. To these persons the junta transferred their

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authority, providing, however, that they should only continue to exercise the sovereign power till the cortes assembled, who were then to determine upon the form of government under which the authority of Ferdinand VII. should be administered. On these appointments being announced to the members of the council of regency, Don E. F. de Leon declined to accept the office on the plea of ill health, and Don Miguel de Lardizabal y Ariba, another Member of the Council of the Indies, was appointed in his stead. The junta accompanied the decree for the appointment of the regency with a farewell address to the people, condemning the tumultuous proceedings at Seville, and justifying themselves like men who felt that they had been unjustly censured because they had been unfortunate; and it must be confessed, that though in their administration there was something to condemn, and much to regret, yet there was assuredly much to applaud. Called to their new and elevated situation in the crisis of their country's fate, they maintained the intimate relations of Spain with foreign powers; they drew closer the bonds of their colonial connections; and they resisted with dignity and effect the perfidious overtures of the enemy. The world will, one day, excuse their errors, do justice to their intentions, and remember with admiration, that, of all the modern governments of Spain, this was the first which addressed the Spaniards as a free people, and the first that sanctioned the constitutional principles of liberty, which had for generations been suppressed.

Marshal Victor, on his arrival before Cadiz, sent a summons to the junta of that city, requiring them to surrender, and informing them that he was ready to receive their submission to King Joseph. In answer to this imperious mandate the junta replied, that they acknowledged no other King of Spain than Ferdinand VII. and the Duc d'Albuquerque declared, in reply to a similar summons from Marshal Soult, that so far from surrendering to the usurper, his troops would never lay down their arms till the independence of their country was secured.

In the month of April, about the time when the French armies opened their batteries before Cadiz, the British cabinet made an attempt to rescue the person of Ferdinand out of the hands of Napoleon. The person employed in this mission was an Irish adventurer of the name of Kelly; the plan, it appears, was concerted with the Marquis of Wellesley, the British secretary of state for foreign affairs, who had placed at Kelly's disposal a squadron off Quiberon, from whence the prince was to embark. Kelly, under pretence of having some valuable articles for sale, made his way to Valençay, the residence,

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or rather the place of imprisonment of Ferdinand, and endeavoured to speak with the prince. To effect this purpose, he disclosed his intentions to the Infante, Don Antonio, and to Amazaga, the intendant of the royal prisoner's household. Ferdinand was no sooner made acquainted with Kelly's visit than he sent for Berthemy, the governor of the castle, and with the greatest emotion informed him, that an English emissary had found his way into the castle, and that he was furnished with ample credentials to show that he came from the British government.* It is scarcely necessary to add, that Kelly was immediately placed under arrest, and the vigilance of the French governor over the person and suite of the unfortunate monarch was, if possible, increased by this abortive attempt.

The military affairs of Portugal, in 1810, were much more important than those in Spain. Lord Wellington, when he was under the necessity of retreating, after the battle of Talavera, seemed, for the present, to have abandoned all idea of advancing into Spain, and to have determined to direct and confine his operations to the defence of Portugal, till a more auspicious state of affairs should arise. To attain and secure this great object, his lordship formed a plan, which, though it was not completely developed, nor productive of the beneficial consequences expected to result from it, till the beginning of the following year, it is necessary here to explain, in order that the movements of the allied armies may be perfectly understood, and justly appreciated. As the force which this country could send into the peninsula was necessarily small in comparison with the immense armies of France, and as the Portuguese troops could not at first be expected to equal the British, it was expedient to defend Portugal in that particular spot, where inequality of numbers would be compensated by local and artificial strength, and where the means of supplying and increasing his force would be easy to the British general and proportionately difficult to the enemy. Lord Wellington soon perceived that no place in Portugal presented so favourable a situation for this purpose as the lines of Torres Vedras, and he determined to make this his stand. This position was capable of being rendered absolutely impregnable: lying near the Tagus, his army could receive reinforcements and supplies readily from England, and his vicinity to the sea would enable him, in case of exigency, to embark without delay. The French general, on the other hand, would

be in the very heart of a hostile country, the inhabitants of which were neither disposed nor able to supply his wants; and from the nature of the war in the peninsula, it would be extremely difficult to procure the supplies from any great distance. In order to render the defence of the lines of Torres Vedras more effectual and secure, and at the same time to render the situation of the French, if they should advance to Lisbon, more difficult and desperate, Lord Wellington determined to retard the progress of the enemy as long as possible, without hazarding a general engagement. In furtherance of this plan, his lordship, with his combined army of British, Spanish, and Portuguese, advanced, at the commencement of the summer, to the north-eastern frontier of Portugal; his force consisting at that time of about thirty thousand British, and nearly double that number of the native armies.

Napoleon was, on his part, evidently preparing to make a more powerful effort to put an end to the war than had ever been made since he himself advanced into Spain; Massena was dispatched from Paris to put himself at the head of an army, composed of the divisions of Soult and Ney, and of large reinforcements brought from France, as well as from various parts of the peninsula. The numerical strength of this army has been differently estimated; Massena himself, in a proclamation addressed to the Portuguese, soon after his arrival in the peninsula, rated his force at upwards of a hundred thousand men; but when he advanced into Portugal, it most probably did not exceed seventy thousand.

In the beginning of the month of July the hostile armies were posted as follows; a small French corps was stationed before Badajoz, watched by the Spanish army of Romana, (consisting of nine thousand men), and by General Hill, with a British force amounting to about five thousand. The grand French army, under Massena, was posted before Ciudad Rodrigo, which fortress he determined to take before he advanced further into Portugal. The headquarters of the English army were in front of Celerico. Lord Wellington's army was formed into five divisions, of which the first, under General Spencer, was at Celerico; the second, under General Hill, at Portalegra; the third, commanded by General Cole, was cantoned at Garda; the fourth, under General Picton, was at Pinhel; and the light division, under General Crawford, including two regiments of Portuguese caçadores or marksmen, was ad-

* The credentials here alluded to consisted of a letter from Ferdinand himself, signed in his own hand, and countersigned "Marquis Wellesley;" and a letter addressed by Charles IV. to his Britannic Majesty on occasion of Ferdinand's intended marriage, the authenticity of which was attested by the noble marquis.

vanced close to the French army at Ciudad Rodrigo. Each division had attached to it some Portuguese regiments, with one or more English officers in them, and by whose efforts they had been brought into such excellent order and discipline, that it was reasonably expected they would, in the hour of trial, not disgrace their companions in arms.

After the fall of Ciudad Rodrigo, which was defended with great bravery, and did not surrender till the fortress was no longer defensible, the French general advanced to the siege of Almeida. Massena opened his trenches before this fortress on the 15th of August. While a false attack was made against the north of the town, two thousand men dug the first parallel to a depth of three feet; and on Sunday, the 26th, at five o'clock in the morning, eleven batteries, mounted with sixty-five pieces of cannon, opened their fire. The garrison consisted of five thousand men, of whose spirit no doubt was entertained; the city was well provided, and its works had been placed in so respectable a state that Lord Wellington felt assured the enemy would be detained till late in the season. These well-founded expectations were frustrated by one of those casualties, which sometimes disconcert the wisest plans, and disappoint the surest hopes of man. On the night after the batteries opened, the large powder magazine in the citadel blew up with a tremendous explosion. More than half the artillery men, a great number of the garrison, and many of the inhabitants, perished; the guns were dismounted; and the works were rendered no longer defensible. The necessary and almost immediate consequence was the surrender of the place, and all the troops in the garrison were made prisoners of war.

On the fall of Almeida, Massena advanced further into Portugal, and Lord Wellington retreated slowly before him, taking the road by Coimbra. His lordship, who had well considered every part of the country, came to the resolution to take up a position on the Sierra de Busaco, and there to resist the advance of the French army. The British and Portuguese troops were posted along the ridge of the mountain or Sierra, extending nearly eight miles, and forming the segment of a circle, whose extreme points embraced every part of the enemy's position, and from whence every movement below could be distinctly observed. On the 26th of September, the light troops on both sides were engaged throughout the line. At six o'clock on the following morning, the French, under Ney and Regnier, made two desperate attacks upon Lord Wellington's position; one on the right, the other on the left, of the highest point of the

Sierra. The division under Ney gained the top of the ridge, but was driven back with the bayonet; and another division, further to the right, was repulsed before it could reach the top of the mountain. On the left, the attack was made by three divisions, only one of which made any progress towards the summit, and this force, being charged with the bayonet, was driven down with immense loss. The Portuguese soldiers, upon whom the success of the war was ultimately to depend, established this day their character for courage and discipline, and proved that, however the government had degenerated, the people, when properly directed, were the same as in the days of Nuno Alvares. Lord Wellington bore testimony to the merit of his allies; he declared that he had never seen a more gallant attack than that made by the Portuguese troops upon the enemy, who had reached the ridge of the Sierra; they were worthy, his lordship said, to contend in the same ranks with British troops, in that good cause which they afforded the best hopes of saving. General Junot made also a curious, but unintentional acknowledgment of the gallant conduct of the Portuguese: Lord Wellington, he said, had practised a *ruse de guerre*, and deceived his enemy by dressing Englishmen in Portuguese uniforms. On this memorable day, the operations of the French army were directed by Marshal Massena in person, whose troops actually engaged amounted to twenty-five thousand men; of this force, two hundred and eighty-six were taken prisoners, including General Simon, three colonels, and thirty-three officers; two thousand French troops were left dead on the field, and the number of wounded was in equal proportion. The loss of the English amounted to one hundred and seven killed, four hundred and ninety-three wounded, and thirty-one prisoners; and that of the Portuguese to ninety killed, five hundred and twelve wounded, and twenty prisoners.* The enemy, thus repulsed in his attempts to open a passage for his further advance into Portugal, accomplished by a manœuvre what force had failed to effect. On the evening of the 28th, Lord Wellington observed the French army withdrawing from their position, and silently moving round the northern edge of the Sierra, from whence they advanced to Avelas, on the high road to Coimbra. The British general had foreseen this movement, and had given orders to Colonel Trant, who commanded the Portuguese militia, to occupy Sardao; but the general officer who commanded in the north, having sent the colonel round by Oporto, he was prevented from executing this order till the night of the 28th, when he found the French

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in possession of that place. In this situation, Lord Wellington, in order to prevent his army being cut off from Coimbra, or compelled to fight a general action on disadvantageous ground, was under the necessity of quitting Busaco, and retreating to the left bank of the Mondego. It is difficult to comprehend the conduct of the French general in his attack upon the English position at Busaco, he made, it appears, a desperate effort against troops, placed in a position almost impregnable, for the purpose of accomplishing that which was afterwards effected without either trouble or loss. In the afternoon of the 30th, the French advanced-guard appeared in the front of Coimbra, and the next day, Lord Wellington, continuing his retreat, fell back upon Leyria, and from thence to the lines of Torres Vedras. So perfectly convinced was the French general that the retreat of Lord Wellington was for the purpose of embarking at Lisbon, and that his sole object should be immediate and close pursuit, that he abandoned his wounded at Coimbra with little or no protection, and advanced without taking the precaution to form and establish magazines. On his arrival at Torres Vedras, after reconnoitering the British line, he found their position to be impregnable, and here the error he had committed, in making so incautious an advance, became manifest. These lines, strong by nature, and greatly improved by art, extended to a distance of thirty-five miles, flanked, on one side by the sea, and on the other by the Tagus. The British army consisted of thirty thousand efficient troops; besides twenty-five thousand Portuguese regulars, forty thousand militia, and about ten thousand Spaniards. This army was divided into four divisions, and each division occupied one of the four passes of the mountains. The French force, when they reached the vicinity of Torres Vedras, could not consist of more than sixty thousand men, harassed by fatigue, straitened for provisions, and without magazines in their rear; and when the relative strength and situation of the two armies was known in England, the destruction of the enemy was regarded as inevitable.

Massena, however, contrary to the sanguine calculations of the British nation; and contrary also, it should appear, to the expectations and conjectures of Lord Wellington, kept his position in front of Torres Vedras till the 14th of November, when he marched for Santarem. On the morning of the following day the allied army broke up, and followed the march of the enemy, firmly hoping that the time for his destruction had now arrived. But on examining his position at Santarem, it was not judged advisable to make an attack. Lord Wellington therefore contented himself with fixing his head-quarters

at Cartaxo, about ten miles nearer Lisbon; and in these positions the two armies remained at the close of the year.

One of the last papers which issued from the royal press at Seville, before the seat of government was transferred to Cadiz, was an edict prescribing the manner in which the members of the cortes should be chosen. This plan was formed at once with a suitable reference to established usages, to the present circumstances of the country, and to the future convenience of the electors. The mode of election was so regulated as almost to preclude any undue interference or influence. A parochial junta was to be formed in every parish; and to consist of every householder above the age of twenty-five years, except such as were disqualified by crimes, or mental incapacity. The parochial or primary electors were to advance, individually, to a table, at which the parish officers and parish priests presided, and there to name a person to be the elector for that parish; the twelve persons who obtained the majority of names were then to retire to fix upon some person to act as their parochial representative in the district assembly. The primary election being thus completed, the parochial junta was to proceed to the church in procession, the deputy walking between the alcade, or mayor, and the priest. Within eight days after the primary election, the parochial deputies were to assemble in the principal town of the district, and in the same manner to choose one or more electors for the district, according to its extent. The district delegates being chosen, they were to repair to the place appointed for the final election, and there to elect the members of the cortes.

No qualification was required for a member of the cortes other than that he should be above twenty-five years of age, of good repute, and not actually the salaried-servant of any individual or public body. All those cities which had sent deputies to the last cortes, assembled in 1789, were each to send a representative to the cortes that was now about to meet in the isle of Leon; and each of the supreme juntas of the nation enjoyed the same privilege. The provinces were to send a member for every fifty thousand inhabitants, estimated according to the census of 1787, which rated the population of Spain at 10,534,985, making the number of elective deputies two hundred and eight, exclusive of sixty-eight supplementary deputies, who were to be returned to serve in the cortes in case of the death of any of its members: it was further directed, that in the choice of representatives, those should be preferred, who, *ceteris paribus*, were able to serve their country at their own charge; but a sum was fixed for the members of 120 rials a day, while they were in actual attendance.

By this mode of election, founded on the principles laid down in the French constitution of 1790, it will be perceived that the parishes elected the members to represent them in the electoral district assemblies, these appointed the representatives of the provincial meetings, and they again chose the national representatives, designated by the name of the Cortes of Spain. To the number of the cortes twenty-six members were added, as representatives of the Spanish possessions in America, the Columbian islands, and the Philippines.

It was originally intended that the cortes should assemble at Seville on the 1st of March; but the French having obtained possession of that city, the isle of Leon was fixed upon as the place of their meeting, and the first session opened its proceedings on the 24th of September. At nine o'clock in the morning of that day the deputies assembled in a hall which had been fitted up for their sittings in the Palace of the Regency. The military were drawn up under arms, and the members repaired in procession to the parochial church, where the mass of the Holy Ghost was performed by the Cardinal Bourbon, the Archbishop of Toledo. After a solemn discourse from the Bishop of Orense, who was president of the regency, each of the members swore to preserve the Spanish nation in its integrity, and to omit no means of delivering their country from its unjust oppressors. These ceremonies being concluded, the procession returned in the same order to the hall of the assembly, and the members seated themselves indiscriminately as they entered the hall. The first act of this national assembly was to declare the cortes legally constituted in a general and extraordinary congress, wherein the national sovereignty resided; but as it was not proper that the legislative and executive powers should be united, they delegated the executive authority, in the absence of their King, Ferdinand VII. to the members of the council of regency. After the necessary preliminary business had been dispatched, a "self-denying ordinance" was passed by the cortes, on the motion of Don Antonio Capmany, the deputy for Catalonia, whereby it was enacted, that no member of the cortes should be permitted, during the exercise of his functions, nor for one year afterwards, to solicit, or accept, for himself, or for any other person whatsoever, any pension, favour, reward, honour, or distinction, from the executive power.

The liberty of the press, without which all pretensions to national freedom are vain and illusory, was the next subject of importance which occupied the deliberations of the cortes. "Whatever light," said Arguellas, by whom

this subject was introduced, "has spread itself over Europe, that light has sprung from the liberty of the press; and nations have risen in proportion as that liberty has been enjoyed by them; while others, involved in ignorance, and fettered by despotism or superstition, have sunk in the same proportion. Spain," continued he, "has, for many ages, been in chains; insulted and degraded by a succession of governments who have despised the wishes of the people. The morals of the nation partook of this perverse influence, and the glory of Spain disappeared in the same proportion as its liberty." "Look at England, on the other hand, that free and generous country, which owes its liberty and all its morality to a free press. England has been the faithful friend of Spain; and upon the colossal power of England, which the liberty of the press has raised, the independence which is yet left in Europe rests for its support."* This discussion was resumed in several successive meetings before it was finally settled, and the opposition seemed to gain strength in the progress of the measure. "The liberty of the press, without a censor," said Llaneros, "instead of being necessary or useful, is injurious, and has never been wished for in Majorca, which island I represent. Where there are good censorial tribunals, the liberty of the press will never be wanted. The court of the holy inquisition is such a tribunal; and to that court the decision of the question should be referred!"

At length the friends of the liberty of the press triumphed over its adversaries, and a decree was passed, by a majority of sixty-eight to thirty-two voices, by which it was enacted, "that all bodies and individual persons, of whatever state or condition, are at liberty to write, print, and publish their political sentiments, without the necessity of any license, revision, or approbation, previous to publication; that authors and printers are responsible for the abuse of this liberty; that scandalous libels, and calumnious writings and works, subversive of the fundamental principles of the monarchy, or offensive to public decency and good morals, shall be punished according to law; and that the respective judges and tribunals shall look to the punishment of such offences." By another article of this decree, it was enacted, "that all writings upon matters of religion shall remain subject to the previous censorship of the ecclesiastical ordinances, according to the decree of the council of Trent." Thus one essential portion of the liberty of the press, that which related to religion, was interdicted; and the law for securing the free discussion of political topics was so much circumscribed by restrictions, and

* Oliveros.

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so highly objectionable, as to the constitution of the tribunal before which questions of libels were to be determined, that the liberty so much dwelt upon and extolled, was, in effect, rather nominal than real.

One of the first acts of the cortes was to declare, "that the rights of liberty and citizenship belong to the Spaniards in America." This declaration was followed by enactments, conferring upon the inhabitants of the colonies the same right of electing deputies which the people of Spain possessed, and providing that one deputy should be returned to the cortes for every fifty thousand inhabitants, including in this number, not only the casts, but all such as were not actually in a state of slavery. These privileges the colonies claimed as their birth-right, and it was hoped that, by a wise, just, and lenient policy, the new government might succeed in tranquillizing the agitations that had so long prevailed in their settlements, and that those possessions might still continue to form a part of the Spanish empire.

In the interregnum, between the dissolution of the supreme central junta, and the convocation of the cortes, the council of regency had failed to afford satisfaction either to Spain or to her allies. This body had scarcely taken any measures to recruit the armies, or to repair the disasters to which they had been exposed. Their whole conduct was feeble, languid, and inefficient; while the circumstances of their country demanded men of talents, energy, and decision. A new regency was accordingly appointed on the 28th of October, consisting of General Blake, who commanded the army of the centre; Don Pedro Agar, a captain in the Spanish navy, and director-general of the academies of the royal marine guards; and Don Gabriel Ciscar, the governor of Carthagena.

Cadiz at this time presented one of the most extraordinary spectacles in history. The enemy surrounded the bay, and possessed all the adjoining country, wherever they could cover it with troops, or scour it with their cavalry.

From this neck of land the cortes legislated for Spain and her dependencies; and the first free parliament which had for centuries met in the peninsula, was regarded with the deepest anxiety in all the regions to which the Spanish name extended. In the bay, the English squadron, part of that fleet which had so long blockaded this very port, was riding at anchor, intermingled with those ships which, for so many years, had borne a hostile flag, but which were now engaged in a cause vitally dear to both countries. For three centuries Cadiz had been one of the most important ports in Europe; its harbour was now crowded with vessels more than at any other period; and its increased population had drawn thither traders from all parts of the commercial world.

In the course of the year, the enemy had obtained many and great advantages. They had occupied the kingdom of Andalusia; they had reduced all the fortresses in Catalonia, Tarragona alone excepted; and they had gained possession of Ciudad Rodrigo, and Almeida. Still the aspect of affairs was less unfavourable than it had been at the close of the preceding year. At that time Andalusia was laid open to the French; the Spaniards were under an unpopular government; and they had no cortes to which they could look up. The submission of Austria left Bonaparte at liberty to direct his whole attention, and his undivided force, to the conquest of the peninsula. The difficulty of co-operation between Spain and her allies had been grievously felt; and the British army, after one of the most brilliant achievements of modern times, seemed to be mouldering away in sickness and inaction. That army, acting in conjunction with Romana, and with the Portuguese troops, was now baffling and defeating the utmost efforts of the French, led on by Napoleon's most distinguished generals. The Spaniards, after the defeat and dispersion of their armies, were again rallying in the field; and the government of Spain seemed determined to adopt those measures, which could alone secure the country from vassalage and degradation.

CHAPTER XII.

BRITISH HISTORY : *Meeting of Parliament—Inquiry into the Policy and Conduct of the Walcheren Expedition—Standing Order of the House of Commons for the Exclusion of Strangers, enforced by Mr. Yorke—John Gale Jones committed to Newgate for a Breach of Privilege—Mr. Yorke appointed Teller of the Exchequer, and First Lord of the Admiralty—Deprived of his Seat for Cambridgeshire—Motion of Sir Francis Burdett for the Liberation of Mr. Gale Jones—Sir Francis Burdett pronounced guilty of a Breach of Privilege, and committed to the Tower—His Liberation—Public Finances—Appointment of the Bullion Committee—Mr. Brand's Plan of Parliamentary Reform—Motions for Catholic Emancipation—Earl Grey's Motion on the State of the Nation—Prorogation of Parliament—Death and Character of Mr. Windham—Capture of Guadaloupe—Gallant Naval Exploit—Capture of the Dutch and French Settlements in the East—Death of the Princess Amelia—Indisposition of the King—Abrupt Meeting of Parliament—Repeated Adjournments—Appointment of a Regency in the Person of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.*

THE political horizon, at the commencement of the year 1810, presented a dark and lowering aspect. The war on the continent, which had excited such high and animated hopes, had terminated in the triumph of France, and the defeat and humiliation of the Emperor of Austria. It was not, indeed, known, that the illustrious house of Hapsburg contemplated a family union with the founder of the Napoleon dynasty, but it was apparent that Francis had sheathed the sword in dismay, and that Austria continued to exist only by the suffrance of France. In the peninsula, the campaign of 1809, which had opened under the fairest auspices, had terminated disastrously; and in all parts of the Spanish dominions, even in those which distance and oceans had conspired to secure, the standard of civil war was unfurled, and the conflicts of contending parties threatened to separate the colonies from the parent state.

In this state of affairs, parliament assembled on the 23d of January, 1810, and the opening speech, which, owing to his majesty's continued and increasing infirmities, was read by commission, turned principally upon topics calculated rather to increase than to dispel the general gloom. Among the most prominent of these was the peace recently concluded between Austria and France; the disastrous expedition to Walcheren; the precarious state of our relations with Sweden; and the necessity of affording further assistance to Spain and Portugal.

The first subject proposed to parliament was the usual address on his majesty's speech. This address was moved in the house of lords by the Earl of Glasgow, seconded by Lord Grim-

stone; and in the house of commons by Lord Bernard, seconded by Mr. Peel. In both houses amendments were moved, and the formidable numbers in the ranks of opposition served to shew that the late changes in the cabinet had tended to weaken a government already feeble in the senate, and by no means strong in public estimation.

The debates on the address, which turned principally upon the conduct of the war in Spain, were followed by votes of thanks to Lord Wellington and his army, for the skill and gallantry displayed in the battle of Talavera; and these discussions were succeeded by a motion made by Lord Porchester, for an inquiry into the policy and conduct of the late expedition to Walcheren, under the Earl of Chatham. To give efficacy to this inquiry, his lordship moved for the appointment of a committee—not a select and secret committee, he said, before whom garbled extracts might be laid by ministers themselves, in order to produce a partial decision, but a committee of the whole house, by which oral evidence might be examined at the bar. This motion was opposed by ministers, but without success, for, on a division of the house, there appeared, for the motion, one hundred and ninety-eight; against it, one hundred and eighty-six voices.

On the 1st of February, the day before the investigation commenced, Mr. Yorke, the member for Cambridgeshire, gave notice that he should, during the inquiry, enforce the standing order of the house for the exclusion of strangers. Mr. Sheridan deprecated the idea of proceeding in an investigation, in which the nation was so

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deeply interested, with closed doors, and asked whether it could be endured that the people should be kept in complete ignorance of what parliament was doing at one of the most awful moments of its existence? Mr. Windham inquired what was the value of their constituents knowing what was passing in that house? Suppose they should never know it, the difference would only be that which existed between a representative form of government and a democracy. It was not till between the last twenty and thirty years that the debates had been published at all, and he was one of those that liked the constitution as it was, not as it is. Persons made a trade of what they obtained from the gallery, among which persons were to be found bankrupts, lottery-office-keepers, footmen, and decayed tradesmen. He did not know any of the conductors of the press, but he understood them to be a set of men who would give into corrupt misrepresentations, and he was determined not to favour such characters by lending his hand to abrogate an order which was made to correct an abuse. Sir Francis Burdett said, if he could see in that house a body of gentlemen, fairly and freely elected by the people as the chosen guardians of their rights—if he could see no placemen or pensioners within those walls, and if no corrupt or undue influence could be supposed to operate on the minds of any of the members of that assembly; then, indeed, he should feel no particular objection to the inquiry being conducted in secret; unfortunately, however, the case was different, and the house stood in the eyes of the public in a very opposite situation. It had been considered by some, that, in point of character, they were on their last legs; but, for his part, he feared that they had not a leg to stand upon. Mr. Sheridan said, that to some of the doctrines broached by Mr. Windham he had listened with regret, and to others with horror; and his friendship for that gentleman made him almost wish, for the first time in his life, that the public had been excluded from the debate. Then passing, by a rapid transition, to the subject of the press, he exclaimed—"Give me but the liberty of the press, and I will give to the minister a venal house of peers—I will give him a corrupt and servile house of commons—I will give him the full swing of the patronage of office—I will give him the whole host of ministerial influence—I will give him all the power that place can confer upon him, to purchase up submission, and overawe resistance; and yet, armed with the liberty of the press, I will go forth to meet him undismayed; I will attack with that mightier engine the mighty fabric he has raised; I will shake down from its height corruption, and bury it beneath the ruin of the abuses it was meant to

shelter." But however eloquently Mr. Sheridan enforced his arguments, the sense of parliament was against him; and a majority of one hundred and sixty-six to eighty members, decided, that the standing order of the house for the exclusion of strangers should remain unaltered.

A parliamentary proceeding in which the public was so deeply interested, naturally became a subject of general discussion, and on the 10th of February, while the investigation into the Scheldt expedition was proceeding in the house with closed doors, Mr. Yorke complained of a breach of privilege. His conduct in that assembly, he said, had been made the subject of discussion in a speaking club, called the *BRITISH FORUM*, and their hand bills, which were stuck upon all the walls of the city, stated, that, "after an interesting discussion, it was unanimously decided, that the enforcement of the standing orders, by shutting out strangers from the gallery of the house of commons, ought to be considered as an insidious and ill-timed attack upon the liberty of the press, as tending to aggravate the discontents of the people, and to render their representatives objects of jealous suspicion." The same hand-bill proposed a question for the next night's meeting, couched in these terms—"Which was the greatest outrage upon public feeling, Mr. Yorke's enforcement of the standing orders, or Mr. Windham's recent attack upon the liberty of the press?" This Mr. Yorke complained of as a gross violation of the privileges of that house, and John Dean, the printer of the hand-bill, was ordered to attend at the bar. On the following evening the printer appeared, and after humbly begging pardon of the honourable house for his offence, stated that John Gale Jones was the author of the obnoxious hand-bill. Mr. Jones, when summoned to the bar, acknowledged that he was the author of the paper in question, adding, that he had always considered it the privilege of every Englishman to animadvert on public measures, and the conduct of public men; but, on looking over the paper again, he found he had erred, and begged to express his contrition, and cast himself upon the mercy of the house. The speaker now put the question, that John Gale Jones has been guilty of a gross breach of the privileges of this house, which was carried unanimously; and on the motion of Mr. Yorke, he was committed to Newgate. The printer, having given up his author, was reprimanded and discharged.

The question of privilege served as a kind of episode, and withdrew public attention in some degree from the inquiry which was now resumed. Among the papers laid before parliament, was a "copy of the Earl of Chatham's statement of his proceedings," dated the 15th of October, 1809, presented to the king on the

14th of February, 1810. The tenor of the narrative was to impute blame to the naval part of the expedition, and his lordship represented its failure to have arisen, "either from insufficient arrangements on the part of the admiral, Sir Richard Strachan, or from unavoidable difficulties, inherent in the nature of the expedition itself, which, being entirely of a naval nature, did not come within his province." The presenting of such a document to the sovereign by a military commander, without the intervention of any responsible minister, and without the knowledge of the accused party, was deprecated as a clandestine and unconstitutional attempt to poison the royal ear; and a motion made by Mr. Whitbread for an address to his majesty, praying that copies of all papers submitted to him by the Earl of Chatham, at any time, concerning the expedition to the Scheldt, might be laid before that house, was carried in opposition to ministers by a majority of seven voices. This proceeding was followed by a vote of censure, proposed by Mr. Whitbread, and amended by Mr. Canning, in which Lord Chatham was pronounced highly reprehensible for the communication made to his majesty; and his lordship, in order to avoid an address to the king, praying for his removal from his majesty's councils, resigned his office of master-general of the ordnance.

Mr. Whitbread, while animadverting upon the surreptitious manner in which the narrative of the Earl of Chatham had been presented to the king, touched upon a topic which particularly associated itself with the name of Chatham: "It was," said Mr. Whitbread, "the first commoner in England, I mean the man who was afterwards created William, Earl of Chatham, which first discovered, that, from the beginning of the present reign, there had existed a secret and malignant influence behind the throne, greater than the throne itself. Strange fatality! that in the son of that very man, who first made the bold and awful annunciation, should be found one of the agents of that occult influence, which the father so long deprecated, and so magnanimously resisted."

In the mean time the examination of evidence upon the Walcheren expedition, which had occupied the house from the 2d of February to the 26th of March, was concluded; and Lord Porchester moved two series of resolutions, to the effect, that the expedition was undertaken under circumstances which afforded no rational hope of adequate success, and at the precise season of the year when the disease, which had proved so fatal, was known to be most prevalent; that the advisers of that ill-judged enterprise were therefore highly reprehensible for the calamities with which its failure

had been attended; and that their conduct, in delaying the evacuation of Walcheren, called for the severest censure. After four nights debate the question was put to the vote, when there appeared, for Lord Porchester's resolutions, two hundred and twenty-seven, and against them, two hundred and seventy-five voices. The house next decided upon an amendment of General Crawford's, purporting, that though the house considered with regret the lives which had been lost, it was of opinion that his majesty's ministers had proceeded upon good grounds in undertaking the expedition; which amendment was carried by a majority of forty voices. The second set of resolutions, censuring ministers for delaying the evacuation of Walcheren, was negatived by a majority of two hundred and seventy-five to two hundred and twenty-four; and a resolution, approving their conduct for retaining the island till the time it was abandoned, was carried by a majority of two hundred and fifty-five to two hundred and thirty-two voices.

This decision was considered as an escape, but by no means as a triumph, on the part of ministers. It was, however, obvious, that the question of the policy of the expedition to the Scheldt was one with regard to which impartial men might differ; and though the opinion of the country was by no means in unison with the decision of parliament, the result of the inquiry produced none of those feelings of disappointment, with which the issue of the investigation into the conduct of the Duke of York had, during the preceding session, agitated the community.

The conduct of Mr. Yorke, in enforcing the standing order of the house of commons, was duly appreciated both by ministers and by the public. The former were so sensible of the benefits they had derived from his seasonable services, that he soon obtained the sinecure office of teller of the exchequer, and the highly responsible situation of first lord of the admiralty. In consequence of these appointments, he was under the necessity of vacating his seat for the county of Cambridgeshire, which he had represented for twenty years; and in the popular indignation that he had to encounter, as well as in the defeat of his attempts to obtain his reelection, the sense of the nation was unequivocally pronounced on the merits and motives of his public conduct. Mr. Yorke was opposed in his election by Lord Francis Godolphin Osborne; and so decided and general was the sense of the freeholders of the county on the day of nomination against their late member, that Mr. Yorke thought it proper to decline the poll in favour of the new candidate, and to take refuge in the Cornish borough of St. Germans.

Although several of the members of the

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house of commons had expressed their doubts of the policy of committing Mr. Gale Jones to Newgate, yet none of them had denied, or doubted, the power of the house to punish a breach of privilege by imprisonment. This was reserved for Sir Francis Burdett—a man, who, as his friends insist, never suffers to pass unnoticed or unemployed an opportunity of defending the liberties, and securing the properties of the subject; or, as his enemies assert, of shaking the foundations of government, and inspiring dissatisfaction and discontent among the people. On the day when the committal took place, Sir Francis was confined to his house by indisposition; but as soon as possible after his return to his parliamentary duty, he moved for the liberation of the prisoner of privilege, grounding his motion on an assumption that the house of commons had exerted a power which the constitution did not confer upon them, and of which no precedent could be found, except in the worst periods of our history. The motion was made by Sir Francis Burdett on the 12th of March, and in the speech delivered on that occasion, great research and knowledge of the law and practise of parliament, were displayed. The honourable baronet, at the conclusion of his speech, moved, that John Gale Jones should be discharged; which motion was resisted by both sides of the house, and negatived by a majority of one hundred and fifty-three to fourteen voices. The speech delivered on this occasion Sir Francis Burdett published in a periodical paper, of the 24th of the same month,* with a letter prefixed, addressed to his constituents.

"The house of commons," says Sir Francis, "having passed a vote, which amounts to a declaration, that an order of theirs is of more weight than Magna Charta and the laws of the land, I think it my duty to lay my sentiments thereon before my constituents, whose character, as freemen, and whose personal safety, depend, in so great a degree, upon the decision of this question—a question of no less importance than this: Whether our liberty be still to be secured by the laws of our forefathers, or to be laid at the absolute mercy of a part of our fellow-subjects, collected together by means which it is not necessary for me to describe? Should the principle, upon which the gentlemen of the house of commons have thought proper to act in this instance, be once admitted, it is impossible for any one to conjecture how soon he himself may be summoned from his dwelling, and be hurried, without trial, and without oath made against him, from the bosom of his family into the clutches of a gaoler. It is therefore now the time to resist the doctrine upon which Mr. Jones has been sent to Newgate; or, it is high time to cease all pretensions to those liberties which were acquired by our forefathers after so many struggles and so many sacrifices. We seek for, and we need to seek for, nothing new; we ask for only the birth-right of the people of England, namely, the laws of England. To these laws we have a right to look, with confidence, for security; to these laws the individual now imprisoned, has, through me, applied for redress in vain. Your voice may come with

more force; may command greater respect; and I am not without hopes that it may prove irresistible. If any of you be liable, at any time, to be sent to gaol without a trial, and as long as it pleases the parties sending you there (perhaps to the end of your life) without any court to appeal to, without any means of redress; if this be the case, shall we still boast of the laws and liberties of England? But I would fain believe that such is not to be our fate. Our fathers made stern grim-visaged prerogative hide his head; they broke in pieces his sharp and massy sword; and shall we, their sons, be afraid to enter the lists with undefined privilege, assuming the powers of prerogative."

The speech, or argument, as it was now entitled, contained, amidst many legal and constitutional references, several passages in the same bold and animated strain.

"I have little doubt," says Sir Francis in this argument, "of being able to convince every impartial mind, that the house of commons, by proceeding to judgment—passing sentence of imprisonment—and issuing a warrant of commitment, has gone beyond its prescribed limits, acted in a manner inconsistent with the ends of its institution, and violated the fundamental principles of the law and constitution of the land."....."By proceeding thus, they have exercised a jurisdiction not vested in them; a jurisdiction beyond the limits of king, lords, and commons, while Magna Charta remains unrepealed—and repealed it never can be till England shall have found her grave in the corruption of the house of commons."....."As to the speaker's warrant, let this instrument, this thing, *en generis*, be contrasted with the description of the properties of a legal warrant. Does it not evidently appear, that this piece of unsealed paper, signed by the speaker, by which an untried subject has been outlawed, bears no feature of legality, and that, from the commencement of this proceeding, in its progress, to its conclusion, there is not one step that has not been marked in a peculiar manner with disrespect to the laws—a disrespect, in which all parts have been wonderfully consistent throughout, in constituting the most unlawful act the mind of man can possibly conceive?"....."Upon what ground or pretence has the house assumed such a power to punish? Since they have taken upon themselves such a power, it is fair to call upon them to shew how they came by it, and when they first claimed it. The commencement of this usurpation was when they got rid of the upper house of parliament, and cut off the head of the king. (Charles I.) They still, it seems, are emboldened to maintain an illegal power, not pretended to even by the king, but which these local sovereigns over the king claim as of right. But no wonder, when they have so entirely departed from the ends of their institution—as was offered to be proved by Mr. Madocks, and acknowledged by themselves, in the never-to-be-forgotten morning of the 11th of May, 1809, when, from being the lower, or inferior, (for it is the same sense, one being an English, and another a Latin, word) branch of the legislature, they became the proprietors by burgage tenure of the whole representation; and in that capacity, inflated with their high flown, fanciful ideas of majesty, and tricked out in the trappings of royalty, think privilege and protection beneath their dignity, assume the sword of prerogative, and lord it equally over the king and the people."

In consequence of this publication, it was moved, by Mr. Lethbridge, and decided by a majority of the house of commons, that Sir Francis Burdett had been guilty of publishing

* Cobbett's Weekly Political Register.

a scandalous and libellous paper, reflecting upon the just rights and privileges of that honourable house, for which offence he was ordered to be taken into custody by the serjeant-at-arms, and committed to the Tower. The motion for commitment, which was made by Sir Robert Salisbury, was carried, after a long and animated debate, by a majority of one hundred and ninety to one hundred and fifty-two voices. The division did not take place till seven o'clock on the morning of Friday, the 6th of April; and at half-past eight, the same morning, the speaker signed the warrant, and delivered it to Mr. Colman, the serjeant at arms, with a direction to execute it before ten o'clock, that he might not have to convey his prisoner to the Tower through the streets of London in the middle of the day. Owing to the absence of Sir Francis from town, the serjeant-at-arms did not see him till the afternoon of that day, when the baronet, who was then at his house, in Piccadilly, told him that he intended to write to the speaker, and that he should be ready to receive him the next morning, at eleven o'clock. The serjeant-at-arms then retired, and reported to the speaker the steps that had been taken; when Mr. Abbot advised him to go back, and execute the warrant without further delay. In compliance with this advice, he returned to the house of Sir Francis, and informed him, that he had been reprimanded by the speaker for the delay that had already taken place, and intimated that he must accompany him to the Tower forthwith. To this Sir Francis Burdett replied, "If you bring an overwhelming force I must submit; but I dare not, from my allegiance to the king, and my respect to the laws, yield a voluntary submission to the warrant you have just exhibited; it is illegal; and you must leave my house." Mr. Colman, feeling himself at a loss how to act, withdrew, and repaired to the office of the secretary of state. On the evening of the day on which the house of commons directed the speaker to issue his warrant for the apprehension and commitment of Sir Francis Burdett, the populace began to collect before his house, in Piccadilly. On Saturday, in the afternoon, the concourse of people was so great, and the resistance to the execution of the warrant so highly probable, that ministers thought proper to call out all the military who were in London, and sent orders to several regiments, who were within a day's march, to proceed to the metropolis with all possible dispatch. The populace who were before the baronet's house, compelled all the passengers on horseback, or in carriages, to pull off their hats as they passed, and in the evening they paraded the neighbouring streets, calling for lights, breaking the windows of such houses as did not illuminate, and more particu-

arly venting their fury on the houses of his majesty's ministers, and of such members of the house of commons as had distinguished themselves by speaking in favour of the imprisonment of Sir Francis Burdett.

A doubt now rose in the mind of the serjeant-at-arms, whether the warrant, under which he acted, would authorise him to break open the baronet's doors, which, he had learnt, were strongly barricaded; and the opinion of Sir Vicary Gibbs, the attorney-general, to whom the question was submitted, tended rather to confirm than to remove his apprehensions: There was no precedent to govern his decision, the attorney-general said, but reasoning from analogy, the tendency of his opinion was, that the door might be broken open for the purpose of executing the warrant; but if, in any conflict that might take place in consequence, death should ensue, the officer who executed the warrant would stand justified or not, as the breaking of the house might be deemed lawful or unlawful. On this opinion, vague and inconclusive as it was, the serjeant at arms was obliged to act, and a little before eleven o'clock on the morning of Monday, the 9th of April, Mr. Colman, accompanied by messengers and police officers, and supported by a large military force, broke open the baronet's house. Mr. Colman, advancing to Sir Francis Burdett, and at the same time presenting his warrant, said, "You are my prisoner." "That," rejoined Sir Francis, "is not a legal instrument; and I tell you, distinctly, that I will not voluntarily submit to an unlawful order. I demand, in the king's name, and in the name of the laws, that you forthwith retire from my house." "Then, Sir," said the serjeant, "I must call assistance, and force you to yield." The constables now laid hold on Sir Francis; Mr. Jones Burdett, and Mr. Roger O'Connor, who were in the room, immediately took him by the arm; but the peace officers closed on all three, and drew them down stairs. Sir Francis was then conducted to the coach, which, preceded and guarded by a large body of cavalry, conveyed him to the Tower. At the time that the serjeant-at-arms, and his attendants, broke into the house of Sir Francis Burdett, very few people were collected in Piccadilly, but the report of his seizure spread rapidly through every part of the metropolis; and before the coach, which, to avoid going through the city, had taken a circuitous route, arrived at Tower-Hill, the multitude in that quarter was immense. As soon as they perceived the carriage in which he was conveyed, their heads were instantly uncovered, and the air rang with acclamations in favour of the man whom they regarded as suffering in the cause of the liberties of his country. No attack was made upon the military till they

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began to return ; but scarcely had they entered East-Cheap, when they were assailed in the rear by a shower of stones and mud. For a considerable time the soldiers endured this attack with coolness and patience ; but at length, finding the mob grow more daring, they fired several shots, by which, unfortunately, eight persons were wounded, two of them mortally.

The letter which Sir Francis Burdett had addressed to the speaker, on Friday evening, was communicated to the house of commons on Monday, and produced an unanimous resolution, "That the letter of Sir Francis Burdett to the speaker is a high and flagrant breach of privilege." In this letter the baronet declared, that his duty to his king, and to his constituents, would not allow him voluntarily to obey the act of any set of men, who, contrary to the laws, assume the sovereign power ; and he professed his readiness to accept the meanest office that would vacate his seat to get out of an association, which had illegally usurped the whole power of the realm.

Sir Francis Burdett was abundantly consoled under his imprisonment in the Tower by the addresses he received from different parts of the kingdom, and by the petitions that were sent to the house of commons for his liberation. The first place that petitioned was the city of Westminster ; and the counties of Middlesex and Berkshire, as well as the livery of London, the borough of Southwark, and the towns of Rochester, Hull, Reading, Nottingham, and Sheffield, followed their example.

Although the warrant by which Sir Francis Burdett was committed to the Tower, directed that he should remain imprisoned during the pleasure of the house of commons, yet it had always been customary to liberate persons thus committed when the prorogation of parliament took place, and that period was anxiously expected by the friends of the baronet in the metropolis. Although his liberation, by the effluxion of time, could not, in any respect, be considered a triumph, it was determined to celebrate the day, and preparations were made to conduct him in great state from the Tower to his house in Piccadilly. Early in the morning of the 21st of June, all the streets through which the procession was to pass, were crowded with those who meant either to witness or to join in the splendid pageant. The hour at which it was known that parliament would be prorogued was looked for with intense anxiety, and the most effectual methods had been taken to communicate the notice from Westminster-Hall to the

Tower. The expected intelligence at last arrived ; parliament was prorogued, and Sir Francis Burdett was free. The immense multitudes on Tower-Hill pressed forward to catch the first glimpse of the popular favourite. Several minutes elapsed after the prorogation had been made known to the governor of the Tower, but the baronet did not appear. At length, after long and anxious expectation, it was announced by a speaking-trumpet, from the battlements of the fortress, that "Sir Francis Burdett left the Tower by water at half-past three o'clock." His friends were, for some time, incredulous, and it was suspected that it was meant to detain him ; but they soon became convinced that he had crossed the river, and was probably at that time far advanced on his road to his country-house at Wimbledon. Discontent and chagrin began to appear among the multitude : they had been led to understand that the procession was planned and arranged with the knowledge and approbation of Sir Francis Burdett, and no intimation had been given that he had changed his mind. That this disappointment did not lead to acts of violence and fury, says much for the moderation of the people ; that it did not make an impression permanently disadvantageous to the baronet, proves the strong hold he had obtained on public opinion. The explanation given by Sir Francis of this part of his conduct was by no means satisfactory ; if, as he stated to the committee that waited upon him, he apprehended mischief, he ought not to have countenanced the procession in the first instance ; and as to the necessity of an expression of the public sentiment, no such necessity existed, the public having already sufficiently expressed their feelings and views of his imprisonment.*

The representative for Westminster, conceiving that the law of the land had been outraged in his person, commenced actions, against the speaker of the house of commons, for issuing the warrant for his arrest and imprisonment ; against the serjeant-at-arms, for executing the warrant generally, and for breaking open the outer-door of his house in its execution ; and against Earl Moira, the governor of the Tower, for illegal imprisonment. These actions the house of commons ordered the attorney-general to defend. The plea was, that the warrant, being issued by the authority of the house of commons, was a legal instrument, and that therefore the arrest and imprisonment were legal. This plea, as might have been foreseen, was admitted ; and the privileges of parliament were allowed by the judges of the court of

* The liberation of Mr. John Gale Jones from Newgate, took place at the same time that Sir Francis Burdett was discharged from the Tower ; and Mr. Jones arrived in sufficient time at Tower-Hill to occupy the principal place in the procession, on its return into Westminster.

king's bench, not to be cognizable in a court of law, but to be part of the laws of the land. Thus, the attempt of Sir Francis Burdett to overthrow this branch of the privilege of parliament, like all unsuccessful attempts to call in question ancient rights, served to confirm those privileges, and gave to the claims of the house of commons a solemn judicial recognition.

The early part of the session of parliament of 1810 was almost exclusively occupied by the inquiry into the Walcheren expedition, and the proceedings in support of the privileges of parliament. On the 16th of May the budget was brought forward, and the supplies voted for the year amounted to £52,185,000, of which the proportion for Ireland was £6,106,000. The ways and means, without the imposition of any new taxes, were estimated at a surplus of £141,202 over the demand, including, however, a loan of eight millions, which was borrowed at £4 4s. 3½d. per cent.; nearly fifteen shillings per cent. below the rate of legal interest.* There was no reason, Mr. Perceval said, to apprehend any thing like decay in our finances, for, the more they were examined, the better satisfied we should be of their prosperity. This very year, when men of great authority anticipated a failure, there had actually been a very considerable increase. The official value of the imports was £36,255,209, nearly five millions more than in the most prosperous year of peace. The exports of our manufactures amounted to £35,107,000, between eight and nine millions more than they were in 1802. The exports of our foreign goods were, however, nearly four millions less than at that time. "Thus," said Mr. Perceval, "while this country is greatly progressive in prosperity, the orders in council have

reduced the receipts of the customs in France from two millions and a half, to half a million, being a diminution of four-fifths of the whole amount."

Mr. Huskisson said, that in the midst of all this vaunted prosperity, the national debt continued to increase; and he inquired if it was possible to go on much longer, adding from a million to twelve hundred thousand every year to the public burdens?

One of the first measures adopted by the friends of economical reform was contained in a motion made by Mr. Bankes, to the effect, that the act for suspending the granting of offices in reversion should be made perpetual; and a bill for this purpose passed the house of commons almost without opposition. When this bill reached the upper house it was thrown out at its second reading by a large majority. Mr. Bankes, finding, as he said, that there was a determined principle to oppose the bill in its present shape, introduced a second bill for a limited period; but this attempted compromise proved ineffectual, and the second bill was, in like manner, rejected by the peers, with a pertinacity not less injurious in itself than offensive to the public feeling.

A subject of vital importance to the interests of the community, and to the commercial credit of the country, was brought under the consideration of parliament, by Mr. Horner, who, on the 1st of February, moved for a variety of accounts and returns respecting the present state of the circulating medium, and the trade in bullion. On the production of these papers, a committee was appointed for the purpose of inquiry into the present high price of bullion, and the consequent effect on the value of the paper currency; but

* FINANCE.

PUBLIC INCOME of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1810.

Branches of Revenue.	Gross Receipts.			Paid into the Excheq.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Customs	10,532,989	8	8½	8,568,032	10	0
Excise	19,385,496	19	11½	17,184,331	3	11½
Stamps	5,463,425	8	1	5,309,843	1	11
Land & Assessed Taxes	8,432,574	1	7½	8,742,483	6	5½
Post-Office	1,610,585	3	0	1,370,069	1	11½
Miscel. Permanent Tax	127,730	9	7	123,664	6	7½
Herod. Revenue	87,148	10	11½	118,750	3	5½
Extraord. Resources.						
War Tax { Customs	3,397,201	15	4½	3,072,761	19	10½
{ Excise	5,778,396	12	10½	5,638,216	11	1½
{ Property Tax	12,413,803	14	0½	12,160,162	8	11½
Miscel. Income	2,960,874	4	4	2,938,359	13	5
Loans, including 3,000,000 for the service of Ireland	14,673,668	18	6	14,675,666	18	6
Grand Total—	£54,915,995	13	0½	£79,902,943	6	3½

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers,
24th of March, 1810. } (Signed)
RICH. WHARTON.

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PUBLIC EXPENDITURE of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1810.

Heads of Expenditure.	Sums.		
	£.	s.	d.
Interest	20,996,052	11	11½
Charge of Management	222,775	2	4½
Reduction of National Debt	10,904,450	13	0
Interest on Exchequer Bills	1,862,943	15	0½
Civil List	1,606,038	19	8½
Civil Government of Scotland	90,954	15	9
Payments in anticipation, &c.	789,754	12	2½
Navy	19,236,036	18	6
Ordnance	4,374,184	8	10
Army	12,591,040	19	11
Extraordinary Services	5,872,054	0	0
Loans to Sweden, Sicily, Portugal, & Austria, including £2,921,527 15s. 6½d. to Ireland. }	4,971,527	15	6½
Miscellaneous Services	1,459,434	4	7½
Deductions for Sums forming no part of the Expenditure of Great Britain.	84,977,248	17	4½
	2,949,960	12	3
Grand Total—	£82,027,288	5	1½

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers,
24th of March, 1810. } (Signed)
RICH. WHARTON.

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this inquiry opened so wide a field of investigation, that it was not till the eve of the prorogation of parliament that the report of the committee could be submitted to the house. The bullion committee, after a patient and laborious investigation, were decidedly of opinion, that the evils, into the causes of which they were commissioned to inquire, were to be attributed to an excessive issue of Bank of England paper; and it was stated in their report, that "a general rise of all prices, a rise in the market price of gold, and a fall in the foreign exchanges, will be the effect of an undue quantity of circulating medium in a country which has adopted a currency not exportable to other countries, or convertible at will into a coin that is convertible." But though the Bank of England notes were in reality at a discount, that discount, in the judgment of the committee, did not arise from want of credit, or confidence in the funds, and stability in the bank, but merely from over issue. And it was stated, that "no sufficient remedy for the present evil, or security for the future, could be pointed out, except the repeal of the law which suspends the cash payments of the Bank of England." To effect so important a change, the committee was aware that some difficulties must be encountered; but all hazards to the stability of the bank, and all injury to public credit, might be obviated, by restricting cash payments for two years from the present time, and by intrusting to the bank itself the charge of conducting and completing the operation.*

The question of parliamentary reform was brought under consideration in the house of commons, by Mr. Brand, on the 21st of May. Having stated the evils resulting from the present defective state of the representation, he proceeded to suggest a remedy. He did not mean to touch the right of voting for county members, except by letting in copy-holders, and assimilating the mode of voting in Scotland to the practise in England. The honourable member, in the plan now submitted to the consi-

deration of the house, proposed to disfranchise the boroughs in which the members were returned on the nomination of individuals; and as the number of members would be diminished in that proportion, it would be proper to transfer the right of returning such members to populous towns, and apply any surplus to the larger counties. The duration of parliament should, he conceived, be triennial, with a concurrent arrangement for collecting the votes by districts and parishes. It was not his intention to propose that all persons holding offices should be excluded from the house of commons; but in order to secure the independence of parliament, persons holding offices without responsibility—mere sinecures, should not be suffered to have seats in that assembly. On these grounds he brought forward his present motion, and he trusted the house would give it all the consideration to which the subject was entitled. Of one thing he was certain, that the country must either have a temperate reform, or a military government. In conclusion, he moved for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the state of the representation of the people in parliament; which motion was rejected by a large majority.

The frequently agitated question of catholic emancipation was this session brought forward in both houses; and motions for the removal of the disabilities under which his majesty's roman catholic subjects labour, made by the Earl of Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan, were rejected both in the lords and commons by considerable majorities. In the discussion on the catholic question in 1808, it had been stated by Lord Grenville in the house of lords, and Mr. Grattan in the house of commons, that the catholics were willing to allow to the crown a *veto*, or negative, in the appointment of their bishops; but the catholics of Ireland, after deep deliberation, came to the conclusion, that it would be derogatory to their character as a religious community, and would involve a compromise of the constitution of their church, to purchase an extension

* From the appendix to the report of the bullion committee it appeared, that, in the years 1791 and 1792, before the breaking out of the revolutionary war, the amount of bank notes in circulation was eleven millions and a half. In 1797, the bank was relieved by act of parliament from the necessity of paying in cash payments, when two additional millions in small notes were issued. For two years after the passing of the bank restriction bill, gold never exceeded its legitimate price of £3 17s. 6d. per ounce; and consequently, the foreign exchanges remained at par, and the circulating medium suffered no depression. In 1799, an increase of four millions took place in the paper currency of the bank, which circumstance, co-operating with the subsidies paid to foreign powers, and the increased importations, in consequence of the failure of the harvest, advanced the bullion price of gold to £4 per ounce. At the end of the year 1808, the issues of the bank were still further increased; and all those alarming symptoms, the existence of which gave rise to the bullion committee, appeared, and continued to gain strength; specie became every day more and more scarce, and at last nearly disappeared altogether; and the exchanges with the continent, and the price of bullion, rose excessively. The bank still enlarged their issues; and on the 12th of May, 1810, the amount of the Bank of England paper in circulation was swelled to twenty-one millions, of which fifteen millions were in large, and six millions in small notes. It was further stated, that the issue of paper money had been greatly increased by the transactions of the country banks, which now amounted to upwards of seven hundred, and by far the greater part of whom were issuers of notes.

of their civil privileges, by conceding to a protestant sovereign the right of interference in the appointment of the catholic prelacy. This decision, though it diminished the number of the friends of catholic emancipation in the British parliament, sufficiently proved that the members of the church of Rome in these realms felt no inordinate anxiety for the attainment of political power, and that, when their civil rights interfered with their religious obligations, they were prepared to sacrifice the former at the shrine of the latter.

On the 13th of June, when the present session of parliament was drawing to a close, Earl Grey submitted to the consideration of the house of peers a motion on the state of the nation; this motion he introduced by an elaborate and eloquent speech, which he concluded with a series of resolutions, embracing the principal points brought under discussion, and of which the following is the substance :

That an humble address be presented to his majesty, assuring him that the house is convinced, that peace, so anxiously desired by his majesty's loyal people, will be best promoted by proving to the world that we possess the means of permanently supporting the honour and independence of our country against every species of attack by which the enemy might hope to assail us; that for this purpose it is necessary that his majesty's government should henceforth adopt a wise and systematic policy, regulated, not only by a just estimate of our present difficulties, but by a prudent foresight of the probable exigencies of a protracted warfare. That we have to lament that the conduct of his majesty's ministers has been, in this respect, directly the reverse of what the interest and safety of his majesty's dominions required; that they have rashly engaged in expeditions, so defective in their plan, so impolitic in their object, and so ill combined as to the time at which they were undertaken, that they could terminate only in an unprofitable waste of the resources and the blood of his majesty's faithful subjects. That, while the war has been thus unfortunately conducted, the conduct of his majesty's government, with respect to neutral powers, has retarded an amicable arrangement with those whom it was most our interest to conciliate, and unite with us in opposition to the measures of France. That in what more immediately concerns our domestic policy, we have equally to complain of want of wisdom and of foresight in his majesty's councils; that instead of a permanent system of finance, temporary and impolitic expedients have for the

last three years been resorted to; that the paper circulation has been extended to a degree highly dangerous to the pecuniary interests of the country; that no attempts have been made to allay the discontents arising from religious differences; and that no measures have been taken to remove the cause of just complaint on the part of a burthened people, by an effective economy in the great branches of the public service. That owing to these and other causes, discontent and distrust are beginning to diffuse themselves among his majesty's faithful people, and that the increase and extension of these feelings can only be prevented by the adoption of a more wise, liberal, and enlightened policy; that in recommending such a system of policy to his majesty, we can never lose sight of our obligations to support the just prerogatives and useful splendour of the crown, the venerable establishments of our holy religion, and the ancient and essential rights and privileges of parliament.

The Earl of Liverpool, in opposing the address, contended, that a favourable change had already taken place in the state of public affairs. Our commerce and revenue had increased in a manner hitherto unexampled; the number of vessels taken from the enemy, and those of our allies rescued from his grasp, was immense; the French had been, for the first time in the history of modern Europe, driven entirely out of the West Indies; Portugal, which had been overrun by the enemy, had seen the armies of France expelled by British valour. Spain had been encouraged to struggle with her oppressors by our example; the port of Lisbon was now free; and Cadiz and Ceuta were at present occupied by the British in conjunction with Spanish troops. Such was the real state of things, at a period when the noble lord had thought proper to draw so gloomy a picture of the situation of the country, and to move for so severe a censure on his majesty's government. After a very animated debate, the house divided, when Earl Grey's motion was rejected by a majority of a hundred and thirty-four to seventy-two voices.

The motion for an inquiry into the state of the nation was the last subject of importance that engaged the attention of parliament; and on the 21st of June the two houses were prorogued, by a speech delivered in his majesty's name by the lord chancellor.*

* During the present session of parliament, died the Right Hon. WILLIAM WINDHAM, a man whose name, in the history of literature and of politics, will be joined with those of Johnson, Burke, Fox, and Pitt. His death, which was occasioned by an operation for the removal of an indolent, encysted tumour, took place on Monday, the 4th of June, in the 61st year of his age. No man occupied a more elevated situation in the estimation of all parties, for honour, integrity, and patriotism, than Mr. Windham; but there was a certain tortuousness in his political course, which gave to his conduct an air of eccentricity; and his great talents were, on some occasions, applied to the purpose of advocating established abuses, even at the expense of humanity. As an official and party man, from a chivalry of sentiment inseparable from his nature, he occasionally displayed a dissonance of opinion from those with whom he acted, but his intentions were always pure; he was not made to belong to any set or party of men; he moved in an orbit of his own; and was never to be diverted from his purpose by any considerations either of fear or favour. As an orator, he was simple, eloquent, prompt, and graceful. As a statesman, he entertained a most profound veneration for the constitution of his country; and even his faults were not of an ordinary or grovelling kind. He aimed not at the attainment of transient popularity, but aspired to a lasting and imperishable reputation; and his sovereign embalmed his memory with this high eulogium—"Windham was a genuine patriot and a truly honest man."

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After the fall of Martinique, the only settlement of importance possessed by the enemy in the West Indies was the island of Guadeloupe; and early in the present year, an expedition, under the command of Lieutenant-general Sir George Beckwith, sailed from Martinique against that colony. The preparations for the attack were completed about the middle of January, and consisted of an army of about six thousand men, which was divided into five brigades, and accompanied with a suitable naval force, under the command of Sir Alexander Cochrane. On the 27th the expedition arrived at St. Marie, and by the prompt and judicious operations of the troops, the enemy was driven from the positions he had occupied in advance, and obliged to compress his force beyond the bridge of Nozeire, having the river Noire in his front, and extending his left in such a manner into the mountains as to make it difficult to dislodge him. The great obstacle in the way of the advance of the British army was the passage of the Noire, to the defence of which the enemy had paid the utmost attention. Sir George Beckwith, aware of the difficulty of carrying this position, determined not to hazard an attack in front, but to turn the enemy's left by the mountains and fall upon his flank. This difficult enterprise was confided to the reserve of the British army, under Brigadier-general Wale, who was ordered to carry through the operation on the night of the 3d of February. General Wale, having obtained important intelligence, which led him to think that the route marked out in his orders might be considerably shortened, and that the manœuvre might succeed with less difficulty and loss if it were executed during the preceding day, advanced on his own responsibility, and after a short, but severe conflict, forced the pass of the river, and completely succeeded in his undertaking. This exploit decided the campaign; no sooner had the Captain-general, Ernouf, perceived that his flank was turned, and that the heights were in possession of the British, than he hoisted the white flag at his head-quarters, and all the other places in the island surrendered without resistance. At the same time the French part of the island of St. Martin's was surrendered by capitulation; and on the 14th, Commodore Fahie took possession of the whole island. After the surrender of St. Martin's, the British commodore sailed for Eustatius, which capitulated without resistance; and thus the enemy was deprived of his last colonial possession in the American islands.

A few weeks before the fall of Guadeloupe, two French frigates, of forty-eight guns each, along with two vessels of the same nation armed *en flûte*, carrying troops and stores for the succour of that island, were met at sea by the Junon frigate, Captain Shortland, about one hundred and fifty miles from their destination. The British captain, having been decoyed into a situation which left him no alternative but either to fight or to surrender, determined to encounter the enemy, while a brig that was in company effected her escape. The two frigates lay, one on each side of the Junon, while one of the smaller vessels passed her bowsprit on the larboard, and the other on her starboard quarters. In this situation, they opened a most destructive fire upon their victim from all sides, the muskets of the enemy's troops being particularly galling. Captain Shortland soon perceived that his only hope of success depended upon an effort to board one of the frigates; but the party ordered upon this service were almost all cut off, by a general volley directed against them by the troops. After the battle had raged for some time, the enemy, in their turn, attempted to board, but they were three times repulsed; and it was not till after an action of an hour and a quarter that the Junon struck her colours. In this unequal conflict ninety of the British seamen were killed and wounded, and the vessel was reduced to so complete a wreck that the next day she was set on fire and destroyed. The gallantry displayed in this action, in which Captain Shortland was mortally wounded, has never been surpassed in the annals of the British navy. Every man did his duty, and the gallant captain, with a pike in his hand, headed his men till the last moment, when a langridge shot laid him senseless on the deck, and terminated his heroic career.

In the month of January, the Dutch settlement of Amboyna, with the neighbouring dependent islands, were carried by a *coup de main*, by an expedition under Captain Tucker, when seven armed ships and forty seven merchant vessels, many of them richly laden, rewarded the gallant enterprise of the victors.

The islands of Bourbon and the Mauritius, or the Isle of France, had long served to afford shelter and protection to a very large number of French privateers, which scoured the seas in the track of the East India shipping, and had captured vessels of that description to an enormous amount. Their captures they took either to the Isle of Bourbon or the Isle of France, but principally to the latter;* as being a place not

* In the ten months preceding the fall of this island, it has been calculated that the insurance offices of Bengal alone, were losers three millions sterling by captures—(*Account of the Capture of Mauritius*) This is probably an exaggeration, but the real loss must have been immense to afford countenance to such a statement.

only naturally of greater strength; but garrisoned and protected by a much larger force. In the hopes of regaining this booty, and for the purpose of rooting out the nest of privateers which infested these seas, expeditions were planned, first against the Isle of Bourbon, and afterwards against the Isle of France. A force was collected, consisting of two thousand five hundred Europeans, and two thousand native troops, who were afterwards joined by a thousand men from the Island of Rodriguez, under Lieutenant-colonel Keating, to whom the command of the expedition against the Isle of Bourbon was confided. By the co-operation of the naval part of the expedition, under Commodore Rowley, the destruction of the French batteries and guns at St. Paul's took place in the month of September, 1809; and dispositions having been made for an attack on St. Dennis, a herald presented himself with an offer from the governor, Colonel St. Susanne, to capitulate, which proposal was readily acquiesced in, and the whole island passed under the sway of the British sceptre.

A body of troops from the British settlements in India and the Cape of Good Hope, amounting to about ten thousand, destined for the reduction of the Isle of France, arrived at the place of rendezvous on the 21st of November, 1810. This army was commanded by Major-general John Abercrombie, second son of General Sir Ralph Abercrombie, and the whole fleet under Admiral Bertie, including transports and ships of war, amounted to seventy sail. On the 29th of November, the troops effected a landing under cover of the fire-ships, and on the 2d of December, prepared for attacking the forts; but on the day following, General de Caen, the French governor, rendered all further operations unnecessary by proposing to capitulate on the condition that the troops should return to France without being considered as prisoners of war. These terms, under all the circumstances, it was thought advisable to allow, and on the same day the capitulation was signed, by which the Isle of France, an immense quantity of stores and valuable merchandise, five large frigates, some smaller ships of war, and twenty-eight merchantmen, with two captured British East Indiamen, were surrendered to his majesty's arms. By the conquest of these islands, the French were deprived of their last establishments beyond the Cape of Good Hope, and Great Britain now reigned without a rival

in the east, with the exception of the Dutch settlements in the Island of Java.

Towards the close of the present year, an event occurred which suspended the royal functions, and plunged the country into great distress and embarrassment. The Princess Amelia, the youngest and favourite daughter of the king, after a painful and protracted illness, died on the 2d of November. The circumstance of an amiable and beloved child, in the prime of life, passing rapidly to her dissolution, in the midst of the most acute sufferings, naturally preyed on the paternal feelings of his majesty: his whole mind became absorbed in the fate of his daughter; he dwelt upon her deplorable situation with harassing and weakening grief and despair; till at length the powers of his understanding sunk under the pressure, and he fell a prey to that mental disorder, under which he had suffered so much two and twenty years before, and to which he had been occasionally subject in the interval.*

Some days before the indisposition of the king, a proclamation had been issued, stating it to be the royal pleasure that parliament should not assemble till the month of December; but the usual commission not being prepared, the meeting of parliament took place on the 1st of November, the period to which, by a former commission, it had been prorogued. The only case in history exactly similar to that which now presented itself was the precedent of 1788-9; parliament had that year been prorogued to the 20th of November, and as the regular commission for its further intended prorogation had not been signed by the king, it necessarily met on that day. The peers and the commons each remained in their separate chambers, and after the state of his majesty's mental health had been explained, an adjournment for fifteen days was unanimously resolved upon. This precedent, so analogous in its circumstances, was strictly followed upon the present melancholy occasion; and the lord chancellor and the speaker of the house of commons were directed to transmit letters to the members of their respective houses, requiring their attendance on Thursday the 15th of November.

From the peculiarly mild symptoms assumed by his majesty's complaint at the commencement of his present illness, it was hoped that the malady would not be of long continuance, but would soon yield to medical care and skill. Sir Henry Hallford, and Drs. Heberden and

* When the Princess Amelia felt that her end was fast approaching, she ordered a ring to be made, inclosing a lock of her hair, and inscribed with the words—"Remember me." This token of her dying affection she silently placed upon the finger of her royal father at his next visit to her chamber. Her own departure was so near that she never knew the fatal consequences. The king, who felt all that this charge imported, retired from her apartment extremely agitated, and when the dissolution of his beloved child actually took place, his mind was no longer in a state to derive consolation from the reflection that death had terminated her sufferings.

BOOK IV. Bailie, were the physicians first called in. By them the bulletins were signed, which were regularly issued, at first once, and afterwards twice a day, from the 20th of October to the 4th of November, when the signature of Dr. Reynolds, for the first time, appeared. On the 9th day of that month, Dr. Willis was called in; and from this circumstance it was inferred that his majesty's disorder had assumed a more decided and obstinate character than was originally contemplated.

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When parliament again assembled on the 15th of November, ministers informed the two houses that the medical attendants of his majesty were unanimously of opinion that his majesty's health was in a state of progressive improvement, and that they continued to express the most flattering and confident hopes that he would, in a very short space of time, be enabled to resume the personal exercise of the royal functions. On the faith of these representations, the two houses, after some debate, consented to a second adjournment till the 29th of November.

In the interval, all the members of the privy council were summoned by the president to assemble for the purpose of examining the physicians, touching the state of his majesty's health, and the probability of his speedy resumption of the royal authority. Earl Camden, as president of the council, alone interrogated the physicians, and the answers, which were very short and general, conveyed an opinion that his majesty's complaint was of such a nature that his recovery could not be long delayed.

Taking their stand upon the result of this examination, ministers, when parliament met on the 29th of November, again moved and carried a further adjournment till the 13th of December. During this period, the disease of his majesty by no means abated, and it was generally understood that the malady threatened a long and tedious endurance, and even cast doubts upon the ultimate and perfect recovery of the royal patient. When, therefore, parliament met for the fourth time, ministers were under the necessity of proposing that the physicians should be examined by a committee, appointed by each house; and of explicitly stating, that if the report should not hold out a prospect of speedy

recovery, they would then propose measures to supply the defect in the royal authority. The physicians, in the examination that took place, described his majesty's disorder to be a derangement of mind, closely allied to delirium, and occasionally falling into it; and the result of the inquiry established the fact, that his majesty was not only at this time totally incapable of performing the high functions of his royal office, but that his recovery would be slow and remote. Under these circumstances, all idea of further adjournment was at an end, and ministers found it absolutely necessary to proceed towards the appointment of a regency. The session not having been opened by the royal authority, could not be constitutionally regarded as the parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, but merely as a convention of the two estates; it was necessary, therefore, to have regard to this character in the mode of their proceedings; and in opening the business in the house of commons, on the 20th of December, Mr. Perceval moved three distinct propositions, declaratory of the present incapacity of the king; of the competency of the two houses of parliament to supply the defect; and of the necessity of passing a bill for maintaining entire the constitutional authority of the king.* The first of these resolutions passed unanimously; the second, with the single negative of Sir Francis Burdett, who denied that all the estates of this realm were "lawfully, fully, and freely represented in parliament." On the third resolution, Mr. Ponsonby moved an amendment, to the effect that an address should be presented to the Prince of Wales, praying him to take upon himself the office of regent. On this amendment, long and animated debates took place, but as Lord Grenville and his friends adhered to the doctrines which they had maintained and acted upon with Mr. Pitt on a former occasion, the opposition were out-voted in the commons by a majority of a hundred and twelve, and in the lords by twenty-six voices.

It is evident that very serious objections existed to both modes of proceeding, whether by bill or by address; the mere reading over the resolutions suggest them: a regent was to be appointed by a bill, that is, in other words, the

* RESOLUTIONS MOVED BY MR. PERCEVAL ON THE 20TH OF DECEMBER, 1810.

I. That his majesty is prevented by indisposition from coming to parliament, and from attending to public business, and that the personal exercise of the royal authority is thereby, for the present, interrupted.

II. That it is the right and duty of the lords, spiritual and temporal, and commons of Great Britain, now assembled, and lawfully, fully, and freely representing all the estates of the people of this realm, to provide the means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority, arising from his majesty's said indisposition, in such a manner as the exigency of the case may appear to require.

III. That for this purpose, and for maintaining entire the constitutional authority of the king, it is necessary that the lords, spiritual and temporal, and commons of Great Britain, should determine on the means whereby the royal assent may be given in parliament to such bill as may be passed by the two houses of parliament, respecting the exercise of the powers and authorities of the crown, in the name and on the behalf of the king, during the continuance of his majesty's present indisposition.

king, whose incapacity was the sole cause of the measure, was, by a fiction of law, to be declared to have given his assent to an act (for without the royal assent an act of parliament is of no validity) which constituted another person regent; because, as that bill expressed it, his majesty was incapable of exercising his royal functions. The objections to proceeding by address were not so glaring, but they were not less real: the Prince of Wales was to be requested to take upon himself the office of regent, and when he had assumed that office, and opened parliament in that capacity, an act of parliament was then to be passed constituting him regent.

It is well known, that during the king's indisposition, in 1788, Mr. Fox, in a moment of unguarded warmth, denied the right and power of parliament to confer the royal authority; and asserted, in too strong and unqualified terms, the undoubted right of the Prince of Wales, as heir apparent, to succeed to the regency as a matter of course. This doctrine was now abandoned, and it was, on the contrary, distinctly declared by the members of opposition, that the prince had no right to exercise the royal functions except such as he derived from the decision of the two estates of parliament.*

After the resolutions proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer regarding the mode of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority, had received the sanction of the two estates of the realm, another series of resolutions was brought forward by Mr. Perceval, expressive of the expediency of vesting the royal authority in the Prince of Wales, as "Regent of the Kingdom," subject to certain

restrictions and limitations enumerated in those resolutions.†

The members of opposition made a vigorous and formidable stand against the general principle of restrictions, as well as against the particular limitations of the royal power, which ministers proposed to impose upon the regent; in many of the divisions they were joined by Mr. Canning and Lord Castlereagh, and their respective friends, as well as by other members, who usually voted with ministers, and the existing government carried some of their motions by very small majorities. The proposed exception to the grant of peerages in favour of military officers, was opposed by Lord Grenville, and in this, as in the other restrictions, the precedent of 1788-9 was ultimately adhered to.

As soon as parliament had come to the determination to proceed by bill and not by address, and Mr. Perceval had sketched the plan of his proposed restrictions, he addressed a letter to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, communicating to him his intentions. The prince, in reply, simply and briefly referred Mr. Perceval to the celebrated letter, which, on a similar occasion, he had sent to Mr. Pitt, and in which he had, in a most dignified and powerful strain of argument, protested against the proposed plan of restricted regency, not because it conveyed a reflection on his personal character, but because, in his opinion, it broke through the very essence of the British constitution. His royal highness, however, agreed to accept the high and important trust, even though fettered and limited in such a manner as, in his apprehension, might prevent him from fulfilling its duties

* Mr. Ponsonby's Speech in the House of Commons, Dec. 20th, 1810.

† RESOLUTIONS MOVED BY MR. PERCEVAL, ON THE 31ST OF DECEMBER, 1810.

I. That for the purpose of providing for the exercise of the royal authority, during the continuance of his majesty's illness, in such manner, and to such extent, as the present circumstances, and the urgent concerns of the nation appear to require, it is expedient that his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, being resident within the realm, shall be empowered to exercise and to administer the royal authority, according to the laws and constitution of Great Britain, in the name and on behalf of his majesty, and under the style and title of regent of the kingdom; and to use, execute, and perform, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, all authorities, prerogatives, acts of government, and administration of the same, that belong to the king of this realm, to use, execute, and perform, according to the law thereof, subject to such limitations and exceptions as shall be provided.

II. That the powers to be given to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, shall not extend to the granting of any rank or dignity of the peerage of the realm to any person whatever, except to—(persons who have rendered eminent services to the country by sea or land).

III. That the said power shall not extend to the granting of any office whatever in reversion, or to the granting of any office, salary, or pension, for other terms than during his majesty's pleasure, except such offices as are by law required to be granted for life, or during good behaviour.

IV. That the said power shall not extend to the granting of any part of his majesty's real and personal estate, except as far as relates to the renewal of leases.

V. That the care of his majesty's royal person, during the continuance of his majesty's illness, shall be committed to the queen's most excellent majesty; and that her majesty shall have the power to remove from, and to nominate and appoint such persons as she shall think proper, to the several offices in his majesty's household; and to dispose, order, and manage, all other matters and things relating to the care of his majesty's royal person, during the time aforesaid; and that, for the better enabling her majesty to discharge this important task, it is also expedient that a council shall be appointed, to advise and assist her majesty in the several matters aforesaid; and with power, from time to time, as they may see cause, to examine, upon oath, the physicians and others attending his majesty's person, touching the state of his majesty's health, and all other matters relating thereto.

The regency bill, of which the above resolutions may be considered as an official abstract, enacted, that the restriction imposed on the executive power as exercised by the Prince Regent, should cease on the 1st of February, 1812.

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so completely and beneficially to the nation as he could wish. In these views the royal brothers of the prince fully concurred, and in a species of extra-official note to the chancellor of the exchequer, entered their protest against a proceeding, which they considered "perfectly unconstitutional, and as contrary to and subversive of the principles which seated their family upon the throne of this realm."

Parliament was opened in the usual form by commission under the great seal, on the 15th of January, 1811. The regency bill, which had passed through the two houses as estates of the realm, was again brought before parliament in its regular and constitutional character; every part of it was again canvassed; and, on every debate and division, the strength and numbers of ministers increased, while the opposition became feeble and languid in their resistance.

It was well known that the political attachments and principles of the Prince Regent lay all on the side of Earl Grey and Lord Grenville; and it was naturally expected that the existing administration would be dissolved, and the members who now occupied the opposition benches, taken into power; but the period for the installation was fast approaching, and no arrangements for a new ministry had taken place. In the mean time, the malady of the king, after undergoing frequent and great variations, assumed a much more mild and favourable form, and the physicians again pronounced his majesty's complete recovery as not far distant. This circumstance, combined with the difficulty of administering the affairs of government by any other hands than those which would continue to possess, through the medium of the queen's council,* so large a share of the power and

patronage of the executive, determined the prince to retain the present ministers. This determination he communicated to Mr. Perceval, in a note, dated the 4th of February; at the same time explicitly and candidly stating to him, that the irresistible impulse of filial duty and affection to his beloved and afflicted father, made him unwilling to do a single act which might retard his recovery; and that this consideration alone had dictated the decision now communicated to Mr. Perceval. He added, that it would not be one of the least blessings that would result from the restoration of his majesty to health and to the personal exercise of his royal functions, that it would rescue the regency from a situation of unexampled embarrassment, and put an end to a state of affairs, ill calculated, he feared, to sustain the interests of the united kingdom in this awful and perilous crisis, and most difficult to be reconciled to the genuine principles of the British constitution. Mr. Perceval, in reply, after stating the readiness of himself and his colleagues to remain in office, lamented that the prince should still regard the restrictions as unconstitutional; but assured him that, even under these restrictions, any ministry, which should possess the confidence and support of his royal highness, would find no difficulty in conducting the affairs of the nation with satisfaction, credit, and success.

By the continuance of the existing administration in office, the sub-division of the sovereign functions, occasioned by the regency bill, became again united in the executive government; and the prince and his ministers, by contributing their respective portions, preserved, in a considerable degree, the integrity of the sovereign power and influence.

* The queen's council consisted of eight members, namely: the Archbishops of Canterbury and York; the Duke of Montrose; the Earls of Winchelsea and Aylesford; Lords Eldon and Ellenborough; and Sir William Grant.

CHAPTER XIII.

FOREIGN HISTORY: *Sudden Death of the Crown Prince of Sweden—Marshal Bernadotte elected Crown Prince—Marriage of the Emperor Napoleon to the Archduchess Maria Louisa—Rapid Advances made by the Emperor Napoleon towards the Establishment of an absolute Despotism—Decree for the Establishment of State Prisons—for the Registration of domestic Servants—for restricting the Operations of the Press—Abdication of Louis Bonaparte in favour of his Son—Annexation of Holland and the Hanse Towns to France—Death of the Queen of Prussia—Annexation of Hanover to the Kingdom of Westphalia.*

BONAPARTE, by subdividing the states of Europe, gratified the two most prevailing passions of his mind—his ambition and his hatred to England. In this way, he extended his power with his means of annoyance, and he hoped ultimately to obtain a maritime peace, by cutting off the commerce of Great Britain from the continent. The annexation of Holland to the French empire, the intermarriage of Napoleon with the princess of the house of Austria, and the extension of his influence in Sweden and along the shores of the German Ocean, emanated from these feelings, and tended to the accomplishment of these purposes.

The possession of Sweden could not be so openly and directly acquired, as the possession of other continental states; but a fortunate conjuncture in public affairs, soon afforded the opportunity of gaining such an influence in that country, as seemed to advance Napoleon's grand scheme of foreign policy. Charles Augustus, Prince of Augustenburg, who had, on the 24th of January, 1810, been elected to the dignity of Crown Prince of Sweden, died suddenly, on the 29th of May, in the same year, while he was reviewing some regiments of cavalry on Bonorp Heath; and his death was preceded and accompanied by circumstances, which excited in the minds of the populace, a strong and general suspicion, that he had been poisoned. In other times, his death might have appeared perfectly natural, as it probably was; but suspicions fixed upon the two families of Fersen and Piper, who were thought to be jealous of his popularity, and apprehensive that his elevation to the throne would destroy that influence which they had long enjoyed in the government. The interval which elapsed between the death of the prince and his interment, gave time for suspicion to spread; and when the funeral procession arrived at Stockholm, on the 20th of June, the agitation had increased to so alarming a degree, that the populace fell upon Count Axel Fersen, who led the procession in his carriage and six, and

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actually tore him to pieces. In order to calm this dreadful ferment, a proclamation was issued by the king, and measures were adopted by the government to remove the suspicions of the people, by an open judicial inquiry into the cause of the death of their favourite. A reward of twenty thousand rix dollars, was also offered to any person who would give such evidence, touching the supposed murder, as would convict the offender, whatever might be his rank or description. The result of the examination was, that the crown prince had died a natural death, by a fit of apoplexy; and public tranquillity being in a few days restored, the attention of the inhabitants of Sweden, as well as of a great part of Europe, was fixed on the choice that was about to be made of his successor.

On the 15th of August, the four estates of Sweden were assembled at Orebro, for the purpose of electing a crown prince, or heir apparent to the Swedish throne. The four candidates who aspired to this honour, were, Frederik VI. King of Denmark; the Prince of Oldenburg, son of Gustavus Adolphus, the late king; the Prince of Augustenburg, brother to the deceased crown prince; and the French Marshal Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo. Bonaparte, in a letter addressed to the diet, declared his determination not to interfere in the election; but the pleasure of the French emperor was sufficiently understood, and Charles XIII. in an address to that assembly, delivered on the 18th, stated "that the duty he owed to his country, induced him to propose to the assembled states of the empire, his serene highness Jean Baptiste Julian Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo, as Crown Prince of Sweden, and his royal majesty's successor to the Swedish throne." After a short deliberation, the diet unanimously acceded to the recommendation of their sovereign; and thus, Marshal Bernadotte, a man who had entered the ranks of the French army at the age of fifteen, became in the 48th year of his age, the presumptive heir to the crown

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BOOK IV. of Sweden. The Swedish nation, exhausted by war, and oppressed with the expense and misery it had occasioned, either took no lively interest in passing events, or felt no indisposition to the election of a general, who, from his connection with Bonaparte, would probably preserve them in future peace with the powers of the continent.

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Early in the month of October, Bernadotte proceeded to Sweden; and on the 1st of November, he addressed the king, and the estates of the realm, in a complimentary speech, unfolding views of government, and maxims of policy, worthy of a statesman and a sage: "Gentlemen, deputies of the nobility, the clergy, the burghers, and the peasants," said he, "sound policy, that which alone the laws of God authorize, must be founded upon justice and truth; such are the principles of the king; they shall also be mine. I have beheld war close at hand, I know its desolating properties; there is nothing which can console a country for the blood of its children, shed in a foreign land.—Peace is the first object of a wise and enlightened government. It is not the extent of a state which constitutes its force and independence, it is its laws, its industry, its commerce, and above all, its natural spirit. Sweden, it is true, has sustained great losses, but the honour of the Swedish nation has not suffered the least attain. Let us submit, Gentlemen, to the decrees of providence, and let us recollect, that they have left us a soil sufficient to support our wants, and iron to defend it."

From this moment, Charles John, the official name given to the Crown Prince, may be considered as the efficient ruler of Sweden.—Adverse to open and actual hostility with Great Britain, he continued for some time to permit the commercial intercourse to be carried on between the two countries; and when, in the month of December, war was declared against England, the Swedish declaration of war contained a frank, and almost explicit avowal that this resolution was taken at the instigation of Bonaparte.

The Emperor Napoleon, taking counsel of his vanity, sought a family alliance with the royal house of Austria; and Marshal Berthier, the Prince of Neufchatel was dispatched on a special mission to Vienna, to demand the Arch-duchess Maria Louisa in marriage. The prin-

cess exulting in the conquest of the conqueror of the world, was easily won;* and her royal father had penetration enough to perceive, that, by this union, he should be enabled either to participate in the glory and prosperity of Napoleon, or to recover his lost dominions by precipitating his fall, if adversity should overtake him. The council of Vienna, influenced by the interests of the state, removed the scruples of the father, by dwelling upon the duties of the sovereign; and moderated the emperor's feelings of humility, by unveiling to him the future, and expatiating upon the advantages of the proposed alliance. On Bonaparte himself, this alliance operated as a sort of talisman, it obscured all objects, unsettled his judgment, and introduced contrarieties into his whole system of government. Many of his own court, and those near his person, partook of the infatuation of their sovereign, and those who perceived the snare into which he was advancing, wanted courage to exhibit to him the consequences of his new engagements with Austria.

The marriage ceremony, in which the Arch-duke Charles, as the proxy of Napoleon, received the hand of his august relative, was performed on the 11th of March, at Vienna, in the church of the Augustines, and in the presence of the Emperor and Empress of Austria. On the 18th, the Empress and Queen, Maria Louisa, left Vienna, and arrived at Compeigne on the 27th, where she was met by the emperor. From Vienna to Paris, the road by which the princess advanced, seemed strewn with flowers; and this alliance afforded an inexhaustible source of amusement and gaiety to the volatile French and the stately German nations. On the 1st of April, the civil ceremony of the celebration and ratification of the marriage of the Emperor with the Princess Maria Louisa, took place in the hall of Mars, in the imperial chateau of St. Cloud; and on the following day, the religious ceremony was performed by the grand almoner and two assistant bishops, in the chapel of the Louvre. To mark the epoch of this marriage by acts of indulgence and benevolence, Bonaparte presented a free pardon to all deserters from the French armies, previous to the year 1806, and to all others on immediately joining their corps; all unpaid fines imposed by the judgment of the police were remitted; six thousand girls, each portioned by the state with

* It was at first generally, indeed almost universally imagined, that the Arch-duchess was an unwilling, though resigned victim to the preservation of her family—another virgin of Gilead, obedient to the calls of filial reverence and duty; but no supposition could be more erroneous. It soon appeared how much of the blood of the Lorraines flowed in her veins; she was gay, lively and almost playful; and so early did she begin to identify herself with the French nation, and to exult in the glory of her future lord, that, according to the foreign journals, she one day, before she left Vienna, hastened eagerly into her father's apartment, and announced to him a French victory in the peninsula, by exclaiming in a tone of triumph, "We have obtained great advantages in Spain."

from six to twelve thousand francs, were to be married to as many retired soldiers of their communes; and twelve thousand dishes of meat, twelve thousand loaves of bread, and a hundred and forty-four pipes of wine, were ordered to be distributed by lottery among the poor.

The day after their marriage, Napoleon and Maria Louisa received the felicitations of the senate, and the great public officers of the state: "Sire," said the president to the emperor, "Europe contemplates with rapture the august daughter of the sovereign of Austria on the glorious throne of Napoleon. Providence, in reserving for you this illustrious spouse, has been pleased to manifest more and more that you have been born for the happiness of nations, and to secure the repose of the world." The orator next addressing the empress, said: "Madame, the shouts of joy which have every where accompanied your majesty's steps; that concert of benedictions, which still echoes from Vienna to Paris, are the faithful expressions of the sentiments of the people. The senate comes to offer to your majesty testimonies of homage not less ardent—not less sincere. The imperial crown, which sparkles on your brow, and that other crown of graces and virtues which tempers and softens the lustre of its rays, attract towards you the hearts of thirty million of Frenchmen, who make it their joy and pride to salute you by the name of their sovereign. The French, whom you have adopted, and to whom, by the most sacred of promises, you have vowed the sentiments of a tender mother, you will find worthy of your kind regard. You will more and more cherish this good and tender-hearted people, who always feel an anxious wish to love those who govern them, and to place affection and honour by the side of zeal and obedience. The sentiments which we have the happiness to express to your majesties are, under the guarantee of heaven, like that sacred oath which has for ever united the great and splendid destinies of Napoleon and Maria Louisa."

From the moment that Bonaparte contemplated this new family alliance, additional encroachments upon the liberties of his country seem also to have been contemplated; and no year in the whole course of his memorable reign presents such flagrant instances of a rapid advance towards absolute despotism, as the year of his marriage. Besides the various decrees issued with the hope of preventing the introduction of British merchandize into France, and which from the very nature of commerce, must have operated as much to the prejudice of the French merchant as to the injury of the British exporter, he struck more directly and fatally at the liberty of the subject by his decrees for regulating state prisons registering domestic

servants, and restricting the operations of the press.

The decree regarding state prisons, which assumed the specious title of a law for the relief of certain state prisoners in France, established eight state prisons in different parts of the empire; and it was explicitly declared that there were many persons in France accused of various crimes against the state, whom it was neither safe to liberate nor to bring to trial. But the emperor, in order to assure himself that none of his subjects were immured in these prisons, except for lawful causes, directed "that the state prisons should be subject to a monthly inspection by commissioners, and that all such persons should be discharged as were not detained strictly according to law." This mode of relieving state prisoners was in effect, a permanent suspension, or a total abrogation, of the principle of the law of *Habeas Corpus*; and under this system, every man who had the misfortune to incur the suspicion of government, might be shut up in prison and kept in that situation without ever being brought to trial, or even put upon his justification before a legitimate tribunal.

The decree for the registration of servants advanced another step towards the establishment of despotic power. By this imperial edict, issued on the 3d of October, all domestic servants in Paris, of both sexes, under whatever denomination they served, and whether their engagements were by the year, month, or even day, were to have their name, place of birth, employment and description, inserted in a register, kept by the prefect of police, together with the name of the person whom they served. The servants were to be furnished each with a counter-ticket, corresponding to the register; and all, who, within a month, failed thus to inscribe their names, subjected themselves to imprisonment for a period, not less than eight days, or more than three months. No person was permitted to take into his employment any domestic without a card of inscription, and this card was to be delivered into the hands of the master, who was bound to notify upon it the day of the departure of his servant, and to transmit the card to the prefecture of police. The discarded servant was also bound to repair to the prefecture within forty-eight hours, to declare what course he meant to pursue, and to receive the card again. Servants were forbidden to hire any apartment without the knowledge of their master or the prefect; and every servant out of place for more than a month, who could not give a satisfactory account of his means of subsistence, was obliged to depart from Paris under pain of punishment as a vagrant. This decree, although professedly applicable only to servants,

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extended in its operations to masters, and the intercourse it opened between domestics and the police afforded an admirable opportunity for placing all the families in Paris under a species of *espionage*, or menial inspection.

Several imperial decrees were issued in the course of the present year for the purpose of reducing the number of printers and booksellers in France, and for subjecting the press to a rigid system of censorship. By these decrees a director-general was appointed, under the order of the minister of the interior, charged with the superintendence of every thing relating to the printing and publication of books. The number of printers in each department was limited, and the printers in Paris reduced to sixty. The printing of any thing contrary to the duty which the subject owes to the sovereign or to the state, was prohibited, and offenders against this law exposed themselves to the punishments of the penal code. All manuscripts intended for publication were made subject to a previous inspection, when the censor was to point out to the author such alterations or erasures as he should think proper; if the author refused to agree to these alterations, the sale of his work was to be inhibited, the forms broken, and possession taken of the sheets or copies printed. All booksellers were directed to take out a license, and no license was to be granted to any person wishing to begin the business of a bookseller, but such as should have recommended themselves by their good character, and an attachment to their sovereign and to their country. Only one newspaper was to be published in any of the departments, except the Seine; and all the newspapers in France were placed under the authority of the prefects, and were never to be published without their approbation.

These measures, no doubt, diminished the attachment of the people of France to the emperor, and would probably in their ultimate consequence have undermined his throne; for, enigmatical as it may appear, it is an unquestionable fact, resting upon the authority of all history, that every blow directed against the liberties of a nation has a tendency to recoil upon the hand that inflicts it; and those measures, which at first seem to strengthen the government of a tyrant, seldom fail to overthrow the fabric of despotism, which, by a short-sighted policy, they are intended to uphold.

From the period when the house of Orange were deprived of their hereditary power, the Dutch people had maintained a strict alliance with France; their government had been changed in obsequious imitation of every change in that country; they had lost their colonies and their commerce by their fidelity to their new allies, and they had at last accepted as a sovereign

the brother of the French emperor. They had been fortunate in the king, which it had pleased Napoleon to place over them; Louis Bonaparte took a deep interest in their sufferings, and the manner in which he attempted to soften those measures which oppressed the Dutch nation, and paralyzed the public exertions, won the affections of his subjects. In the war waged by France against the commercial prosperity, and the maritime greatness, of England, it became peculiarly necessary that Holland should lend her cordial co-operation. The coast of that country, indented by rivers and inlets, and placed at a distance of only a few hours sail from England, presented innumerable opportunities for the infraction of the continental system. The character and necessities of the Dutch—a nation indebted to commerce for the very land they inhabit, who had been nurtured in trade till it had become their second nature, and who foresaw in the accomplishment of Bonaparte's schemes, the overthrow of their ancient habits and pursuits, operated powerfully against the project for the total exclusion of British commerce, and induced Napoleon to issue the most strict and peremptory orders to Louis to enforce his decrees with rigour. For a short time these orders were obeyed, but the wretchedness which every where presented itself, and the numerous and urgent petitions of the sufferers, so far prevailed in the mind of Louis over every consideration of state policy, that he threw open the Dutch ports, and repealed his decrees against commerce. This conduct of the tributary sovereign of Holland was highly resented by the French Emperor; and Louis at length, finding that all his endeavours and sacrifices on behalf of the Dutch nation were unavailing, abdicated his throne in favour of his eldest son, Louis Napoleon. This act of abdication, which bore date the 1st of July, not having been previously concerted with Bonaparte, was declared invalid; and on the 9th day of the same month an imperial decree was issued from Paris, by which the kingdom of Holland was united to the French empire. The annexation of Holland to France was stated to be the necessary consequence of the union of Belgium to that empire,—“It completes,” says the Duke of Cadore, the French minister, in a report made to Napoleon, “your majesty's empire, as well as the execution of your system of war, policy, and trade. It is the first but a necessary step to the restoration of your navy; in fact it is the heaviest blow which your majesty could inflict upon the navy and commerce of England.” The next act of usurpation consisted in the annexation of the Hanse Towns to France. “The orders published by the British consul in 1806 and 1807 had,” it was said, “rent in pieces

the public law of Europe, and created the necessity for the junction of the mouths of the Scheldt, the Meuse, the Rhine, the Ems, the Weser, and the Elbe, to the French empire."* Thus, after having extorted immense contributions from the imperial cities of Hamburg, Lubeck, and Bremen, for the support of the French armies, the guilt of these acts of rapacity was consummated by a decree depriving them of their independence.

In the course of the present year, Frederick-William of Prussia returned to his capital after a long and afflictive absence. The queen, whose high spirit had been broken by the disasters of her country, languished till the 19th of

July, when she expired in the prime of life. The loss of a beloved consort, not less distinguished for her domestic virtues than for her personal charms, almost overpowered the disconsolate monarch, and he was with difficulty prevailed upon to abandon a resolution which he had taken to quit the affairs of state, and to seek in retirement and seclusion a solace for his accumulated distresses. Absorbed in these feelings he saw, without emotion, the electorate of Hanover, once so highly valued by him as to be placed in competition with the safety of Europe, pass into the hands of Jerome Bonaparte, and become an integral part of the kingdom of Westphalia.

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CHAPTER XIV.

NAVAL AND COLONIAL CAMPAIGN: *Gallant Exploit performed by a small British Squadron under Captain Hoste—Destruction of the Enemy's Ships in the Bay of Sagone—Descent on the Coast of Naples—Capture and Destruction of the Enemy's Convoys on the Coasts of Calabria, Normandy, and the Adriatic Sea—Capture of a French Convoy within the Mouth of the Gironde—Desperate Action in the Indian Seas—Dreadful Shipwrecks—Surrender of the Island of Java, the last of the Enemy's Colonies in the East Indies—The actuating Motives of the Policy of the French Government—Energy in the Naval Department—Substitutes for Colonial Produce—State of the Gallican Church—System of National Education—Birth of the King of Rome.*

THE year 1811, though not characterized by the fall of empires, was by no means destitute of events calculated to render this portion of history interesting to the present, and memorable in future ages. On the continent of Europe the germ of a tremendous contest had already begun to take root; and the long-pending differences between the European powers and the United States of America assumed an aspect that portended an approaching storm. In the peninsula of Spain and Portugal the war still continued to rage with undiminished fury and with various and dubious success; while the navy of England, finding no adequate antagonist on the ocean, was obliged to satisfy itself with these minor exploits which occasionally presented themselves, but in which the skill and superiority of the lords of the ocean were always sufficiently conspicuous.

Early in the month of March a small English squadron, under the command of Captain Hoste, consisting of the *Amphion* and *Cerberus*, each of thirty-two guns, and of the *Active* and *Volage*, the former of thirty-eight, and the lat-

ter of twenty-two guns, discovered off the island of Lissa, in the Italian seas, a French squadron of five frigates, one corvette, four brigs, two schooners, and two smaller vessels, commanded by Captain Dubordieu. On the approach of the English fleet, the enemy formed themselves into two divisions, and bore down under a press of sail in order to carry into effect the British system of tactics, by breaking their adversary's line. This attempt having failed of success, the French commodore, who led the van in the *Favourite*, of forty-four guns, attempted to place the English squadron between two fires, but while he was manœuvring for this purpose, his ship approached too near the shore, and was driven on the rocks of Lissa. The enemy, undismayed by the fate of their commodore, persisted in the attempt to place the British between two fires, and the starboard division having passed under the stern of the British ships engaged them to leeward, while the larboard division tacked and remained to windward. Though the enemy displayed more than their accustomed skill on this occasion, and followed up that skill

* Message of Napoleon to the Senate, dated Dec. 10, 1810.

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with a considerable share of activity and bravery, yet they made no impression on the British squadron; but on the contrary, after the battle had raged about two hours, the two French frigates to the leeward struck their colours. Those who had attacked to the windward, seeing the fate of their companions, endeavoured to escape, but they were closely pursued, and one of them was compelled to surrender, leaving Captain Hoste in possession of the *Corona*, of forty-four guns, and the *Bellona*, of thirty-two guns. Besides these vessels, the *Favourite*, which had driven on the rocks, shortly after blew up, while the corvette and two frigates took shelter in the port of Lessina. At the time that the *Flora*, Captain Peridier, which was one of the frigates to leeward, struck her colours, the *Amphion*, to whom she surrendered, was so closely engaged with the *Bellona*, that Captain Hoste could not spare a boat to take possession of his prize, and the *Flora*, availing herself of this circumstance, took an opportunity to re-hoist her colours, and dishonourably to sheer off. After this most gallant action, Captain Hoste had the gratification to find that the vanquished fleet had on board five hundred troops for the purpose of garrisoning the island of Lissa, together with every thing necessary for its fortification; and an additional share of splendour was shed round the glory of this enterprise by the entire defeat of the enemy's intention to possess himself of that island. The loss of the English on this occasion amounted to fifty killed, and one hundred and fifty wounded, but when the superiority of the enemy's strength is considered, that loss will not be thought disproportioned to the nature of the contest in which the squadron was engaged.

Another gallant service was performed in the Mediterranean sea by the *Pomone*, and *Unité* frigates, and the Scout sloop of war, under the command of Captain Barrie. This officer had received information that the enemy had three large vessels lying in Sagone bay, in the island of Corsica, and though the position they occupied was rendered strong both by nature and art, he determined to lose no time in making the attack. This resolution he was led to adopt from a knowledge that the enemy's vessels were taking in timber for the use of the ship-yards at Toulon, and from being well aware that if these vessels could be taken or destroyed the progress of the ships of war now building in that port would be arrested. On the 30th of April Captain Barrie, with his small squadron, arrived in the bay, and on approaching the coast, he observed that the enemy, who had posted himself on the heights, was prepared to receive and repel his attack. On these heights were stationed two hundred regular troops, with field pieces,

and a great number of armed inhabitants; while the battery that commanded the entrance to the port, was provided with four guns, and an adjoining martello tower, with a large piece of ordnance. Under this protection the enemy's ships were moored within cable's length of the battery, and their broadside towards the sea. At six o'clock in the evening the action commenced, and about half-past seven one of the enemy's vessels was observed to be on fire; shortly afterwards the other two were in the same situation, and by the determined and persevering efforts of the assailants, the battery and tower were completely silenced. Thus, in the short space of two hours, this gallant enterprise was achieved, with the very trifling loss of two men killed, and nineteen wounded.

Several other exploits, equally indicative of the superiority of the British navy, were performed during the present year: on the coast of Calabria a convoy of two and twenty sail were attacked and captured by his majesty's ships, the *Thames*, Captain Napier, and the *Cephalus*, Captain Clifford, along with eleven French gun-boats, and one armed felucca, without the loss of a single man. At Palinura, on the coast of Naples, a detachment of two hundred men, under the command of Captain Darley, disembarked from on board the *Thames* and *Impérieuse* frigates, with fifty marines, commanded by Lieutenant Pipon, landed in the face of nine hundred of the enemy, and after destroying the batteries and cannon of the fort, captured and brought off six gun-boats, and twenty merchant vessels. The capture and destruction of an entire convoy in the Adriatic sea was effected by Captain Gordon, of the *Active*. And about the same time Captain Bourschier, of his majesty's ship, the *Hawke*, succeeded, after a desperate engagement, in driving two of the enemy's brigs, and two luggers, with fifteen of their convoy on shore, on the coast of Normandy.

In the month of August, an enterprise, in which both courage and stratagem were successfully employed, was undertaken at the mouth of the Gironde, by Captain Ferris, of the *Diana*, and Captain Richardson, of the *Semiramis*. Perceiving four sail of merchant-vessels, under convoy of a national brig of war, within the shoals of the mouth of that river, and aware that no forcible attempt could be made to pass the river and carry the vessels with any prospect of success, the British Captains hoisted French colours, and so completely did they deceive the enemy, that a pilot was sent out to conduct them into port. With this assistance, the *Diana* and the *Semiramis* anchored, after dark, near the batteries at the mouth of the Gironde, when Captain Ferris dispatched three boats from his vessel, which being seconded by four others

from the *Semiramis*, proceeded up the river about the middle of the night of the 24th, and captured the convoy. In the morning the enemy's gun-boats were attacked and destroyed; and Captain Richardson, as if in contempt of their batteries, drove the armed brig on shore, and burnt her under the fire of their cannon.

Soon after the capture of the Isle of France, three French frigates,* full of troops, intended for the succour of that colony, were known to be in the Indian seas; and the *Astræa*, *Phœbe*, and *Galatea* frigates, with the *Race-Horse* brig, were dispatched in quest of them. On the 19th of May, the enemy, who had put into Madagascar to water, was discovered off the coast of that island. After a chase continued for ten hours, the French frigates were brought to action, and for some time the battle raged with so much fury that one of the frigates on each side was completely disabled, and obliged to withdraw from the contest. The battle recommenced by the *Astræa* pouring a destructive broadside into the French commodore's ship, *La Renommée*: instead of returning this fire, the commodore ordered his men to board the *Astræa*, but owing to the skilful manœuvres of the British captain, and the gallant conduct of his crew, this attempt was completely frustrated. Night had now closed upon the conflicting squadrons, and the dismal gloom was only interrupted by the vivid flashes of the cannon, which served to impart a degree of awful sublimity to the surrounding scene. At length, after a most gallant resistance, the French commodore's ship struck her colours, and the *Clorinde*, finding herself completely overpowered, followed her example. In this action, which from its commencement to its close continued seven hours, and was four times renewed, the enemy lost upwards of two hundred men killed and wounded, amongst the former of whom were the captains of the *Nereide* and the *Renommée*. The loss of the British was also severe, and amounted to upwards of one hundred killed and wounded, sixty of whom were on board the *Galatea*.

The state of the maritime warfare between Great Britain and France had, as has been already observed, now become of such a nature that no actions on a grand and imposing scale, where fleets are engaged, and where nations hang in anxious suspense on the result, were any longer to be expected. The time for these stupendous conflicts had gone past; but the minor sea-fights of the period now under review are by no means beneath the notice of the historian, and the opportunities they afforded for the display of nautical skill, courage, and

enterprize, are perhaps no way inferior to those presented by the glorious battles of Camperdown and Trafalgar.

The elements, more destructive than the enemy, inflicted a severe loss upon the British navy during the winter of the present year. On the night of the 4th of December, the *Saldanha* frigate, of 32 guns, commanded by the Honourable Captain Pakenham, was lost off Lough Swilly, on the coast of Ireland, and every soul on board perished. On the 23d of the same month, his Majesty's ship the *Hero*, Captain Newman, of 74 guns, with a convoy of a hundred and twenty sail of merchant-men under his protection, was overtaken by a dreadful gale in the German ocean, and driven on the Haak Sand, off the Texel, where both ship and crew were engulfed in the watery abyss. Many of the convoy rode out the storm, but upwards of twenty of the number shared the deplorable fate of the *Hero* and her crew. On the fatal night of the 24th of December, the *St. George*, of 98 guns, commanded by Admiral Reynolds, and the *Defence*, of 74 guns, under the command of Captain Atkins, after encountering severe storms in the Baltic, were both stranded on the western coast of North Jutland. The *Defence* first took the ground, and in less than half an hour became a complete wreck, when the captain and all her crew, six only excepted, perished. For some hours the *St. George* continued to brave the storm, and the most persevering exertions were made to afford her succour from the shore, but all these humane efforts proved unavailing. Of the whole crew, which amounted to nearly eight hundred men, eleven only succeeded in gaining the land; and when the last of them left the *St. George*, in the afternoon of the 25th, Admiral Reynolds and Captain Guion were stretched dead upon the quarter-deck, along with at least five hundred of the crew. At that time about fifty of the ship's company remained alive, and their piteous cries were heard for several hours, but during the night of the 26th the ship went to pieces, and at once extinguished their hopes and terminated their sufferings.

Lord Minto, the governor-general of India, under whose auspices and direction the conquests of the Isle of Bourbon and the Isle of France were achieved, had formed a plan for adding Java,—“the most precious gem in the diadem of the Dutch East India company,” to the British colonial empire. Batavia, the capital of this settlement, had long been the principal seat of the Dutch government of the east; and from this station the mother-country had, in the days of her independence and prosperity, de-

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* The *Renommée*, the *Nereide*, and the *Clorinde*.

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rived great wealth and many commercial advantages. The paralyzing influence of French alliance had latterly diminished the importance of this colony, but it still served as a shelter and protection to the cruisers of the enemy, and interposed as a barrier in the way of the trade of the British East India Company between Hindostan and China. The enemy, fully aware of the intended attack on this island, was indefatigable in his endeavours to protect and defend his only remaining colony in the east; and with this view, a force of ten thousand men was collected, and placed under the command of General Jansens, an officer of tried courage, and well acquainted with the tactics of India.

In the month of March, a body of troops, destined for this expedition, were encamped at Madras, consisting of his majesty's 14th, 59th, and 69th regiments of foot, four squadrons of the 22d dragoons, two squadrons of horse, and a party of foot artillery, along with a considerable portion of native troops. This force was to be joined on its passage by the 78th regiment from Bengal, and the chief command of the expedition was vested in Sir Samuel Auchmuty—a general who had rendered himself honourably conspicuous in an opposite hemisphere. The magnitude of the preparations delayed the departure of the expedition till the approach of the monsoons; but Lord Minto, who accompanied the fleet, avoided the apprehended danger by judiciously profiting by the land winds, and striking from the south-west point of Sambhar to the coast of Java. After maturely weighing the different plans for debarking the army, Sir Samuel Auchmuty resolved to effect a landing in the immediate vicinity of Batavia, and accordingly, on the 4th of August, the troops were debarked about 12 miles to the east of that city. The force of the enemy had taken up a strongly fortified position at Cornelis, and thither the British general determined to proceed without loss of time, having previously taken possession of Batavia, which surrendered to Colonel Gillespie without resistance.

Thus far the object of the expedition had been attained, and the capture of the capital promised to forward and assist the ulterior operations. The enemy, before he evacuated the city, had set fire to several large store-houses of public property, and had attempted to destroy the remainder; but many of the valuable granaries and store-houses of sugar, which had been laid open to the weather, in hopes that the rain might so far injure the stocks as to render them unfit for use, were happily preserved. Early in the morning of the 13th, Colonel Gillespie moved towards the enemy's cantonment at Weltevrede, which they aban-

doned on his approach, and took up a strong position about two miles in advance of their works at Cornelis. This fort, which was protected by an *abatis*, and defended by three thousand of the enemy's best troops, Colonel Gillespie carried at the point of the bayonet, and from thence advanced to the front of the lines at Cornelis.

Hitherto a degree of success, exceeding the most sanguine expectations, had attended the expedition, but the further progress of the army now became extremely difficult, and the obstacles that presented themselves shook the confidence of the British general. The enemy, greatly superior in numbers, was strongly intrenched between the river Jacatra and the Sloken canal, neither of which were fordable, and the position was shut up by a deep trench, strongly palisadoed: seven redoubts and numerous batteries, mounted with heavy cannon, occupied the most commanding ground within the lines; and the fort of Cornelis, and the whole of the works, were defended by a numerous and well organized artillery. By these works, it was thought, that the British army would be delayed, and their destruction might then be safely left to the operation of a climate the most pestilential in the world. Sir Samuel Auchmuty well understood the danger of delay, and the consequent necessity of promptitude of action. The season was too far advanced, the heat too intense, and his numbers insufficient, to admit of regular approaches; he therefore determined upon an assault, and for the purpose of disabling the principal redoubts of the enemy, batteries were erected, which continued to play upon their works till this object was fully accomplished.

The moment had now arrived for the general assault, and accordingly, at the dawn of day on the morning of the 26th, this hazardous, but indispensably necessary operation was undertaken. In this attack, as in the preliminary enterprises, the principal duty was assigned to Colonel Gillespie. General Jansens was in the redoubt when the assault commenced. Colonel Gillespie having possessed himself almost instantaneously of the bridge over the Sloken, attacked and carried one of the redoubts within the lines. Part of the colonel's corps being now joined by a portion of the army which had attacked the enemy in front, the united force assailed and carried another of the redoubts. Similar success attended the corps under Colonel M'Leod, of the 69th regiment, who fell in the moment of victory, and four redoubts within the lines were now in the possession of the British. The front of the enemy was also routed, and their position at that point laid open. The only redoubts now possessed by the enemy, lay

in his rear, and to those Colonel Gillespie, being joined by Colonel M'Leod, of the 59th regiment, directed his attention. Here the greater part of the enemy's artillery, surrounded and protected by their cavalry, was posted; the redoubts, however, were carried in the same heroic style as those in advance,—their artillery was captured, and their cavalry compelled to fly. Soon after Cornelis surrendered; and in this engagement the whole of the hostile army was killed, taken, or dispersed.

General Jansens, who had thrice rallied his retreating troops, escaped with difficulty from the field, followed only by a few cavalry. The loss of the enemy in these different actions was immense—about a thousand men were buried in the works; vast numbers were cut down in the retreat; the rivers were literally choked with the bodies of the slain, and the adjacent huts and woods were filled with the wounded; most of whom afterwards died. Nearly five thousand prisoners were taken, among whom were three general-officers and thirty-six field-officers; and the number of artillery and field-pieces, taken in this memorable campaign, amounted to upwards of seven hundred. No day was ever more bravely won, nor was there ever a victory more complete. Such a conquest could not be achieved without considerable loss on the part of the victors, and twenty-seven native troops, and one hundred and fourteen British, killed, and one hundred and twenty-three natives, and six hundred and ten British, wounded, was the price paid for the island of Java.

As soon as these conquests were secured, and the British army had recovered from their fatigue, a body of troops was embarked on board the ships of the fleet, under Rear-admiral Stopford, and ordered to proceed to Samerang, where they were joined by Sir Samuel Auchmuty. General Jansens, who had retired to that town, answered a summons sent to him to surrender the island, by expressing a determination to persevere in his resistance; but, on the 12th of September, it was discovered that he had evacuated the place, and taken up a position on the road to Solo, the capital of the Soesoehoenam, or Autocrat. This position Colonel Gibbs was directed to attack on the 16th; but the allies and native troops of the enemy had no zeal in the service, and dreading the attack of men who had displayed such prodigies of valour at Cornelis, they fled at their approach, leaving the road covered with the equipments which they had thrown away in their retreat. Early in the night, a flag of truce arrived from General Jansens, with an offer to surrender, and a negotiation was immediately entered into, which

terminated in a capitulation, by which the Dutch general and all his remaining troops surrendered prisoners of war. The overthrow of the Dutch empire in the east was thus completed, and, "by the successive reduction of the French islands and of Java, the British nation was left without either an enemy or a rival from the Cape of Hope to Cape Horn."*

It had now become the leading feature of the policy of the Emperor Napoleon to make himself master of all the sea-ports in the countries accessible to his power, for the double purpose of excluding English commerce from the continent, and of creating a navy capable of contending with the maritime power of Great Britain. Ancient maxims of government, when standing in the way of this policy, he considered as antiquated illusions; and, in calling upon the conservative senate to ratify the decree for the annexation of Holland and the Hanse towns to the French territory, the government-orator informed them, "that those times were passed when the conception of some statesmen gave authority in the public opinion, to the system of balances, of guarantees, of counterpoises, and of political equilibrium. Pompous illusions," exclaimed he, "of cabinets of the second order, visions of imbecility, which all disappear before necessity,—that power which regulates the duration and the mutual relation of empires. Holland, like the Hanse towns, would remain the prey of uncertainty, of dangers, of revolutions, of oppression of every kind, if the genius who decides the destinies of Europe, did not cover her with his invincible *ægis*." Adverting next to the contest between France and England, the reporter says,—“it is no longer two armies who combat on the plains of Fontenoy; it is the empire of the seas which still resists that of the continent—a memorable, a terrible struggle, the catastrophe of which, now perhaps not far distant, will long occupy the attention of future generations. If England had not rejected the counsels and offers of moderation, what dreadful consequences might she have avoided? She would not have forced France to enrich herself by the ports and arsenals of Holland; the Ems, the Weser, and the Elbe, would not have flowed under our dominion; and we should not have been the first country of the Gauls washed by rivers, united by an internal navigation to seas which were unknown to them. Where still are the boundaries of possibility? Let England answer this question. Let her meditate on the past: let her learn the future, France and Napoleon will never change!”

The annexation of Holland and the Hanse towns to France was accompanied by a law of

* Lord Minto.

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In the mean time the want of colonial produce was felt as a severe inconvenience in every part of the widely extended dominion of France; peas, beans, and lupens were dried for coffee, the *astragalus baticus* was cultivated in great quantities in Moravia, for the same purpose; and the leaves of the horn-bean were dried for tea, and scented with the roots of the Florence Iris. One experimentalist transmitted to the minister of the interior samples of sugar extracted from raisins, and another obtained a similar substance from chesnuts; and at Brest it was discovered that "palm sea-weed, when dried, contained sugar as well as salt, which did not indeed chrystalise like that of the cane, but which had nearly as pleasant a flavour, and had moreover the advantage of being perfectly white." No sooner did any experiment promise success, than the law was called in to its aid, and in pursuance of this policy, an edict was issued directing that a certain quantity of ground should be appropriated in each department to the culture of the beet root for sugar, and of woad for indigo. "The discovery of the needle," it was said, "produced a revolution in commerce; the use of honey gave way to that of sugar; the use of woad to that of indigo; but the progress of chymistry operating a revolution in an inverse direction, had arrived at the extraction of sugar from the grape, the maple, and the beet root; and by extracting a residuum from the woad of Languedoc and Italy, has given it the advantage over indigo in price and in quality."

Two subjects of essential importance to the interests of every community, occupied this year a prominent situation in the annual exposition of the French empire—the state of the national religion, and a system of public education. On the first of these subjects Bonaparte touched in his speech to the legislative body.* "The affairs of religion," said he, "have been too often mixed in, and sacrificed to, the interests of a state of the third order. If half of Europe have

separated from the church of Rome, we may attribute it specially to the contradiction which has never ceased to exist between the truths and the principles of religion which belong to the whole universe, and the pretensions and interests which regarded only a very small corner of Italy. I have put an end to this scandal for ever. I have united Rome to the empire. I have given palaces to the popes at Rome and at Paris; if they have at heart the interest of religion, they will often sojourn in the centre of the affairs of christianity. It was thus that St. Peter preferred Rome to an abode even in the Holy Land." Of the disorganized situation of the Gallican church, owing to the existing differences between Pope Pius VII. and the Emperor Napoleon, the following picture was exhibited by the organ of government:† "Twenty-seven bishoprics have been, for a long time vacant, and the pope, having refused at two different periods, from 1805 to 1807, and from 1808 to the present moment, to execute the clauses of the concordat, which bind him to institute the bishops nominated by the emperor; this refusal has nullified the concordat—it no longer exists. The emperor has been therefore obliged to convoke all the bishops of the empire, in order that they may deliberate about the means of supplying the vacant sees, and of nominating to those that may become vacant in future." Upon these grounds, Bonaparte summoned all the bishops of France and Italy to hold a national council in the church of Notre Dame, at Paris. From this ecclesiastical council, which assembled on the 17th of June, and of which Cardinal Fesch, the uncle of the emperor, was president, it was intended to procure decrees, which should satisfy scrupulous consciences, fill up vacant sees, and give to the primate of the Gauls a species of vice-papal authority during the life of the pope. But the bishops, though by no means indisposed to offer the incense of courtly adulation at the shrine of imperial power, could not be prevailed upon to support the pretensions of Napoleon in opposition to the claims of the pope; and when they were called upon by Cardinal Maury to act in defiance of the catholic church, their suppleness made a pause, and the members of the convocation in the interest of the emperor, could, it is said, only obtain fourteen votes against one hundred and six. The proceedings of this council have never been suffered to transpire, but it is well understood that the result neither satisfied the expectations of the emperor, nor healed the schisms in the Gallican church.

Education in France, upon the university

* June 16, 1811.

† Exposition of the State of the French Empire in 1811.

system,* had now become a national concern. The number of Lycæums, and of commercial colleges, continued to be augmented, and the number of private seminaries were to be gradually diminished till the moment when they were all to be shut up. This system of national education, which had for its object the formation of soldiers as well as of scholars, was regulated on the principles of military discipline, rather than upon those of civil or ecclesiastical policy,† and served as a powerful engine to recruit the armies, by giving to the youth of France a military character. Nor was it to France alone that this system was confined; it extended to the inhabitants of all the territories annexed to the French empire, and aimed at giving to the youth of these countries the manners and the character which were to identify them with the French nation.

The Empress Maria Louisa, to whose illustrious progeny the people of France looked for a successor to the Napoleon throne, this year presented the emperor with a son. The birth of this "august infant," upon whom so many destinies reposed, took place on the 2d of April, and the joyous event, which was communicated by telegraphic messages to every part of France, was celebrated in Paris by rejoicings, illuminations, and public thanksgivings. The second city in the empire afforded a title to the heir-

apparent, who, from the day of his birth, took the title of the King of Rome. On the 15th of June the baptismal ceremony was celebrated in the French metropolis with a degree of pomp suitable to the rank of the infant sovereign, and Napoleon, the name of the sire, was conferred upon the son.

The birth of the King of Rome had fulfilled the wishes of the French Emperor, and within the short period of a few months, an addition of sixteen departments, five millions of people, and one hundred leagues of coast, had been made to his territorial possessions;‡ but this continual flow of prosperity and success was found insufficient to allay the feelings of hostility, or to satisfy the cravings of ambition. England remained unsubdued, and Russia, in contravention of the stipulations of the treaty of Tilsit, continued to hold commercial intercourse with the enemy of the continental system. In the peninsula of Spain and Portugal the progress of the French arms was arrested, and Napoleon himself, since his marriage with the Archduchess of Austria, seemed so much occupied with the concerns of his family, that the affairs of state, for a time, relaxed their hold upon his mind, and induced him to linger in a state of comparative inactivity on the banks of the Seine, at a moment when his presence seemed to be imperiously demanded in the vicinity of the Tagus.

* By a decree, promulgated at the beginning of the year 1808, the imperial university of Paris was exclusively charged with the public instruction, and had the controul over every school and seminary of education throughout the empire. Without the permission of the grand master of the university, no individual was allowed to conduct an establishment of any kind for tuition, and every school-master was required to be a member of the university. This institution was composed of as many academies as there were tribunals or courts of appeal in France, and there were schools attached to each academy in the following order:—1. Universities, called *Les Facultés*; 2. Lycæums; 3. Colleges, or Grammar Schools; 4. Institutions, or Seminaries; 5. Boarding Schools, called *Pensionats*; and 6. The Lesser, or Primary Schools. The universities were composed of five faculties, viz. theology, jurisprudence, physic, mathematical and physical science, and literature. The Lycæums however formed the most important part of the system; there were originally thirty-two of these institutions, but they were afterwards increased to forty-five, in order to bear a relative proportion to the increased extension of the French territory. Of the pupils, six thousand four hundred were educated at the public expense, and of this number two thousand four hundred were to be selected during the space of ten years from the foreign territories annexed to France.

† Exposition of the State of the French Empire in 1811.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. XIV.

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CHAPTER XV.

DOMESTIC HISTORY: *Opening of the First Regency Parliament—Refusal of the Prince Regent to accept a Provision for the Royal Household—Motion regarding his Majesty's Health in 1804—Commercial Distresses—The Bullion Question—Lord King's Demand of Cash Payments from his Tenants—Lord Stanhope's Act for upholding the National Currency—Ex-Officio Informations—New Office created in the Court of Chancery—Amelioration in the Discipline of the Army—British Subjects carrying on the Slave Trade made liable to Transportation—Lord Sidmouth's Bill to amend and explain the Toleration Act—Public Finances—Re-appointment of the Duke of York to the Office of Commander-in-chief—Lord Milton's Motion thereon—State of his Majesty's Health—Affairs of Ireland—Letter of Mr. Wellesley Pole—Convention Act—Proceedings of the Catholics—Arrest and Trial of the Delegates to the Catholic Committee—National Education—Population Returns of 1811.*

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AT the commencement of the present year, the two houses of parliament were principally occupied with those measures which the lamented indisposition of the king had rendered necessary to supply the deficiency in the exercise of the royal functions; and after the passing of the act for investing the Prince of Wales with the powers requisite, in the opinion of the estates of parliament, for exercising the office of regent, his royal highness took the prescribed oaths before the privy council, and from that time became the representative of the sovereign.* On the 12th of February, parliament was opened with the usual formalities, when the Prince Regent, regarding his situation as that of the ceremonial, rather than the efficient head of the state, declined to open the session in person. The speech, which was delivered by commission in the name of the regent, expressed the most unfeigned sorrow on account of the calamity which had imposed upon his royal highness the duty of exercising the royal authority; the Prince Regent, at the same time, congratulated parliament upon the success of his majesty's arms, both by sea and land; and trusted that he would be enabled to continue to afford the most effectual assistance to the brave nations of the peninsula. With regard to the United States of America, it was his earnest wish to bring the discussions with that country to an amicable termination, consistent with the honour of the crown and the maintenance of the maritime rights and interests of this kingdom; and he trusted to the zeal of parliament for adequate supplies in order to bring the great contest in which the country was engaged to a happy issue.

In the house of lords, the Earl of Aberdeen moved the address, which was seconded by Lord Elliot, and carried without a division. In the lower house of parliament, the address, which was moved by Mr. Milnes, seconded by Mr. Richard Wellesley, encountered no other opposition than that which might seem to be implied in a declaration made by Mr. Ponsonby, that in acquiescing in the address he should not be precluded from discussing any particular topic in the speech when the subject came before the house in a separate and detached form.

Another proof of the manner in which the Prince Regent regarded the temporary authority with which he was vested, was afforded by a communication made to the house of commons on the 21st of February, when the chancellor of the exchequer stated, that his royal highness, on being informed that a motion was intended to be made for a provision for the royal household, declared that he would not add to the burthens of the people, by accepting of any addition to his public state as Regent of the United Kingdom. This subject was further illustrated by Mr. Adam, who stated that the regent had put into his hands the letter from Mr. Perceval, relating to the intended provision, accompanying it with written instructions, that, should any proposition for an establishment, or a grant from the privy purse, be made to the house, he should inform that assembly that his royal highness wished to discharge the duties of the temporary regency without increasing his establishment. In case, however, of such circumstances occurring as might lead to a permanent regency, he conceived that the question would then be opened anew to the consideration of his royal highness.

* See Vol. II. Chap. XII. p. 160.

On the 26th of February, a motion was submitted to the house of commons on a subject in which the feelings of the country, and the dignity and essential interests of the crown, were deeply involved. In the course of the examination of the physicians before the committee of the two houses of parliament, in December last, touching the state of his majesty's health, it was necessary to advert to the malady under which the sovereign had laboured in the years 1801 and 1804, and some very curious and important particulars were elicited by this examination. It appeared from the evidence of Dr. Heberden, that in 1804 his majesty continued indisposed, and actually under the care of Dr. Simmons and his men, long after the bulletins were discontinued. At this period Lord Eldon was chancellor, and in that capacity was regularly and officially responsible for having procured the royal signature to public documents, and the royal assent to parliamentary acts, when, in the words of one of the physicians, "his majesty's judgment was in eclipse." On these grounds it was moved by Mr. Whitbread, that the examination of the physicians should be laid before the house; and the honourable gentleman pledged himself to prove, if the opportunity was afforded him, that the period of the royal incapacity lasted from the 12th of February, 1804, to the 10th of June in the same year; and that, during that period, Dr. Simmons and his subordinate agents exercised a controul over his majesty, such as is known to be exercised towards persons afflicted with the deprivation of reason: notwithstanding which, Lord Eldon was found, on the 5th and 6th of March, taking his majesty's commands on a proposed measure for the alienation of certain crown lands in favour of the Duke of York; and on the 9th, venturing to come down to parliament with a commission, purporting to be signed by the king, at a time when, by the acknowledgment of his physicians, his majesty was labouring under mental infirmity. During the period between the 12th of February and the 23d of April, when such unconstitutional proceedings were occurring, the Lord Chancellor Eldon was the only minister who had access to his sovereign, being at that moment in the exercise of the same judicial superintendence over the king as that which he is in the habit of holding over unhappy private persons, against whom a commission of lunacy has been issued. Similar transactions had, Mr. Whitbread said, taken place in the year 1801, at which time also Lord Eldon was chancellor; but as two of the persons then high in his majesty's councils were now lost to the country, it was not his intention to extend the inquiry to the events of that period. Mr. Whitbread concluded by moving for a committee "to ex-

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amine the journals of the house of lords for the evidence of the physicians respecting his majesty's health in 1804."

Lord Castlereagh, as a member of administration in 1804, took upon himself a full share in the responsibility of the transactions now under discussion; he denied that Lord Eldon was the only minister who had visited the king between the 12th of February and the 23d of April, or even the 22d of March, 1804. Lord Sidmouth had attended his majesty on the 19th of March, with official papers, requiring his signature, and considered his majesty fully competent to transact the business. His lordship in conclusion observed, that the principle of incapacitation, to the extent contended for by the honourable gentleman, was monstrous on the face of it, and his argument was in a great measure overturned by the consideration, that his majesty's was a case not of insanity but of derangement. It was in fact impossible that the hurries of which the physicians spoke should not at times take place under such circumstances. Mr. Yorke, another of the members of his majesty's council in the year 1804, had himself held a long conference with the king on or about the 23d of April; and he could affirm, that in that audience his majesty appeared to him to be in full as good health of mind and body, to be as fully competent to the discharge of the duties of his station, and to be as good a judge of those duties, and of the interests of the government of the country, as any of those political sages, who, setting themselves up as paragons of statesmen, claimed an exclusive patent for all the talents and all the honesty of the country.

Sir Francis Burdett maintained that ministers had usurped the sovereign power; that the king was acting under restraint at the time that he was acting as king; and that the fact was not and could not be contradicted. If ministerial responsibility was any thing but a name, and if the king was not a mere puppet for the purpose of coming down to parliament in a gilt coach occasionally, this act of the ministers amounted to a high crime and misdemeanour. If ministers could go on without the kingly office, they were innocent; but as he thought that, while the constitution existed, they could not, the motion should have his cordial support. After a forcible reply from Mr. Whitbread, the house divided, when the motion for inquiry was negatived by a majority of one hundred and seventeen voices.

The increasing commercial distresses of the nation were now so seriously felt that the attention of government was necessarily fixed upon them; and on the 1st of March, a committee of twenty-one members distinguished for their knowledge of commercial concerns, and nominated without any regard to political party, was

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BOOK IV. appointed, on the motion of Mr. Perceval, to
 CHAP. XV. take into consideration the present state of the
 1811 commercial credit of the country, and to make
 their report thereon. The report so prepared
 was presented to the house of commons on the
 7th of March, and after stating the nature and
 cause of the existing embarrassments, proposed
 that a loan of six millions should be made by
 government for the relief of the merchants.* On
 the 11th of March, the report was taken into
 consideration, and on the motion of the chan-
 cellor of the exchequer, a bill was introduced
 into parliament and passed into a law, whereby
 the sum of six millions sterling was to be ad-
 vanced to certain commissioners, for the assist-
 ance of such merchants as should apply for the
 same, on giving sufficient security for the re-pay-
 ment of the money so advanced. It might
 naturally have been supposed that, in the midst
 of so much embarrassment and distress, the
 money voted by parliament at the recommenda-
 tion of the committee would have been eagerly
 sought after and soon exhausted; such was the
 case in 1793; the reverse however happened now,
 and the sums applied for were to a less amount
 than the provision made. In fact, a wide differ-
 ence existed between the two periods; in 1793
 the paper credit gave way, but now the commer-
 cial credit had failed; then the banks stopped,
 now the mercantile houses became insolvent;
 then there was a want of money, now there was
 a want of markets; this last indeed was the
 radical cause of the evil, and the proposed relief
 could not effect its removal; on the contrary,
 the commercial distresses continued to increase
 during the whole year, and displayed themselves
 by frightful lists of bankrupts in every gazette,
 amounting to an aggregate of which no former
 year in the annals of the country afforded a
 parallel.

There were, moreover, other symptoms of
 the unprecedented state into which the commerce
 and the credit of the kingdom had fallen, which
 could not be mistaken, especially when viewed
 in connection with the distresses of the merchant
 and manufacturer. It has already been seen,
 that early in the last session of parliament, a
 committee was appointed by the house of com-
 mons for the purpose of inquiring into the high
 price of bullion, and that the committee so ap-
 pointed, in the report on the subject of their
 inquiry, gave it as their decided opinion, that
 the evils into which they were commissioned to in-
 quire, were to be attributed to an excessive issue
 of bank notes, and that the only effectual remedy
 was to be found in the bank resuming its cash
 payments within a time to be limited.† This
 report, which had excited much public discussion,
 was brought under the consideration of the
 house of commons on the 6th of May, by Mr.
 Horner, who introduced the subject in an elabo-
 rate and luminous speech, and concluded by
 moving a series of resolutions, grounded upon
 the report of the bullion committee, and main-
 taining the same doctrines. It was hence con-
 tended, that the standard value of gold, as a
 measure of exchange, could not possibly fluc-
 tuate under any change of circumstances, though
 its real price was unquestionably subject to all
 the variations arising from the increase or diminu-
 tion of the supply; that bank paper, measured
 by this standard, was depreciated; and that the
 consequence of this depreciation was, to render
 our exchanges with the continent unfavourable,
 to advance prices, to occasion immense losses to
 creditors, and materially to injure all monied
 incomes. But here two questions arose: what is
 meant by depreciation? and what is the real
 standard of value? In the attempt to solve
 these inquiries it was found that this subject which

* The attention of the committee had been directed to three points: 1st, The extent and embarrassment that the trading part of the community at present experience; 2d, The causes to which they may be ascribed; and 3d, The expediency of affording parliamentary assistance. The committee refer to the evidence laid before them, from whence they conclude, that the manufacturers in the cotton trade of Glasgow and Paisley are at present suffering more severely and extensively than any other set of men. These sufferings the committee ascribe to the enormous speculations made to South America, in which the merchants of London, Liverpool, and Glasgow, had engaged. They also found that great distress had occurred in a quarter much connected with this trade, viz. among the importers of produce from the West India Islands, and from South America; a great proportion of the returns for the manufactures exported to those parts of the world coming home in sugar and coffee, for which they could not find a market. Another cause which might be considered as connected with and aggravating the existing distress, was the extent to which the system of warehousing the goods of foreign, as well as of native merchants, for exportation, had been carried. And the committee state, that, upon the whole, the embarrassments at present experienced, are of an extensive nature, and are felt in a considerable degree in other branches of business as well as in those already specified; but it does not appear that they exist in the woollen trade to a degree that would justify parliamentary relief. They further state, that having considered the happy effect of the relief afforded by parliament in the year 1793, they recommend similar accommodations to be afforded on the present occasion, and propose that exchequer bills should be issued to the amount of six millions sterling for that purpose; the amount to be repaid in four equal instalments, the first quarter on the 15th of January next, and the remainder in three quarterly instalments, so that the whole should be discharged in nine months from the time of the first payment.

† See Vol. II. Chap. XII. p. 154.

at first had seemed sufficiently simple, was in reality extremely complicated; and that, after being pursued into the regions of metaphysics, it was ultimately lost in obscurity. Mr. Vansittart, who took the lead on the part of the practical statesmen, as they were designated, in opposition to the bullionists, moved, by way of amendment, a number of counter resolutions to those proposed by Mr. Horner, in which it was declared, that bank notes were not depreciated; that the political and commercial relations of this country with foreign states were sufficient to account for the unfavourable state of the foreign exchange, and the high price of bullion; that it was highly important that the restriction on cash payments at the bank should be removed whenever it was compatible with the public interest; but that, to fix a definite period earlier than that of six months after the conclusion of peace, which was already fixed, would be highly inexpedient and dangerous. These discussions occupied the house of commons no less than seven nights, and issued in the rejection of the resolutions moved by Mr. Horner, and the adoption by a large majority of those presented by Mr. Vansittart.

The majority with which the opinion and resolutions of Mr. Vansittart were carried through the house of commons, was considered by ministers as a complete triumph; but before the session closed, a practical illustration was adduced by Lord King that the question was not set at rest by this decision. His lordship, in a notice sent to his tenants, reminded them, that by their leases, bearing date in the year 1802, they had agreed to pay their rents in good and lawful money of Great Britain, and informed them, that in consequence of the late depreciation of paper money, he could no longer accept of bank notes at their nominal value in payment or satisfaction of those contracts. He therefore called upon them to pay their rents either in guineas, or in equivalent weight in Portuguese gold coin, or in bank notes, sufficient to purchase, at the existing market price, the weight of as much standard gold as would discharge the rents.*

This notice had not attracted any degree of public attention till Lord Stanhope brought the matter under consideration in the house of lords. His lordship thought this proceeding so unjust

in itself, so much calculated to shake the credit of the currency of the country, and the example so infectious, and likely to be followed by the landlords throughout the kingdom, that in pursuance of what he considered a public duty, his lordship introduced a bill into the house of lords on the 27th of June, for preventing the current gold coin of the realm from being paid for more than its mint value, and for preventing bank notes from being received for any smaller sum than that for which they were issued.

The fate of this bill was very extraordinary; on its first reading ministers opposed it on the ground that such a measure was unnecessary, and might be mischievous; but on the second reading they had discovered their error, and the prorogation of parliament was actually delayed beyond the appointed time to pass Lord Stanhope's bill into an act. Wafted by the propitious gale of ministerial influence this bill, with certain amendments, rather verbal than essential, passed through both branches of the legislature by large majorities, and at the close of the session of parliament, became the law of the land.

The number of prosecutions for libellous publications against the state had, within the last three years, attained a magnitude that seemed to call for legislative interference, and on the 4th of March, Lord Holland moved for a list of all the informations, *ex officio*, filed by the attorneys-general from the 1st of January, 1801, to the 31st of January, 1811. This motion, which was opposed by Lord Ellenborough, in a speech more remarkable for its vehemence than its candour, was lost by a large majority. A similar motion, made in the house of commons by Lord Folkestone, being opposed by ministers, and resisted by Sir Vicary Gibbs, the attorney-general, was also lost by a majority of a hundred and nineteen to thirty-six voices. There were, however, some facts brought to light during the discussion of this question, which served to mark the character of the times, and deserve to be recorded. It was asserted by Lord Holland, and admitted by ministers, that in a time of profound internal peace and tranquillity, the present attorney-general had filed no less than forty-two official informations against seventeen persons, within the last three years, though in the thirty years preceding the

* The following curious facts resulting from the state of British currency at the period now under consideration claim to be recorded:

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
A Guinea made of standard gold, weight 5 dwts. 8 grains				A Bank Dollar, weight 2 dwts. less, and the silver 2½d. an ounce inferior, at first issued at 5s. is now current for	0	5	6
passes by law for only	1	1	0	A Half-Crown piece of sterling silver, weight 9 dwts. passes by law for only	0	2	6
The same two grains lighter may be sold as bullion for	1	5	6	A Bank Token, weighing 10 dwts. and the silver 2½d. an ounce inferior, is current for	0	3	0
A Crown piece, made of sterling silver, weight 19 dwts.							
passes by law for only	0	5	0				

BOOK IV. year 1791, only seventy persons had been prosecuted altogether; and that on a general average, Sir Vicary Gibbs had filed in the proportion of seven to one more informations for state libels within the same period than his immediate predecessors. It further appeared that he had prosecuted to judgment, either of acquittal or conviction, not more than seventeen of the forty-two official informations which he had filed, so that the accused parties were, in many of the other cases; fined in the amount of the expenses without having been proved guilty of any offence. Lord Holland, undismayed by the rejection of his motion, introduced, towards the close of the following session of parliament, two bills relating to *ex officio* informations. The former of which had for its object to prevent delay between the publication of an imputed libel, and the trial of the accused party; and the latter to obtain a repeal of so much of the forty-eighth of the king, as relates to holding persons to bail upon official informations. These bills were strenuously opposed by the chief justices, who characterised the proposed alteration in the law, and in the mode of its administration, as a measure at once light and frivolous, and both the bills, were, at their second reading, rejected.

The delays in the court of chancery had long been felt and acknowledged as a deficiency in the judicature of this country, and on the 7th of March, Mr. M. A. Taylor moved in the house of commons for the appointment of a committee to ascertain the number of appeals before the lords, and to report thereon. At the suggestion of Mr. Perceval, the house determined to await the result of an inquiry connected with this subject, which had been previously instituted by a committee in the house of lords; and on the 30th of May that committee made its report. This document, which was presented by the Earl of Liverpool stated generally, that a great increase had taken place in the appeals and writs of error, and that there were at the present moment no fewer than three hundred and thirty-eight of these cases before the house, of which forty-two were writs of error. The vast increase of business in the court of chancery was also adverted to, from which cause it was stated to be impossible that the chancellor could dispatch the existing arrears, without some assistance being provided for him by parliament.* To obviate these evils it was recommended that another judge should be appointed to assist his lordship in the court of chancery, with a rank equal to that of the master of the rolls; that a

limited period should be fixed in each session of parliament for receiving appeals, and three days allotted in each week for their decision, till the number should be considerably reduced. Upon these suggestions a number of resolutions were formed; and a new office was subsequently created in the court of chancery, to which Sir Thomas Plumer was appointed under the designation of vice-chancellor.

An amelioration in the discipline of the army, calculated to soothe the feelings of the soldier, and to gratify the friends of humanity, took place during the present session of parliament. The practise of flogging in the British army had frequently been a subject of animadversion both in and out of parliament; but, though government had shewn a peculiar degree of susceptibility on this point, and had strenuously opposed the motions made by Sir Francis Burdett and others to abolish this kind of punishment, yet when the mutiny bill came to be submitted to the house of commons on the 14th of March, Mr. Manners Sutton proposed to introduce a clause by which a power should be given to courts-martial to substitute at their option the punishment of imprisonment for corporal punishments. To the admission of this humane provision no objection was made, and the mutiny bill, so amended, passed into a law.

A measure, closely allied in its principle to the new clause in the mutiny act, was brought into parliament by Mr. Brougham, by whom leave was obtained to introduce a bill for the prevention of the enormities which still continued to be practised by captains of vessels and others, who, notwithstanding the legislative enactments to the contrary, persisted in carrying on the African Slave Trade. The object of the bill, which was supported by Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Perceval, was to render any British subject who might engage in this traffic liable to transportation for any period not exceeding fourteen years; and this measure, after passing through its respective stages in both houses of parliament, obtained the royal assent.

In no portion of British history has the spirit of religious liberty shone with greater splendour than during the present reign. This spirit has manifested itself both actively and passively—actively, by the repeal of some of the most obnoxious laws for the restraint of liberty of conscience; and passively, by suffering obsolete statutes to remain as a dead letter upon the books. Such being the general temper of the times, and such the bias of the national law-

* The number of original causes for hearing before the chancellor at this time amounted to one hundred and fourteen, besides ninety-nine appeals; exclusive of two hundred and seventy-one original causes and appeals before the master of the rolls; and the balance of money and securities in the hands of the chancellor amounted to no less a sum than £25,162,430 13s. 2d.

givers, it was with no small share of surprise and consternation that the country heard the intention announced by Lord Sidmouth of introducing a bill into parliament, to amend and explain the act of William and Mary, usually called the toleration act.* The motion preparatory to the introduction of the proposed bill was made in the house of lords on the 9th of May; when his lordship observed, that according to the act of William and Mary, all ministers in holy orders, or pretending to holy orders, provided they subscribed twenty-six of the thirty-nine articles, and took the requisite oaths, might preach in any place of religious worship. This act was amended by the 19th of George III. which dispensed with the signing of any of the thirty-nine articles, and required persons applying for licenses only to express their belief in the holy scriptures. Till within the last thirty or forty years, he said, the toleration act had been construed in such a manner as to exclude all persons unqualified from want of the requisite talents and learning, and unfit, from the meanness of their situation, or the profligacy of their character, from exercising the functions of ministers of religion. But subsequent to that period, all who offered themselves at the quarter sessions, provided they took the oaths, and made the declaration required by law, obtained the requisite certificates, not only as a matter of course, but as a matter of right. In order to remedy this evil, it was his intention to bring in a bill, in which he proposed, that to entitle any man to obtain a license as a preacher, he should have the recommendation of at least six respectable householders of the congregation to which he belonged; and that he should actually have a congregation which was willing to listen to his instructions. With regard to

preachers who were not stationary but itinerant, he proposed that they should be required to bring a testimonial from six respectable householders, stating them to be of sober life and character, together with their belief that they were qualified to perform the functions of preachers. The effects which he expected to be produced by this bill were, that improper and unaccredited men would be prevented from assuming the most important of all duties—that of instructing their fellow creatures in the principles of religion and virtue. Lords Holland and Stanhope, at the very threshold of this business, declared their decided hostility to the proposed measure; but leave was given to bring in the bill, which was read a first time, and ordered to be printed.

It is scarcely possible to describe the sensation and cordial co-operation produced by Lord Sidmouth's bill among all classes of dissenters. The effect was instantaneous, and in the short space of forty-eight hours, three hundred and thirty-six petitions against the bill, from various congregations within a hundred miles of London, signed only by males above sixteen years of age, were poured into the house of lords. It is well known that the grand and fundamental point of difference in church government between the established church and the dissenters is this: the former hold the opinion that religion and the temporal concerns of mankind should be united, and that to effect this union the government ought to patronise and support a particular form of belief; whereas, the latter contend that religion ought to be an affair entirely between man and his Maker; that it stands not in need of the aid of the civil power for its support; and that, whenever that aid has been held out to religion, and accepted by it,

* His lordship had, previously to the introduction of this bill, moved for, and obtained, the following "Returns of the arch-bishops and bishops, of the number of churches and chapels of the church of England in every parish of 1,000 persons and upwards; and of the number of other places of worship, nor of the establishment," which returns were ordered to be printed by the house of lords on the 5th of April, 1811:

Diocese.	Of the Establishment.	Not of the Establishment	Diocese.	Of the Establishment.	Not of the Establishment.	Diocese.	Of the Establishment.	Not of the Establishment
1 Bath and Wells	78	103	11 Gloucester	46	76	20 Rochester	36	44
2 Bangor	52	99	12 Hereford	51	42	21 Salisbury	135	142
3 Bristol	59	71	13 Landaff	21	45	22 St. Asaph	49	95
4 Canterbury	84	113	14 Lincoln	165	209	23 Winchester	193	164
5 Carlisle	40	39	15 Lichfield and	190	288	24 Worcester	66	60
6 Chester	352	439	Coventry			25 York	221	404
7 Chichester	47	58	16 London	187	265			
8 Durham	116	175	17 Norwich	78	114			
9 Ely	22	32	18 Oxford	50	39			
10 Exeter	180	245	19 Peterborough	20	36			
						Total	2,547	3,457

From which it appears, that the number of churches and chapels of the establishment amount to 2,547; and that the chapels and meeting-houses nor of the establishment, besides many private houses used for religious worship, and not introduced in the above enumeration, amount to 3,457. N. B. The smaller parishes not amounting to 1,000 inhabitants were not returned.

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the effect has been to diminish the force of religious principle, and to corrupt its purity and simplicity. Proceeding therefore upon this leading principle of difference and separation from the established church, the dissenters objected to the bill introduced by Lord Sidmouth, as having a manifest and undoubted tendency to countenance the interference of the secular power, and to encroach upon religious rights. They considered the bill also, not only as objectionable and prejudicial in itself, but as paving the way for further encroachment upon the act of toleration; and as the commencement of a regular system of persecution and intolerance, which had already shown itself among the magistracy in some parts of the country, and which it was incumbent upon the dissenters to arrest in its progress, before it had attained a maturity and strength which might baffle all their efforts.* On these grounds they called upon their brethren to co-operate with them; and when the bill came to be read a second time, on the 21st of May, it was encountered by five hundred additional petitions from the country, and Lord Erskine observed, that if the second reading had been delayed only a few weeks longer, that number would have been swelled to five thousand. Such an expression of the public feeling was not to be resisted: ministers themselves, and even the dignitaries of the church, now resisted the further progress of the measure, which was characterised by Lord Liverpool as more likely to do harm than good; and not a single

voice in the house of lords, that of Lord Sidmouth alone excepted, was raised in favour of this attempt "to explain and amend the act of toleration." Under such circumstances, it is almost unnecessary to add, that the bill was rejected without a division, and the efforts of the friends of religious liberty were crowned with complete and triumphant success.

On the 20th of May the chancellor of the exchequer opened the budget for the year. The supply voted for the public service he stated at £54,308,453, including a sum of two millions granted to the government of Portugal, and one hundred thousand pounds granted as an eleemosynary aid to the distressed Portuguese. The loan for the present year Mr. Perceval stated to amount to twelve millions, the interest on which sum he proposed to discharge by an additional duty on British and foreign spirits. He further stated it to be his intention to impose an additional duty on timber, pearl and potashes, and foreign linens, which; with a tax of one penny per pound on cotton wool imported from the United States of America, he estimated at £866,600. § Owing, however, to the opposition made to the principle of taxing a raw material, the proposed duty on cotton wool was abandoned; and a tax upon hats, which had long operated as a burdensome and vexatious impost on the fair trader, while it sunk into insignificance as a subject of revenue, shared the same fate. ||

One of the first spontaneous acts on the

* Resolutions of a Meeting of Protestant Dissenters, held in London, pending the discussions on Lord Sidmouth's Bill.

§ FINANCES.

PUBLIC INCOME of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1811.

Branches of Revenue.	Gross Receipts.			Paid into the Excheq		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Customs	10,773,869	19	4½	9,009,735	18	7½
Excise	20,464,518	19	9½	18,494,178	3	2
Stamps	5,666,453	18	8½	5,546,082	17	2½
Land & Assessed Taxes	7,600,027	6	8½	8,011,205	0	11½
Post-Office	1,732,278	1	6	1,471,746	19	2½
Miscel. Permanent Tax.	128,886	8	3½	123,146	15	6½
Hered. Revenue	128,123	9	3½	137,753	2	2½
Extraord. Resources.						
War { Customs	3,906,483	13	7½	3,100,594	16	10
Excise	6,810,860	11	5½	6,759,165	13	4½
Property Tax	13,304,004	4	7½	13,228,530	2	7
Miscel. Income	3,322,837	3	2½	3,304,902	4	8½
Loans, including 1,400,000 for the service of Ireland...}	12,242,356	17	0	13,242,356	17	0
Grand Total—	£87,282,900	13	6	£82,430,398	11	4½

Whitcomb, Treasury Chambers,
24th of March, 1811.

(Signed)
RICH. WHARTON.

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1811.

Heads of Expenditure.	Sums.		
	£.	s.	d.
Interest	21,558,401	4	0½
Charge of Management	217,825	15	5½
Reduction of National Debt	11,660,601	5	4½
Interest on Exchequer Bills	1,815,105	4	1½
Civil List	1,633,110	2	7½
Civil Government of Scotland	118,186	13	3
Payments in anticipation, &c.	775,399	6	11
Navy	20,058,412	3	5½
Ordnance	4,652,331	14	8
Army	11,357,622	14	10
Extraordinary Services	7,178,677	9	2
Loans to Sicily, Portugal, and Spain, includ- ing £5,294,416 13s. 3d. to Ireland. }	7,354,609	14	7
Miscellaneous Services	2,270,867	15	11½
Deductions for Sums forming no part of the } Expenditure of Great Britain,	90,548,151	0	5½
	5,351,586	16	3
Grand Total—	£85,196,564	4	2½

Whitcomb, Treasury Chambers,
24th of March, 1811.

(Signed)
RICH. WHARTON.

|| When the stamp duty upon hats was first imposed, its annual product was £60,000. In 1809, the amount was reduced to £38,000. In 1810, to £31,000, and in the year ending the 5th of January, 1811, to £29,332. This gradual reduction, Mr. Perceval remarked, did not arise from fewer hats being worn now than formerly, but from the evasions of the tax, which every year increased.

part of the prince regent, after his assumption of the royal functions, was the restoration of his brother, the Duke of York, to the post of commander-in-chief of the army. This event produced a considerable share of surprise in the country, and was viewed by some of the members of the house of commons, who had taken the lead in urging the charges against his royal highness, as an imputation upon their conduct on that occasion, and as an unmerited stigma cast upon the house. Under these impressions, Lord Milton, unintimidated by the frowns of power, and actuated solely by a sense of public duty, proposed a vote of censure upon the advisers of his royal highness the prince regent, for recommending the re-appointment of the Duke of York to the office of commander-in-chief. The resignation of the Duke of York in the year 1809, his lordship contended, flowed naturally from the course of proceeding adopted by that assembly, and from the conviction so generally felt, that the criminal negligence of his royal highness rendered it improper that he should continue to hold the elevated office he at that time occupied. In fact, that the resignation of the duke alone prevented the adoption of ulterior proceedings, which must in their tendency have excluded his royal highness from office. His lordship was aware that it might be objected, that though the house did, at that period, wish for his resignation, it was by no means intended to exclude him from all chance of reinstatement; and that the punishment he had already undergone was fully commensurate to his offence. But deprivation of office was not in itself to be considered as punishment; and if the duke was unfit for the post of commander-in-chief in the year 1809, he did not see how he had attained the requisite fitness in 1811. They who would defend the re-appointment upon the ground that certain transactions had come to light since the inquiry, which had materially altered the public opinion, would find their task difficult; for though his royal highness might have been the victim of a foul conspiracy, yet the reality of the existence of that conspiracy rested solely upon the testimony of the very person who had been the chief and most material witness against the duke, and whose evidence was by his advocates then considered as totally

undeserving of credit.* His lordship intreated the house to consider well the responsibility they were about to incur, and to pause before they sanctioned a proceeding that would stultify their own acts.

The chancellor of the exchequer acknowledged in the fullest manner the responsibility of his majesty's servants in recommending the measure in question. The gallant officer (Sir David Dundas) who had lately filled the office of commander-in-chief, after spending nearly half a century in the service of his country, had contracted an illness, which obliged him to apply for liberty to retire from the arduous duties of his station; and there was not the slightest hesitation in the mind of Mr. Perceval and his colleagues whom they should recommend to supply the vacancy thus created. The eminent services rendered to the army by the Duke of York, which were universally acknowledged, left them no choice. As to the proceedings on a former occasion, alluded to by the noble lord, they pledged the house to nothing; and there was not the most distant idea of lowering the dignity of parliament by the advice given to the prince regent to re-appoint the Duke of York to the post of commander-in-chief.

Among the speakers who addressed the house on this occasion, several gentlemen presented themselves who had, during the proceedings in the year 1809, taken part against the Duke of York, and who did not hesitate to avow, either that they had been formerly carried away by the current of public opinion, or that they considered the case as it now presented itself in a different point of view. It is unnecessary here to inquire into the different processes of conviction that might have operated on different minds; that a great change had been wrought in the sentiments of this assembly was manifest on the division, from which it appeared that the votes for the motion were forty-seven, against it two hundred and ninety-six, constituting a majority of two hundred and forty-nine in favour of the re-appointment. The nation at large seemed to have been affected with a similar change of opinion, and the duke resumed his post with all the facility of a public functionary who had quitted his office without imputation.

The state of the king's health in the early

* His lordship here alluded to the facts adduced in the course of certain proceedings in the court of king's bench, in the year 1809. In the month of July, in that year, a trial took place on an action brought by Mr. Wright, an upholsterer, against Colonel Wardle, for goods furnished by order of the defendant to Mrs. Clarke, and which order, as Mrs. Clarke deposed, was given by the colonel, on condition that she should put him in possession of all the evidence she possessed against the Duke of York, and appear at the bar of the house of commons as a witness, in support of the charges preferred against his royal highness. The jury, after a patient investigation of the case, returned a verdict in favour of the plaintiff: on which Colonel Wardle indicted Mrs. Clarke and Mr. Wright for a conspiracy, but the evidence adduced failed to establish the charge; and on this second trial the colonel himself distinctly admitted that he had advanced money to Mrs. Clarke.

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part of the present year underwent several variations, but in the report of the queen's council, made on the 6th of July, a few days before the prorogation of parliament, it was stated, "that his majesty's health was not such as to enable his majesty to resume the personal exercise of the royal functions." Indeed the hopes of his majesty's recovery were now considerably diminished, though some of the physicians still adhered to the persuasion, that the energy of his constitution would overcome the disorder, and that the complete re-establishment of his health was an event not far distant. This state of uncertainty, co-operating with other causes, served to keep the ministers of the prince regent in their offices, and afforded them an opportunity of overcoming the repugnance of the prince, and seating themselves firmly in the cabinet.

To the catholics of Ireland, the determination of the prince regent to retain the ministers of his royal father was a circumstance of extreme mortification. The conscientious scruples of the king, who conceived that his coronation oath stood in the way of catholic emancipation, it was impossible not to respect; but an impression had obtained universally, that the Prince of Wales was a decided friend to their claims; and on his investment with power, a brighter and more cheering ray of hope than had ever before presented itself, burst upon the catholic subject. But again, at least for a season, disappointment clouded their expectations; the prince regent had not merely determined to retain ministers inimical to catholic concessions, but he had intimated his intention also to adhere, during the period of the limited regency, to the policy of his father's government. Still some degree of doubt continued to hang over the course of conduct that would be pursued with respect to Ireland, and particularly towards that community, of which three-fourths of the numerical strength of the sister kingdom was known to consist.

At this moment of hope and anxiety, a letter appeared from Mr. Wellesley Pole, secretary to the lord-lieutenant, stating, that it had

been represented to government that the roman catholics of Ireland were to be collected together for the purpose of appointing persons as representatives, delegates, or managers of an unlawful assembly, sitting in Dublin, and calling itself the catholic committee; in consequence of which, the sheriffs and magistrates, to whom this circular was addressed, were required, in pursuance of the act of the thirty-third of the king, cap. 29, commonly called the convention act, to arrest and commit to prison (unless bail should be given) all persons within their jurisdiction who should be guilty of giving notice of such election or appointment, or of attending, voting, or acting in any manner in the choice of such representatives.

This circular was immediately noticed in parliament by Earl Moira and Mr. Ponsonby, who contended that Mr. Pole had misconceived or misrepresented the act of the Irish parliament, which required the magistrates to disperse persons sitting in an unlawful assembly, but did not confer upon them the power to commit, or to hold such persons to bail.* At that time ministers were not in possession of the information and circumstances under which this letter had been written; but from what they knew they declared that they felt themselves inclined to approve and justify the course adopted by the Irish government. It afterwards appeared that a circular letter, dated the 1st of January, had been written by Mr. Edward Hay, secretary to the committee of the Irish catholics, the object of which was to obtain a complete representative body from all the counties of Ireland, to assist in managing the petitions, and that Mr. Hay's letter, and the measures consequent thereon, had given rise to the circular of the Irish secretary.† The discussions to which these letters gave rise were soon absorbed in the subsequent proceedings in Ireland. The feelings and the conduct of the protestants towards their catholic brethren in that country, were marked, at this crisis, by strong features of liberality and friendship: although meetings for the purpose of appointing delegates were held

* The convention act consists of four clauses, by the first of which it is enacted, that all assemblies, committees, or other bodies of persons, elected, or in any other manner constituted or appointed, to represent the people of this realm, or any number or description of the people of any province, county, city or town, or district, within the same, under pretence of petitioning, or in any other manner procuring an alteration of matters established by law in church and state, except duly summoned by the king's writ, are unlawful assemblies, and may be dispersed by the magistrates or peace officers; and if resistance be offered, all persons offending in that behalf are liable to be apprehended. The second clause enacts, that any person giving or publishing a notice of an election to be holden for the appointment of any person or persons to act as such delegate or representative, or any person who shall attend or vote at such election or appointment, being thereof convicted by due course of law, shall be guilty of a high misdemeanor. By clause three, the right of election by corporate bodies and chartered companies is saved. And by clause four it is provided, that nothing in this act contained "shall be construed in any manner to prevent or impede the undoubted right of his majesty's subjects to petition his majesty, or both houses, or either house of parliament, for redress of any public or private grievance."

† Justificatory Speech of Mr. Wellesley Pole in the House of Commons, March 7, 1811.

in almost every county, yet there was scarcely a single instance of magisterial interference, and some of the magistrates went so far as to promise the protection of their official authority to such meetings as might be molested.

On the 9th of July a "meeting of the catholics of Ireland" was held in Dublin, at which it was resolved that a committee of catholics should be appointed, in order to frame petitions for the repeal of the penal laws, and to procure signatures thereto in all parts of Ireland; that this committee should consist of catholic peers, of their eldest sons, the catholic baronets, the prelates of the catholic church in Ireland, and also of ten persons to be appointed in each county in Ireland, and that it should be recommended to the committee to resort to all legal and constitutional means for maintaining a communication of sentiment and co-operation of conduct among the catholics of Ireland.

In consequence of this meeting, and of these resolutions, a proclamation was issued by the lord-lieutenant and council of Ireland, declaring it to be the intention of the government to enforce the penalties of the law against all such persons as should proceed to elect deputies, managers, or delegates to the catholic committee. On the day subsequent to the appearance of the proclamation, a special meeting of the general committee of the catholics was held in Chapel-Street, Dublin, at which the Earl of Fingal presided, when it was resolved, That this extraordinary meeting is held in consequence of the proclamation of the lord-lieutenant; that the committee, relying upon the constitutional right of the subject to petition, and conscious that they are not transgressing the laws, do now determine to persevere in the course they have adopted for the "sole, express, and specific purpose of preparing a petition to parliament, for their full participation of the rights of the constitution; that the committee will never meet under pretence of preparing or presenting petitions, but for that purpose alone; and that the last clause of the convention act recognizes the right of petitioning, secured by the bill of rights." The government, acting upon the proclamation of the lord-lieutenant, arrested five gentlemen who were present at the election of delegates, on the 9th of August, in Liffey-Street Chapel, and carried them before the chief-justice of the court of king's bench, by whom they were bound over to take their trials.

The trial of Dr. Sheridan, one of the delegates arrested subsequent to the meeting in Liffey-Street Chapel, was to decide the question whether the convention act applied to the proceedings of the catholics. This trial came on in the court of king's bench, Dublin, on the 21st of November. The doctor was indicted for

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having assisted in the election of persons to represent one of the parishes of Dublin in the general catholic committee. The trial continued for two days; and the chief justice, in his charge to the jury, gave a decided opinion, that if the facts adduced in evidence were believed, and if it was thereby made out that the traverser had acted in the election of a delegate to the general catholic committee, he must be found guilty upon the legal construction of the convention act; and in this decision the other three judges on the bench fully concurred. It is impossible—indeed language sinks under the effort to describe the anxiety manifested while the jury were in the room to which they had retired to deliberate upon their verdict. Although it was now nine o'clock at night, yet the hall of the four courts, all the avenues leading thereto, and the very attic windows, were crowded with people. When, after an hour and a half's deliberation, it was announced that the jury had returned to their box, a deep and profound silence prevailed. Mr. Byrne, the clerk of the crown, then called over the names of the jury, and Mr. Geale, the foreman, handed down the issue of *Not Guilty*. The words were scarcely pronounced, when a peal of acclamations rang throughout the gallery, and shook even the judicial bench. The plaudits were caught by the anxious auditory in the hall. The judges attempted to speak, and the peace officers to act, but the general enthusiasm deafened and destroyed every effort to resist the popular ebullition. Nothing could be heard but the loud and overwhelming torrents of acclamations, which had now reached the streets, and, by a kind of telegraphic operation, spread to the most distant parts of the city.

The acquittal of Dr. Sheridan having, in the opinion of the attorney-general, by whom the prosecution for the crown was conducted, proceeded from a defect in evidence only, while the law had been distinctly laid down by the chief justice, as applicable to the committee of the catholics, it was judged proper by government not to proceed to the trial of the other arrested delegates, under a persuasion that the delegated meetings would no longer be held. The catholics however saw the matter in a different light; they regarded the acquittal of Dr. Sheridan, as the result of a conviction on the mind of the jury that the law did not apply to this case; and in that persuasion they resolved to continue their meetings: a meeting of the delegates was accordingly held in the theatre, but they were dispersed by the magistrates, who arrested Lords Fingal and Netterville, which two noblemen had been alternately called to the chair.

The attorney-general, finding that the opinion of the court, as delivered on the trial of

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Dr. Sheridan, had not operated in such a way as to prevent a repetition of the delegated meetings, determined to institute a prosecution against Mr. Kirwan, another of the arrested delegates, on a similar charge. On Thursday, the 30th of January, 1812, the trial took place, and the jury, after deliberating about a quarter of an hour, returned a verdict of *guilty* against the defendant. On the 6th of February Mr. Kirwan was brought up to receive sentence, when Judge Day, in his address to the defendant, said: "It is candid to suppose that the Roman catholics did not wilfully violate the provisions of an act upon which able and virtuous lawyers have entertained much doubt. The transactions heretofore are therefore consigned to oblivion; but the act must now resume its vigorous operation; it must awake from its long slumbers, and in future remain vigilant; the catholics will bow to it; they were heretofore only ignorant of its force. Under this impression the court mean to punish you with only a nominal penalty; and the sentence of the court is, that you do pay a fine of one mark, and then be discharged." This decision set at rest the legal point that had so long contributed to agitate the public mind in Ireland; the other prosecutions were all abandoned; and the catholic committee, which Judge Day, in his address to Mr. Kirwan, characterised as the greatest enemy to the catholic cause, ceased to exist as a delegated body.

Towards the close of the year 1811, an event was brought before the public with so much prominence and importance, and is in itself of so much consequence to the community, as to claim a place in the history of our own times; this was no less than a plan for the national education of the poorer classes of the people. The causes and motives that led to the adoption of this plan, are probably of a mixed nature; but if the children of the poor receive the advantages of education, it matters little from what motives the system for effecting that object may arise, or who had the honour or credit to be its founder. It may, however, be proper briefly to trace the causes which produced this memorable event.

Several years ago, Mr. Joseph Lancaster, a member of the society of quakers, employed himself in the establishment of a school in the borough of Southwark, on a plan that attracted much attention: by this system children were taught reading, writing, and the most common and useful rules of arithmetic, in a very short space of time, and at a very little expense. This saving of time, labour, and expense, was effected principally by making the boys at once teachers and learners; and by a process which united great simplicity and quickness with great

effect.* Soon after Mr. Lancaster established his school and made known his plan of education, he was, to the immortal honour of the present king, patronized by him; and it is recorded of his majesty, that in a conversation held with Mr. Lancaster, he expressed the benevolent wish—a wish worthy of a monarch, "That every subject in his dominions should be able to read his bible." For some time no opposition was made to the system pursued by Mr. Lancaster with so much success, and schools, formed and conducted upon this plan, were established in various parts of the kingdom. By degrees, however, an outcry was raised against this system of education, which was held out as decidedly hostile to the interests, and even to the very existence, of the established church, because the children were not instructed in the peculiar doctrines of that community.

Dr. Bell, a clergyman of the established church, who had been in India, had, soon after his return from that country, and before Mr. Lancaster had thought of his plan, published a pamphlet, in which he detailed the mode of education which he had practised at a seminary, established in Madras. This mode in some of its leading features was the same as that afterwards adopted by Mr. Lancaster; and Mr. Lancaster has, in effect, acknowledged, that the perusal of Dr. Bell's work suggested the idea to him. So far Dr. Bell has the honour and credit; but Dr. Bell merely published, he did not attempt to carry the scheme into execution. Mr. Lancaster, on the contrary, soon after he became acquainted with the plan, set himself most perseveringly and actively to work; he spared no labour or fatigue, and grudged no time or expense, in the establishment of the new system of education. In this respect therefore Mr. Lancaster has the merit. Neither Dr. Bell nor Mr. Lancaster can be called the inventor of this system of education, which has existed in India for ages; but Dr. Bell introduced the theory into England, and Mr. Lancaster carried this theory, with several improvements, into extensive practice, and gave to it a character truly national.

The schools established by Mr. Lancaster met with munificent patronage, and gave birth to the formation of a society under the designation of "The British and Foreign School Society." A rival institution was also established under the auspices of Dr. Bell, with the name of "The National School Society," at the head of which establishment appears a large proportion of the dignitaries of the church, and the leading men of the state. The object of the former is to afford learning to the poor at home and abroad, without regard to any particular creed, or preference to any religious community; and the de-

* See "A Comparative View of the Plans of Education as detailed in the publications of Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster, by Joseph Fox."

sign of the latter, to instruct the children of the poor in the doctrines of the established religion, as well as in the common and useful branches of education. This rivalry, whatever its origin, is calculated to banish gross ignorance, and to diffuse useful knowledge in every part of the kingdom. Even the military partake of its advantages; schools, upon the plan either of Dr. Bell or of Mr. Lancaster, have been formed in many regiments, and the commander-in-chief, in public orders, has called upon the chaplains of the army to attend in the most scrupulous manner to this duty. Surely

this may be considered as an important era, in the history of education, and the hope may justly be entertained, that the foundation is laid for an increase of industry and virtue among the great mass of the people.*

During the session of parliament of the present year, an act was passed "for taking an account of the population of Great Britain, and of the increase or diminution thereof;" and the domestic history of the year cannot, perhaps, be brought to a more appropriate conclusion, than by a statement of the result of this national investigation.†

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* New Annual Register for 1811, from which work this article is principally extracted.

† GENERAL ABSTRACT of the Returns made pursuant to an Act passed in the Fifty-first Year of his Majesty King GEORGE III.

	HOUSES.				OCCUPATIONS.			PERSONS.		
	Inhabited	By how many families occupied	Building	Uninhabited	Families chiefly employed in Agriculture	Families chiefly employed in Trade and Manufacture	All other Families not comprised in these Classes	Males	Females	Total of Persons.
ENGLAND	1,678,106	2,012,391	15,188	47,925	697,353	923,588	391,450	4,575,763	4,963,064	9,538,827
WALES	119,398	129,756	1,019	3,095	72,846	36,044	20,866	291,633	320,155	611,788
SCOTLAND	304,093	402,068	2,341	11,329	125,799	169,417	106,852	826,191	979,497	1,805,688
ARMY, NAVY, MARINES, and Seamen in Registered Vessels.								640,500		640,500
TOTALS	2,101,597	2,544,215	18,548	62,349	895,998	1,129,049	519,168	6,334,087	6,262,716	12,596,803

SUMMARY of the ENUMERATION of 1801,† as compared with that of 1811.

	POPULATION 1801.			INCREASE	POPULATION 1811.		
	Males	Females	Total		Males	Females	Total
ENGLAND	3,987,935	4,343,499	8,331,434	1,207,393	4,575,763	4,963,064	9,538,827
WALES	257,178	284,368	541,546	70,242	291,633	320,155	611,788
SCOTLAND	734,581	864,487	1,599,068	206,020	826,191	979,497	1,805,688
ARMY, NAVY, &c.	470,598		470,598	169,902	640,500		640,500
TOTALS	5,450,292	5,492,354	10,942,646	1,654,157	6,334,087	6,262,716	12,596,803

[Published by order of Parliament, July 28th, 1812.]

PLACES with a Population exceeding Twenty Thousand, according to the returns of 1811.

ENGLAND.					SCOTLAND.				
1. London and Westminster, } 1,009,546	4. Birmingham	85,753	9. Norwich,	37,266	14. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, } 27,387	1. Edinburgh, } 102,987	2. Glasgow, } 100,749	3. Paisley, } 36,722	4. Dundee, } 29,616
2. Manchester } 79,459, and Salford 19,114 } 98,573	5. Bristol	76,453	10. Deptford and Greenwich, } 36,780	15. Hull,	26,792	5. Aberdeen, } 21,659			
3. Liverpool	94,576	6. Leeds town—35,930 Out-towns—26,584 } 62,534	11. Sheffield,	35,840	16. Leicester,	23,146			
		7. Plymouth	56,060	12. Nottingham, } 34,253	17. Chatham & Rochester, } 21,722				
		8. Portsmouth, &c.	48,345	13. Bath,	31,496				

† See Vol. I. Chap. XVIII. p. 338.

CHAPTER XVI.

CAMPAIGNS IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL: *State of the Peninsula at the Commencement of the Year 1811—Death of the Marquis de la Romana—Siege of Badajoz, and the Surrender of that Fortress to the Duke of Dalmatia—Retreat of Massena from Santarem to the Spanish Frontier—Battle of Albuera—Battle of Fuentes d'Onoro—Escape of the Garrison of Almeida under General Bennier—The Command of the French Army of Portugal transferred from Massena, Duke of Rivoli, to Marmont, Duke of Ragusa—Badajoz besieged by the Allies—Siege raised—Battle of Barrosa—Ciudad Rodrigo invested by Lord Wellington—Retreat of the British Army—Gallant Exploit performed by General Hill at Arroyo del Molinos—Siege and Storm of Tarragona—Fall of Valencia—Repulse of General Victor at Tarifa—Guerilla War—Court of Madrid—Cortes.—CAMPAIGN OF 1812: Ciudad Rodrigo carried by Storm—Lord Wellington's Services in the Peninsula rewarded by an Earldom—Siege and Fall of Badajoz—Battle of the Bridge of Almaraz—Retreat of the French Army under the Duke of Ragusa—Forts of Salamanca stormed by the British—Battle of Salamanca—Madrid entered by the Allies—Siege of Burgos: raised—Retreat of the Allies, and Close of the Campaign.*

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FRANCE, after having, with unexampled rapidity, conquered the most powerful and firmly established states of Europe, by which she had not only extended her territory and increased her armies and her resources, but, what perhaps was of more moment, infused into her own soldiers a belief of invincibility, and into those of other nations a degrading and weakening feeling of infirmity, attacked a country, the inhabitants of which had long been declining both in patriotism and in valour; the armies of which were either in a wretched state of preparation and discipline, or actually at that moment at a distance from their country, and surrounded by the troops or the allies of the invaders. And yet such was the buoyancy of the patriot cause, and such the deep-rooted indignation at the injustice and perfidy which had been practised towards the nations of the peninsula, that at the commencement of the year 1811, the object of the invaders of Spain and Portugal seemed more distant than at the period when Joseph Bonaparte first entered the Spanish capital. The singularity of the fact will appear the more extraordinary when it is considered that the recognized King of Spain was a captive in the hands of the enemy; that the court of Lisbon had been expatriated; that a large proportion of the grandees of Spain had attached themselves to the cause of the usurper; that during the whole course of the struggle, not a single individual of pre-eminent talents had been

produced either in a civil or military capacity; and that whenever the French and Spanish armies met, if the numerical force was nearly equal, the victory was always on the side of the invaders. The solution of this singular combination of events is perhaps to be found in the difficulties that presented themselves in obtaining the pay and support of the invading armies in Spain and Portugal, in the hostility towards them being national, and in the readiness with which the physical and the military energies of Portugal were placed at the disposal of Great Britain; but above all, in the efficient assistance rendered by this country to the patriot cause, and in the skill and enterprise of our military commanders, aided and made available by the courage, discipline, and constancy of their troops.

Early in the year 1811 intelligence was received by Lord Wellington at Cartaxo,* that a very numerous corps, amounting to nearly 15,000 men, were on their march to join Massena, Duke of Rivoli, at Santarem. The Portuguese general, Silveira, endeavoured to interrupt the march of this corps, and to harass them during their approach; but the Portuguese troops were not able to cope with the French, and Silveira was compelled to abandon his object, after having suffered severely for his temerity.

In no part of Spain had the Spaniards displayed so little energy as in the kingdom of

* See Vol. II. Chap. XI. p. 144.

Andalusia. The people of Cadiz, contented with the security for which they were indebted to their situation, seemed little disposed to make any vigorous efforts against the besiegers. Marshal Soult, the Duke of Dalmatia, found himself at liberty to detach a force for the purpose of undertaking the siege of Badajoz. The skill of the French engineers, and the means which the army possessed, rendered the fall of that fortress inevitable, unless the garrison could be relieved by an army capable of meeting the besiegers in the field. To obtain any force equal to this undertaking was found extremely difficult; the long expected reinforcements from England had not arrived; the Spanish army in the south had endeavoured in vain to arrest the progress of the march of the French troops under Mortier; and the embarrassments of the allies were considerably increased by the sudden death of the Marquis de la Romana.* As a general, the talents of the marquis were not of the first order, but he was a real patriot, and a man of inflexible integrity. Unallured by the temptations held out to him by the enemy, he had served his country with zeal and fidelity; and he was snatched away at a moment when Lord Wellington was congratulating himself on having a colleague, to whose wise councils and co-operation his lordship was proud to acknowledge his obligations.

General Mendizabal, on whom the command of the army of the Marquis de la Romana now devolved, finding himself unable to resist the advance of the French army, retreated from Llerena, and threw three thousand men into Olivença, a small fortress in Estramadura, which was placed under the command of Manuel Herk; but the garrison, though thus reinforced, surrendered on the 22d, after a very feeble resistance. Marshal Soult, having left Seville to direct the military operations in Estramadura in person, now advanced to Badajoz, and immediately invested that place; but, before the investment could be made complete, it was necessary to drive the Spanish army under Mendizabal from their position, and to close the communication with Fort San Christoval. For this purpose, the cavalry under Soult crossed the Guadiana on the 19th of February, to co-operate with the infantry, which had been suffered to pass that river on the preceding night without opposition. At break of day the French cavalry rushed upon the left wing of the Spaniards, and overthrew them, while General Girard attacked and carried the right, in spite of a vigorous resistance made by the flower of the patriot army. When Marshal Soult had ascer-

tained the extent of the advantage gained on the right and left, he collected all his troops against the centre, and by this masterly manœuvre, forced a corps of six thousand Spaniards to lay down their arms, while the remainder of Mendizabal's army were either killed or dispersed.

This victory opened the gates of Badajoz to the besiegers. During the month of February the fortress, however, was defended with much courage and ability; but in the last sortie made by the Spaniards, the governor, Don Raphael Menacho, was killed; and on the 11th of March, Don Josse de Imaz, his successor, surrendered this important fortress into the hands of the enemy; "and thus," in the words of Lord Wellington, "Olivença and Badajoz were given up without any sufficient cause; while Marshal Soult, with a corps of troops which was never supposed to exceed twenty thousand, besides capturing those two places, made prisoners and destroyed about twenty-two thousand Spanish troops."

A few days before the fall of Badajoz, Marshal Massena, who had maintained his station at Santarem from the 15th of November till the 5th of March following, broke up his cantonments at that place, and commenced his retreat towards the Mondego. The pursuit by the British was rapid and immediate, but no operation of any importance took place till the 12th, when the 6th and 12th corps of the enemy took up a strong position at the end of a defile between Redinha and Pombal, where a smart engagement took place, which issued in the retreat of the French to Condexa. This place again afforded another opportunity of rallying, which the necessity Massena experienced of resting and collecting his army obliged him frequently to repeat, and which his consummate skill enabled him successfully to accomplish.

The French army, continuing their retreat by the route of Guarda, passed the Coa on the 3d of April, and on the following day entered Spain. The army under Marshal Massena retreated from Portugal as they had entered it, in one solid mass, covering their rear, on their march, by the operation of two *corps d'armée*; and it is impossible to speak of the retreat, considered purely and exclusively in a military point of view, in any other than terms of the highest admiration. But while due praise must be given to the military skill which enabled the French general to retreat through a hostile and devastated country, with a large army pressing upon his rear, with comparatively small loss, the conduct of his army must be

* The Marquis de la Romana died at Badajoz on the 23d January, in a fit of apoplexy, with which he was seized at the moment when he was quitting his house to concert a plan of military operations with Lord Wellington.

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stigmatised as wantonly outrageous. From the moment the retreat commenced the troops gave themselves up to a spirit of cruelty and rapine; and after inducing the inhabitants of many of the towns and villages through which they passed to remain at their homes under the promise of good treatment, they plundered their property, and destroyed their habitations.

Almeida, which was now the only place in Portugal in the hands of the enemy, was immediately blockaded by the British troops, and Lord Wellington, under a persuasion that Massena would not for some time be in a situation to attempt the relief of that fortress, committed the command of his army to Sir Brent Spencer, while he took the opportunity of visiting the army of Estramadura, under Sir William Beresford. On the 15th of April, the fortress of Olivença had again opened its gates to the allies; and on the 22d of the same month, a conference took place between Marshal Beresford and Lord Wellington at Elvas, at which it was determined immediately to invest Badajoz, and to prosecute the siege of that place with vigour. Soon after the conferences at Elvas, the hostile indications of the French army of Portugal recalled Lord Wellington to the north. The overflowing of the waters of the Guadiana delayed the operations against Badajoz till the 3d of May, and on the 12th of that month, Marshal Beresford was under the necessity of raising the siege in order to advance against Marshal Soult, who had left Seville on the 10th, and was marching to the Portuguese frontier in order to throw succours into the besieged fortress.

The British commander, who, on his way to Albuera, had been joined by the Spanish forces under Generals Castanos and Blake, drew up his army in two lines nearly parallel to the Albuera, on the ridge of the hill which gradually rises from that river. The allied forces consisted of eight thousand British, seven thousand Portuguese, and ten thousand Spaniards, comprehending in the whole not more than two thousand cavalry. Soult left Seville with sixteen thousand men, and had been joined on his route by a reinforcement of five thousand, under Latour Maubourg. At eight o'clock in the morning of the 16th, the enemy's troops were observed in motion, and his cavalry, of which he had at least four thousand, crossed the Ferdia, and formed under cover of the wood in the fork between two rivulets. A strong force of cavalry, with two heavy columns of infantry, then marched out of the wood, pointing towards the front of the allied position, as if to attack the village and bridge of Albuera; while, at the same time, their infantry filed over the river under the protection of the cavalry. The intention of the enemy to turn the allies, and to

cut off their communication with Olivença and Valverde, now became apparent, but this manœuvre was defeated by a counter-movement on the part of General Cole's division, and General Blake's forces. The attack commenced about nine o'clock, and while the French General Godinot made a false attack upon Albuera, Soult, with the rest of his army, bore on the right wing of the allies. After a determined and gallant resistance, the Spaniards were forced from the heights, and the enemy, knowing the importance of this position, set up a shout of triumph which reverberated through the hills, and was heard to the utmost extremity of the lines. The Spaniards displayed the greatest courage, but their want of discipline was felt, and a great error was undoubtedly committed in assigning to them that precise station upon which the fate of the whole army depended. No sooner had the Spaniards arrived at the bottom of the hill than they rallied, while Colonel Colbourne brought up the right brigade of General Stewart's division for the purpose of re-possessing the allies of the ground which they had lost. Finding that the enemy's column was not to be moved by their fire, they proceeded to an attack with the bayonet; but while in the act of charging, they were themselves suddenly turned, and attacked in the rear by a body of Polish lancers, armed with long lances, from the end of each of which is suspended a small red flag, which, while it is so carried by the rider as to prevent his own horse from seeing any other object, serves to frighten those horses to which he is opposed. Never was any charge more unexpected or more destructive; the rain, which fell in torrents, and thickened the atmosphere, partly concealed the lancers in their advance, and those of the brigade who saw them approach, mistook them for Spanish cavalry, and therefore did not fire. A tremendous slaughter was made upon the troops thus surprised. The three regiments of Colonel Colbourne's brigade lost their colours at this time, but those of the Buffs were recovered, after signal heroism had been displayed in their defence.

The fate of the day at this moment was every thing but desperate; and nothing but the most determined and devoted courage saved the allies from a defeat of which the consequences would have been more deplorable than the immediate slaughter. The third brigade, under Major-general Houghton, and General Cole's division, advanced to recover the lost heights, their officers declaring that they would carry the position or perish in the attempt. General Houghton fell while leading on his brigade, and cheering his men as they advanced to the charge; and Sir William Myers shared the same fate. The charge, though destructive, was successful.

The fusileer and the royal Lusitanian brigades, though three thousand strong when they advanced to the charge, could not muster one thousand when they gained the eminence—two thousand men and sixty officers, including every lieutenant-colonel and field-officer in the assailing brigades, were either killed or wounded in this murderous charge. But the enemy in their turn, when they were forced down the declivity towards the river, suffered still greater slaughter from the musketry and shrapnells of the allied army. The conflict ceased about three o'clock in the afternoon; and the combatants, on surveying the field, were struck with horror at the dreadful havoc they had made in each other's ranks.

Of all the battles of modern times, the battle of Albuera was one of the most fatal; the loss sustained by the allies, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounted to seven thousand, while the loss of the enemy exceeded that number. Few engagements have tended so much to exalt the character of the hostile armies in each other's estimation. The French exhibited the highest state of discipline; nothing could be more perfect than their manœuvres; no general could have wished for more excellent instruments; and no soldiers were ever directed with more consummate skill. All their advantages were, however, more than counterbalanced by the discipline and incomparable bravery of their enemies. The loss of the Buffs and of the 78th regiment was heavy in the extreme; the first of these corps went into action with twenty-four officers, and seven hundred and fifty rank and file, but on the following day there only remained five officers and thirty-four men to draw rations. Within the circumscribed space where the heat of the battle raged, not less than seven thousand men were stretched dead upon the field; and the rain which ran from the heights literally reddened the rivelets with blood. General Verlé, who, for twenty years, had been to Marshal Soult what Berthier was to Bonaparte—his faithful companion, and his confidential associate, fell, like General Houghton, charging at the head of his troops. The object of Soult, which was to raise the siege of Badajoz, was accomplished even before the battle commenced; and a barren and dearly purchased victory was the only reward of the allies for the danger they had incurred, and the dreadful slaughter they had sustained. On the 17th, Soult manœuvred on his right under cover of his numerous cavalry, and having saved appearances by continuing two days after the battle in the neighbourhood of Albuera, he withdrew towards Andalusia.

Several traits of courage and devotion to the cause in which they were engaged, were exhibited by the British in the battle of Albuera; Ensign Thomas, who bore one of the flags, was

surrounded by the enemy, and required to surrender his charge—"Only with my life," was his answer, and his life was the immediate forfeit; but the standard thus taken was recovered. Ensign Walsh, who carried another colour, had the staff broken in his hand by a cannon-ball, and he fell at the same moment severely wounded; but more anxious for the honour of his regiment than his own safety, he separated the flag from the shattered staff, and when his wound came to be dressed, it was found secure in his bosom. A captain in the 57th regiment, who was severely wounded, directed his men to lay him on the ground at the head of his company, and in this situation he continued to give his orders. Marshal Beresford, the commander of the allied army, in this sanguinary battle, exposed his person to the greatest hazard, and his life was only saved by his prowess and dexterity, which enabled him to dismount a Polish lancer at the moment when a deadly thrust was made at his person.

Reports that Marshal Massena was collecting his army to succour Almeida, had called Lord Wellington back to the north; and at day-break on the 2d of May, the main body of the French army actually crossed the Agueda, at Ciudad Rodrigo. On the 3d, the French troops marched in the direction of Almeida, and the allied army assembled near the small village of Fuentes d'Onoro, with the exception of General Pack's column, which was ordered to continue the blockade of Almeida. The British position formed a line extending beyond the brook of Onoro, on a hill whose left was supported by Fort Conception; the right, which was more accessible, was at Navedeaver, and the headquarters at Villa Formosa. In this position, the allied armies had the rocky bed of the Coa behind them, and only a single carriage communication by the little town of Castello Bom. The object of Massena was to seize this communication, and for that purpose he proceeded in force against the right of the allies, and attacked Fuentes d'Onoro, which stands partly in front of the hill, while, with another part of his army, he kept the centre in check. The attack was not made till the afternoon of the 3d, when Lord Wellington, penetrating the plan of his antagonist, threw reinforcements into the village. The enemy had, at one time, obtained possession of the disputed post; but that advantage was wrested from him before night put a stop to the action.

The following day was employed by the French general in making dispositions for a renewal of the attack; and on the morning of the 5th, two of his columns appeared in the valley of the Duas Casas, opposite to Pogo Velho, having the whole of his cavalry on his left, under General Montbrun. On the advance of this

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force; General Houston, to whom the protection of the passage had been confided, was compelled to retire with some loss. The French having thus established themselves in the village; their cavalry turned the right of the 7th division, between Pogo Velho and Navedeaver, from whence Don Julian, the Spanish general, had been obliged to fall back. Lord Wellington, finding his line too far extended, concentrated his troops; by which movement his lordship lost his communication with Sabugal, but he thus prevented the approach of the French to Almeida, which was the ultimate object of Massena's attacks. Generals Houston, Crawford, and Sir Stapleton Cotton, were now ordered to charge the enemy's centre, while the right wing fell on his rear; this operation, which was executed with the greatest precision, had a powerful influence in deciding the fate of the day. About the same time General Montbrun charged the cavalry of the allied army in columns, and gained some advantage; but this attack, upon which the French marshal built his hopes of complete victory, was not attended by any decisive result. Against Fuentes d'Onoro, which was in front of the left, the chief efforts of the French were directed, and this place was several times won and lost in the course of the day; but the enemy were finally driven through the village by Colonel Mackinnon, and when night closed upon the combatants, four hundred of their dead were lying in that place, which continued in possession of the allied troops.

For two days after the battle of Fuentes d'Onoro, the hostile armies remained in their position, the French feeling no inclination to repeat an attempt in which they had already suffered so severely; and Lord Wellington, from the inferiority of his numbers, and the emaciated state of his cavalry, not choosing to risk a general action. On the night of the 7th, Massena, having entirely failed in his intention to relieve Almeida, crossed the Agueda, and left that fortress to its fate, but not till he had sent orders to General Brennier, the governor, to blow up the fortifications, and to retire with his garrison to San Felices. These orders, owing to the culpable remissness of that part of the allied army which was stationed before Almeida, General Brennier was enabled to execute; at ten o'clock on the night of the 10th, giving his men the watch-word, "Bonaparte and Bayard," he quitted the garrison in silence, and on the 11th joined the French army with 1,500 men on the Agueda.

The failure of Marshal Massena inflicted a severe wound upon the military renown of that general, and determined him to resign the command of an army which seemed doomed to disaster only. After having re-crossed the Agueda,

he left Spain on the plea of bad health, and was succeeded in his command by Marshal Marmont, Duke of Ragusa.

On the 16th of May, Lord Wellington set out from Almeida, and arrived at Elvas on the 19th, where he first received the report of the battle of Albuera. His lordship learned also with pleasure that Badajoz was again invested by the allies, and that Marshal Soult's army was in full retreat towards Seville, harassed in their rear by Marshal Beresford. Lord Wellington, on receiving this intelligence, immediately undertook the direction of the operations on the Guadiana, and on the night of the 29th of May, the trenches were opened before Badajoz. On the 6th of June, the breach made in Fort San Christoval was judged practicable. The assault was made in the evening of the same day, about ten o'clock; but notwithstanding the valour of the assailants, such were the preparations made by the French Governor, Philippon, and such the determined courage of his troops, that the besiegers, after three sanguinary assaults, were obliged to retire. The English engineers, it appears, had not taken the precaution to make themselves masters of the ditch; and the governor, availing himself of this omission, had dispatched his miners to clear the fort of the breach, which was thus rendered to a certain extent impracticable. The firing against San Christoval was again renewed on the following morning, and continued to the 9th, in the evening of which day another assault was made; but similar obstacles again presented themselves, and the troops, after displaying an ardour and bravery worthy of a better result, were once more forced to desist from the enterprise. The fatal issue of these repeated assaults, combined with the formidable preparations now making by the French armies under Soult and Marmont, induced Lord Wellington to raise the siege of Badajoz, and to take up a position within the Portuguese frontier.

General Graham, to whom the command of the British force in Cadiz was confided, finding that the besieging army before that city had been much weakened by drafts for the purpose of raising the siege of Badajoz, resolved to profit by this circumstance, and after destroying the works of the enemy, to open a communication with the island of Leon. With this design an expedition was prepared, consisting of four thousand British and eight thousand Spanish troops, commanded by the Spanish General Don Manuel de Lapena, and under whom General Graham consented to act. On the 20th of February the expedition sailed from Cadiz roads, and on the 27th the combined army was collected on the coast between Terifa and St. Roque; but owing to the almost impassable state of the roads, it was not

till the 4th of March, that they came in sight of the French posts near Chiclana. The commander of the allied army having succeeded in establishing a communication with the Isle of Leon, directed General Graham to move down from Barrosa towards the Torre de Bermeja, leaving some Spanish regiments, under Brigadier-general Begines, upon the heights. About noon on the 4th, the British troops began their march, and had proceeded about half way down the hill into the middle of a wood, when they were informed that the enemy, who had appeared in force upon the plain, was advancing towards the heights of Barrosa. On these heights, which formed the key of the position of Santi Petri, a body of Spaniards had been left, and General Graham resolved to measure back his steps, and if possible, to attain the heights before the enemy could dislodge his allies. At the time this counter-march was commenced, part of the British force was entangled in the wood, and before they could extricate themselves from its mazes, General Graham had the mortification to see the Spaniards quit the heights, to which General Victor, with eight thousand troops, was rapidly advancing. The situation of General Graham's corps was now such that it could only be saved by the prompt arrangement of a judicious plan of operations, aided by the cool and determined bravery of his troops. The nature of the ground at Barrosa precluded the operations from being seen at Bermeja, where the main body of the Spanish army was posted, and the arrangements were so incomplete, that the communication between the two branches of the allied army was not duly preserved. General Graham, perceiving that he had nothing to expect from the co-operation of General Lapena, determined instantly to attack the enemy.

The brigade of guards, the flank battalions of the 28th, two companies of the 2d rifle corps, with a part of the 57th regiment, formed the right, under Brigadier-general Dilkes. The left consisted of Colonel Wheatley's brigade, with three companies of the Coldstream guards, and Lieutenant-colonel Barnard's flank battalion; while a powerful battery of ten guns opened from the centre. The battery was directed principally against the right division of General Victor's army under General Leval, which, however, still continued to advance, till it was received and checked by the left wing of the British. The three companies of guards, supported by the remainder of the left wing, charged the enemy with so much bravery as to decide the fate of General Leval's division. In this rencontre, an imperial eagle, decorated with honorary distinctions, and the first the British had ever won, was captured from the 8th regi-

ment of light infantry. The left division of the French army, under General Rufin, who had now attained the summit of the hill, animated by their numbers and their advantageous position, advanced to meet the right of the British under General Dilkes. For a short time the battle raged furiously, and the issue seemed doubtful, but the French troops, unable to withstand British steel, gave way; and General Rufin, who was mortally wounded in the charge, withdrew with his corps from the heights. In less than an hour and a half from the commencement of the battle, the whole of the French army was in full retreat, and such had been the sanguinary nature of the conflict, that, in that short period, four thousand men had fallen, twelve hundred of whom were British, and the remainder French troops. The disasters of the enemy in the battle of Barrosa were aggravated by the loss of three general officers.—General Belgrade, who was killed, and Generals Rufin and Rousseau, who were mortally wounded and taken.

While the British troops were engaged on the hill of Barrosa, an attack was made upon General Lapena at Bermeja, by the French forces under General Villatte; but this effort produced no decisive result. The battle of Barrosa, like that of Albuera, proved an unprofitable though glorious achievement, and owing to the want of energy, skill, and judicious combination on the part of the Spanish commander, the object of the expedition, which was to raise the siege of Cadiz, entirely failed.

In the month of August, Lord Wellington, with the main body of the allied army, advanced along the banks of the Tagus to the frontier of Portugal, and on the 5th of September, his lordship completed the blockade of the fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo. On the 22d, the French army of the north, under General Dorsenne, formed a junction with Marshal Marmont at Tamames, on the banks of the Tormes. The combined army, thus augmented, amounted to sixty thousand men, while the allied army did not exceed fifty thousand. This disparity of strength induced Lord Wellington to raise the blockade of Ciudad Rodrigo and to retire to Fonte Guinalda, between Guarda and the river Agueda. The French, having thrown supplies into Ciudad Rodrigo, fell back upon Salamanca, and in these positions the two hostile armies remained, without undertaking any further operations of importance, during the present year. But though the main armies went into winter quarters early in October, a very brilliant achievement was performed by the corps under General Hill, stationed at Portal-gra. On the morning of the 28th of October, a French corps under General Girard, on its march to the south of Spain, was surprised and

BOOK IV. attacked by General Hill, in the neighbourhood of Arroyo del Molinos, with so much vigour and effect, that the French force, which consisted of about two thousand five hundred infantry, and six hundred cavalry, was routed and dispersed, with the loss of upwards of two thousand men, fourteen hundred of whom were made prisoners.

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About the beginning of the year 1811, a regular and systematic plan appears to have been formed by Bonaparte for conducting the war in Spain, one leading feature of which was the occupancy of all the principal cities in the peninsula. The French general employed for the purpose of carrying this project into execution in the east, was Suchet, a man of uncommon enterprise and activity. About the end of the month of April, General Suchet, at the head of forty thousand infantry, and from six to eight thousand horse, with a hundred pieces of cannon, and all the battering train necessary for a vigorous prosecution of the siege, appeared before Tarragona, the ancient capital of Citerior Spain, and on the night of the 4th of May, the place was completely invested on the land side. The siege was carried on with great vigour and success on the part of the French troops, while Don Juan Senen de Contreras, the governor, in daily expectation of being relieved by the Spanish army under General Campo Verde, made repeated sorties, and continued to defend the fortress to the last extremity. On the night of the 21st of June the trenches were opened, and on the 28th of that month, the breach having become practicable, the French determined to carry the place by storm. On the 26th, an English force from Gibraltar, under Colonel Skerriitt, arrived off the coast of Catalonia, and a conference was held between the British commander and the Governor of Tarragona; but when Colonel Skerriitt perceived the inadequate means of defence, and the danger to which the place was exposed, he declined to land his forces. Every thing seemed to conspire against this unfortunate fortress. The Marquis Campo Verde made no efforts to afford the besieged relief; a division under General Miranda, sent by the Valencians to succour the garrison, instead of entering Tarragona, joined the army under Campo Verde; and Colonel Skerriitt, having received a report from the chief of his engineers and artillery, that the place was incapable of further resistance, returned on board his ship; and yet they had all been dispatched to the relief of the fortress.* The garrison, which, up to the moment of the assault, had displayed the greatest heroism, became intimidated when the

French entered the breach. In vain did the officers attempt to rally their forces; the panic increased every moment; and the Spanish troops suffered themselves to be cut down by their own officers rather than face the enemy, who were pursuing them in every direction, and butchering their victims in the street.* In proportion as the garrison receded the enemy occupied the ramparts of the old and new inclosures, and descended into the streets, where they killed, wounded, or robbed every one, without distinction of class, age, or sex; and the tragedy would have been still more sanguinary, had not the French officers, in their generous and heroic exertions to restrain these excesses, exposed themselves to the violence and fury of their own soldiery. More than eighteen thousand men, French and Spaniards, perished during the siege.*

Such is the description of the fall of Tarragona, as given by the governor of that fortress, and that the picture is not overcharged, may be inferred from the dispatches of the French general; "The rage of the soldiery," says Suchet in his description of the assault, "was increased by the resistance of the garrison, which every day expected deliverance, and wished to insure its success by a general sortie. The horrible example which I foresaw, to my sorrow, and foretold in my last report, has been made, and will long be remembered in Spain. Four thousand men were slain in the town; from ten to twelve thousand attempted to escape into the country by leaping from the walls; but one thousand of them were cut to pieces or drowned. About ten thousand, five hundred of whom were officers, have been taken prisoners and marched into France. Nearly fifteen hundred lie wounded in the hospitals of this town, where their lives have been spared in the midst of the slaughter. The governor and three major-generals are among the prisoners. Several other superior officers are numbered with the dead. Twenty stands of colours, three hundred and eighty-four battering pieces, forty thousand cannon-balls or bombs, and half a million of quintals of gunpowder and lead, are in our power".†

Marshal Macdonald, anxious to emulate the conduct of General Suchet, pressed the siege of Figueras with great vigour; and on the 19th of August, the Spanish General Martinez, after an unsuccessful attempt made on the night of the sixteenth, to carry the French lines, at the head of three thousand men, found himself obliged to surrender the fortress.

* Dispatch from General Contreras to the Spanish Minister at War.

† General Suchet's Dispatches, dated Tarragona, June 29th, 1811.

After the fall of Tarragona, Marshal Suchet advanced towards Valencia, and prepared to lay siege to the capital of that province. Here, as in every part of Spain, the spirit of the people was decidedly hostile to the French, but in no place had that spirit been more miserably misdirected than in Valencia. Instead of animating the people to deeds of military renown, they were directed, by a fanatical priesthood, not to ask for cannon and gunpowder, but to fly to their altars; and the Marquis del Palacio, Captain-general of the kingdoms of Arragon, Valencia, and Murcia, besought the army of Valencia to look up for protection to the "adorable and generous Madre de Desamparados, the Queen of angels, under whose staff the kingdom would obtain deliverance." Suchet, disregarding the invincible staff of the Queen of angels, marched, in full confidence of success, into Valencia, and on the 20th of September laid siege to Murviedro, the ancient Saguntum. General Blake, one of the members of the regency of Spain, who at this time commanded an army of upwards of twenty thousand men, advanced from the city of Valencia to the relief of Murviedro. On the 24th, about noon, the Spanish general arrived with his army on the height of El Puig, and on the following morning the hostile armies met in the field. For some time the battle raged with great fury, but the ardour of the left division of General Blake's army, under Carlos O'Donnell, having separated that division from the other columns, the battalions were thrown into confusion, and it was found impossible to retrieve the fortunes of the day. This action, though one of the best general engagements that had been fought by the Spaniards, was most unfortunate in its result; the loss of General Blake amounted to about seven thousand men, of which number nearly five thousand were made prisoners. The French general, profiting by the victory of El Puig, hastened back to Murviedro, and the governor, despairing of succour, surrendered, after a siege of a few days, a place which had so long resisted the efforts of a powerful army under Hannibal.

The day after the surrender of this fortress, Marshal Suchet, continuing his victorious career, advanced to Valencia, and summoned that city to surrender; but the marshal, as celebrated for his dexterity as a courtier as for his intrepidity as a soldier, proceeded very slowly in his operations against this place, hoping in the issue to shed so much splendour around the conquest as to obtain a dukedom, in addition to the marshal's staff which had been awarded to him on the fall of Tarragona.

After fifty days spent in preparation for the passage of the Guadalaviar, the French crossed that river in the night of the 25th of December, in the face of the army of General Blake, and almost without resistance. The investment of Valencia, in which the Spanish army was now shut up, was completed before the close of the 26th; and Suchet, availing himself of these advantages, by which the Spaniards had so little profited, secured in every direction the canals and fosses against a sortie. Still the lines remained, which the Valencians had for three years been employed in constructing; but after all this labour and expense it was discovered that these works were untenable. While success thus continued to attend every effort of the enemy, General Blake resolved to make an attempt to escape from the fortress, with the army under his command; but the inhabitants, having obtained information of this intention, compelled him to give up the project, and to remain in patient expectation of a fate which he no longer seemed disposed to avert. The trenches being now prepared, they were opened on the first night of the new year, and on the 4th of January, 1812, they had advanced within fifty toises of the ditch. The desertions from the Spanish army had now become so numerous that the garrison was under the necessity of abandoning their lines, leaving behind them eighty pieces of cannon. Animated to the highest degree by the success of his operation against a place which at that moment contained a population of two hundred thousand souls, Marshal Suchet continued to prosecute the siege with the utmost vigour. For three days and nights the bombardment was incessant; and on the 8th of January, General Blake, wishing to spare Valencia the horrors of a storm, consented to capitulate. By the terms of capitulation, the troops became prisoners of war; the inhabitants and their property were to be protected, and the French prisoners in Majorca, Alicante, and Carthage, were to be exchanged. In virtue of these stipulations, sixteen thousand efficient troops of the line, exclusive of two thousand in the hospitals, eighteen hundred cavalry and artillery horses, twenty-two generals, nine hundred officers, and three hundred and seventy-four pieces of cannon, were surrendered into the hands of the enemy.

The fall of Valencia, which obtained for Marshal Suchet the title of Duke of Albufera,* terminated the military career of General Blake: repeatedly and severely as he had felt the want of discipline in his troops, he pertinaciously resisted every attempt on the part of the English to regenerate the armies of Spain; and

* The name of a lake in the vicinity of the city of Valencia.

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even with the example of Portugal before his eyes, he seemed determined rather to sacrifice his country than to subdue his national pride. But amidst all his errors and misfortunes, he obtained the character of a brave man and a real patriot; and his last dispatch, in which he considers captivity to be his future lot, and consigns his numerous family to the protection of the state, cannot fail to awaken feelings of regret and commiseration.

While the events in Valencia doomed the Spanish commander to exile, fortune afforded Colonel Skerriitt a favourable opportunity to remove the stigma cast upon his character by the governor of Tarragona. Marshal Soult, sensible of the advantages to be derived from the occupation of Tarifa, ordered Marshal Victor to detach a corps of ten thousand men to obtain possession of that place. On the 20th of December, General Leval, to whom the expedition was intrusted, invested Tarifa on the land side, the other being the exclusive dominion of the allies. The garrison, which was under the command of Colonel Skerriitt, consisted of about twelve hundred English troops, with nearly an equal number of Spaniards. On the 25th the trenches were opened, at a distance of a hundred and fifty fathoms from the place, and on the 29th the besiegers directed their batteries against the works. On the 31st, the breach being judged practicable, a strong French column, composed of grenadiers and voltigeurs, advanced, about eight o'clock in the morning of that day, to the assault. The attack, which was made with great energy and perseverance, was so gallantly resisted by the garrison, that the besiegers were at length obliged to retire, leaving the ground covered with their slain. This repulse proved so decisive that on the night of the 4th the French retired from before the place in silence, leaving behind them part of their artillery, and all their besieging implements.

The Junta of Seville, in the very infancy of the peninsular war, perceived that the real strength of the Spanish nation was to be found rather in her people than in her armies. Under this impression they proclaimed a Moorish war—*Guerra de Moros contra estos infideles*; and reminded the Spaniards of the manner in which their fathers had exterminated a former race of invaders. The country, they said, was to be saved by killing their enemies day by day, just as they would rid themselves of a plague of locusts. The work would be slow in its progress, but sure in its issue, and the nation would thus be brought to the martial pitch of those times when it was a recreation to go

forth and seek the Hagarenes. The old Castilian names were revived for skirmishes, ambuscades, assaults, and stratagems—*escaramuzas, celadas, rebatos, ardidés*, the necessary resources of domestic warfare, and the people were assured that the nature of the country, and the manners of the inhabitants, rendered Spain invincible. Wherever the Spaniards had no army, the contest assumed this character; and from the moment that the French were masters of the field, and would in any other country have considered their conquest as complete, from that moment a wasting war commenced, against which discipline was of no avail, and which must ultimately consume any military power, however formidable. Every day some part of the invaders was surprised, or some escort cut off; plunder was recovered, dispatches were intercepted, and above all, vengeance was taken. In every part of Spain leaders started up, who collected about them the most determined spirits: Don Ventura Ximenez extended his incursions from Badajoz to Toledo; Don Julian Sanchez was the terror of the enemy in Old Castile and Leon; Porlier distinguished himself in the Asturias; Mina began a glorious career in Navarre; and Don Juan Martin, the empecinado, from the mountains of Guadalupe, baffled all the efforts of the French in Madrid, and alarmed King Joseph for his personal safety. Followers in great numbers were found to join in this Guerilla war—induced, not only by the stimulating properties of a life of outlawry, but by a spirit of patriotism, and a thirst for vengeance.

To follow these hands through their predatory hostilities is impossible, but it is a fact well ascertained, that their operations were more fatal and destructive to the enemy than the battles fought by the main armies—the armies seldom met, but the Guerillas were at all times in active operation. Every Spaniard regarded the public cause as his own private quarrel, and the French troops had almost as many individual enemies to fight as the Spanish peninsula contained inhabitants.* The priests hated the invaders from patriotism and from interest; and the people, so far from considering the French in the light of deliverers, for abolishing the inquisition, and reducing the religious orders, hated them the more on that very ground. The religious people could not conceive how institutions, which they regarded as having always existed, could ever cease; and in these times of misfortune, every change made by an enemy's hand was regarded as an act of impiety. The terror of the French arms conferred no influ-

* Memoirs of the War of the French in Spain, by M. de Rocca, a French officer of hussars, and knight of the order of the legion of honour.

ence around them. The enemy being spread over the whole country, the different points occupied by the French were all, more or less, threatened, and the invaders were not in reality masters of more ground than that they actually trod upon. The length of the war had no effect upon the Spaniards; their hatred was inextinguishable, and in some provinces, the husbandman guided his plough with one hand, while he held a sword, always unsheathed, in the other, and which was only buried at the approach of the French, if they were too numerous to be assailed by the rustic warriors. Like avenging vultures, eager for prey, the Spaniards frequently followed the French columns at a distance to murder such of the soldiers as, fatigued or wounded, remained behind. When the French sought to revenge the death of their comrades, the inhabitants fled, and nothing was found in the villages but deserted dwellings, on which the invaders could not wreak their fury without destroying the places that were to afford them future shelter. This desultory and incessant warfare damped the ardour of the French soldier, and made him pant for the termination of the inglorious contest.*

In the mean time, the situation of the court of Madrid was deplorable in the extreme. Sick of his humiliating situation, Joseph Bonaparte paid a visit to France, to represent to his brother the exhausted state of the public treasury, and the daily and increasing difficulties and embarrassments of his situation; but Moscow, instead of Madrid, now occupied the attention of the Emperor Napoleon, and all that could be awarded to Joseph on his return to Spain was a further supply of troops, for the support of which, in a country already exhausted, his motley administration was directed to supply the means.

The difficulties felt by the cortes were little inferior to those experienced by the intrusive government of Madrid. The chief pecuniary resources of the Spaniards, in the early stages of the contest, were drawn from their South American possessions; but, owing to the spirit of independence which had begun to manifest itself in the colonies, this source of revenue was nearly dried up, and the internal supplies of Spain were reduced by the presence of the enemy to insignificance. Much good however was effected by the cortes: a constitution was formed, founded upon the declaration that "Spain belongs to the Spanish people, and is not the patrimony of any family:" the use of the torture was abolished by acclamation; feudal jurisdictions were destroyed; and the African Slave Trade was prohibited.

The year 1811, although one of the most sanguinary epochs in the history of Spain, was crowned with no results decisive of the contest in the peninsula. On the western frontier of that kingdom, Britain had gained little except glory. In the east, the most unexpected misfortunes had befallen the Spaniards, and those provinces which, in the early part of the war, had been the theatre of the bravest resistance, were almost entirely subjugated. A desire to relieve this fine country from the presence of an enemy by which it was overrun, formed one great inducement with the British commander to open the campaign of 1812 at an early period of the year, and with a spirit of enterprise which promised the most brilliant issue.

It was necessary to the plan of operations which Lord Wellington had formed, that he should, in the first place, make himself master of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz. Early in the month of January, therefore, the allied army crossed the Agueda, and on the 8th, the first of these fortresses was invested. General Hill was in the mean time detached against Dom-browski, who was posted at Merida, and who retreated with precipitation on the approach of the British. The British general next proceeded against Drouet, who commanded the fifth division of the French army, at Almedralejo; but this officer, having been apprised of these movements, retired upon Zafra, abandoning his stores and ammunition. By these operations, Marmont and Soult were effectually separated; the country between the Tagus and the Guadiana was cleared of the enemy; Drouet was thrown back on Llerena; and Badajoz, which was soon to be attacked, was reduced to the utmost extremity for want of provisions. Lord Wellington was thus left to pursue his operations against Ciudad Rodrigo; and on the evening of the very day on which the siege was begun, a detachment of the division under Lieutenant-colonel Colbourne, of the 52d regiment, stormed and carried the redoubt on the hill of St. Francisco, took some prisoners, and put their comrades to the sword. These important successes enabled the British to break ground near the works. On the evening of the 14th, a fire was opened from the first parallel with twenty-two pieces of ordnance, and three batteries; and on the same evening, the besiegers established themselves in the second parallel, within a hundred and fifty yards of the place. In ten days after the opening of the siege, the approaches were completed; several breaches were made in the wall; and the resolution was taken to carry the works by storm. The storming parties, in five separate columns, composed of the 3d and light divisions of

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* M. de Rocca.

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the army, and of Brigadier-general Pack's brigade, were ordered to advance. Lieutenant-general Picton, and Major-general Crawford, took a conspicuous part in the operations, and the efforts of all the columns were crowned with success. The loss of the British in this brilliant affair amounted to about twelve hundred killed and wounded; but the conquest was of great importance in the present state of the campaign, and reflected the highest honour on the assailants. In the short space of ten days, one of the strongest fortresses on the Portuguese frontier had thus been wrested from the enemy; and the satisfaction which this triumph diffused over the country was enhanced by the favourable report which the British commander gave of the patriotism of the Spanish people.

The honour of an earldom, accompanied by an additional parliamentary grant of two thousand a year, was conferred upon Lord Wellington, in consideration of the eminent and signal services performed by his lordship in the campaigns in Spain and Portugal; and, by a singular coincidence, it so happened, that as the services of the gallant earl were the latest object of reward conferred by the royal authority before it was placed in abeyance, so the reward of those services was the first act that emanated from the unlimited exercise of the sovereign power in the person of the prince regent. In those countries where the governments had the most immediate means of appreciating the merits of Lord Wellington, honours and riches were showered down upon him with a degree of liberality that sufficiently indicated the estimation in which his services were held. In addition to the title of Conde de Vimiera, and the rank of Marshal of the kingdom of Portugal, a reward of £12,000 a year was offered to his lordship by the regency; and in Spain, the elevated office of captain-general, with which he was invested by the government, was accompanied by a salary of five thousand a year. These pecuniary rewards, though offered by foreign gratitude, were declined by the distinguished person on whom they were bestowed: "No," said his lordship, "in the present situation of Spain and Portugal, I will not receive these munificent donations; I have only done my duty to my country, and to my country alone I will look for a recompense."*

As soon as Lord Wellington had repaired the works of Ciudad Rodrigo, and Marshal Marmont, who had advanced to give him battle, had again retired, and cantoned his army on the banks of the Tormes, his lordship moved towards Badajoz with a determination to push the siege with vigour, and to direct the operations in

person. By the middle of March, this fortress was completely invested, the first parallel having been formed within two hundred yards of the out-works of La Picorina. On the 19th the garrison made a sortie against the right of the British works, but were instantly repulsed with considerable loss by Major-general Bowes. On the 25th the besiegers carried Fort La Picorina by storm, and put the garrison to the sword. The progress which had thus been made is unexampled in the history of sieges. By the 6th of April no less than three breaches had been made, which were considered practicable; and the storming of the place was immediately determined upon. Lieutenant-general Picton, with the third division, was ordered to attack the castle of Badajoz by escalade; Major Wilson, with a detachment from the 4th division, was to assail the ravelin of St. Rocque; Major-general Colville, with the remainder of the 4th, and the light division, was to attack the bastions of La Trinidad and Santa Martha; and the conduct of a false attack was committed to Lieutenant-general Leith, with instructions to turn it into a real one, should circumstances prove favourable.

About ten o'clock in the night of the 6th of April, General Picton set out on his arduous enterprise. He crossed the river after some resistance, and in the short space of an hour and a half was master of the castle of Badajoz. Major Wilson, with two hundred men, carried the ravelin of St. Rocque. The light division, advancing to the covered way, descended into the ditch, and proceeded to storm the breaches; but such were the obstacles which the contrivance of the enemy had thrown in the way, that although the assault was often renewed, the British troops were unable to establish themselves in the place. The false attack, however, under General Leith, was converted into a real one; and the besiegers, having succeeded at all points except at the bastions, the light division was drawn off. Both the castle and the town were now in possession of the British. The French governor, General Philippon, with his staff, retired into Fort St. Christoval, and surrendered on the following day. The garrison, which amounted originally to five thousand men, had lost twelve hundred killed and wounded in the previous operations, besides those that perished in the assault. The British and Portuguese sustained a loss of two thousand eight hundred killed and wounded, a loss which must be thought considerable, notwithstanding the value of the service, and the rapidity of the operations. Thus had the allied army, in the short space of one month, reduced

a great fortress, improved by all the resources of art, and defended by a strong garrison.

The sagacity of Lord Wellington in pressing the siege of Badajoz with so much vigour soon became manifest: Soult was rapidly advancing to the relief of this important fortress; and Marmont, after an unsuccessful attempt to carry Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida by a *coup-de-main*, was marching into the interior of Portugal. The British commander, feeling the necessity of promptitude of action, instantly moved forward to check the progress of Soult; but that officer, having, on his arrival in Estramadura, been apprised of the fall of Badajoz, measured back his steps into Andalusia. Marmont's advance was checked at Castle Branco, by the progress of the British arms, and his retreat precipitated by the apprehension that the fall of the fortresses would leave the conquerors at liberty to follow up their success, and press upon his rear. Such was the auspicious opening of a campaign which was yet to exhibit events still more brilliant.

Marmont was now at Salamanca, Druet at Aguazel, and Soult at Seville. Lord Wellington, in prosecuting the ulterior operations of the campaign, directed his efforts in the first place to break up entirely the communication between these armies; and for this purpose, General Hill was dispatched to destroy the bridge of Almaraz, which, crossing the Tagus on the northern frontier of Estramadura, formed the only remaining line of connection below Toledo. On his approach to the Tagus, General Hill found the bridge strongly protected, both sides of the river being provided with works, which the enemy had thrown up, while the castle and redoubts of Mirabet added much to the difficulty of the enterprise. Finding it impossible, owing to the bad state of the roads, to arrive at an hour sufficiently early to form his columns before day-break, the French were of course fully apprised of his intention, and opened a heavy fire on the advancing corps; but the British, undismayed by this resistance, made an assault upon the fort, by which the left bank of the river was protected. In a moment the works were escalated at three different points, and carried at the point of the bayonet. The enemy, incapable of withstanding this fatal instrument, fled in all directions, and attempted to escape by the bridge; but their comrades, on the opposite bank of the river, had already cut off the communication, and those who escaped destruction by the bayonet, perished in the stream.

All the operations of the French generals, during the present campaign, strikingly illustrated the talents and enterprise of their adversary; and their movements were generally made

when the object of those movements was no longer attainable. Thus Marmont advanced to the relief of Ciudad Rodrigo, when, to his astonishment, that fortress was already reduced; thus, also, did Soult march to the relief of Badajoz, when the works had been stormed and carried; and thus did Marmont now move tardily to the protection of the bridge of Almaraz, when the communication across the Tagus had been destroyed. These movements, which exhibited the appearance of distraction rather than of system, proved the entire dependence of the French operations on those of their enemies, while they evinced at the same time the paramount genius of the British commander, which was now rising to its meridian altitude.

Every preparation having been made for the advance of the British army into Spain, Lord Wellington crossed the Agueda on the 13th of June, and on the 16th arrived in the neighbourhood of Salamanca. Marmont, contrary to the general expectation, retired with the main body of his army from that city without attempting its defence, and took up a position on the eastern bank of the Tormes. Having collected his whole force, he moved forward on the 20th, with the apparent design of offering Lord Wellington battle; but the British army was found to be so advantageously situated, that the enemy again retired, leaving the forts of Salamanca, the defence of which had been confided to about eight hundred men, to their fate. Owing to the want of the necessary implements, and to a defective supply of ammunition, the reduction of these forts proved a work of greater difficulty than was at first anticipated. On the 23d, General Bowes, who was ordered to carry Fort San Cayetano by storm, was wounded at the commencement of the action; but the moment his wound was dressed he returned to the assault, and in a fresh attack, gloriously, but unprofitably, perished at the head of his brigade. The arrival of a supply of ammunition having enabled the besiegers to renew their efforts, the breach in the principal fort became practicable on the 27th, when La Merced and San Cayetano were carried by storm, and San Vincente capitulated. These convents, which had been converted into forts, served as depôts for clothing and stores, the whole of which fell into the hands of the British. Lord Wellington himself, when he examined the works, expressed his surprise at the rapidity with which they had been carried, and the French marshal was, as usual, filled with astonishment.

The great event so long expected was now approaching, but a new series of manœuvres was first to be executed. Marshal Marmont, presuming upon his experience in the art of war,

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hoped, by a combination of skilful movements, to draw the allies from Salamanca, and to cut off their communication with Ciudad Rodrigo; while the object of Lord Wellington was to frustrate this purpose, by counter-movements.

On the morning of the 21st of July, the whole British army was concentrated on the Tormes, and in the afternoon of that day, the enemy crossed that river, and advanced in the direction of Salamanca. Two armies, each amounting to about fifty thousand men, moving in so small a space of ground, must soon come to a general engagement; and this result was hastened by the intelligence Lord Wellington had received on the night of the 21st, that General Clausel was advancing with the cavalry and the horse artillery of the northern army, and that he would form a junction with Marmont within two days from the time at which the accounts reached his lordship. During the night of the 21st, the enemy had taken possession of the village of Calvarosa d'Arabi, and of the neighbouring height; the allied army being in possession of Calvarosa d'Abexo: and soon after day-light in the morning of the 22d, the enemy's position was materially strengthened by a successful effort to obtain possession of the more distant of two hills from the British right, called Dos Arapiles.

After a variety of evolutions and movements, Marmont, who seems to have determined upon his plan of operations about two o'clock in the afternoon of the 22d, extended his left, under cover of a heavy cannonade, and moved forward his troops, apparently with an intention to embrace that single post of the Arapiles which Lord Wellington occupied, and from thence to attack and break his line. In the execution of this operation, the French marshal, in person, advanced to the ridge to remedy some irregularities in his divisions, at which moment he was struck by a shell, which broke his right arm and made two large wounds in his side; under the torture of these wounds he was obliged to retire from the field, leaving the command of his army to General Clausel.* This extension of the enemy's line, however bold and judicious, comprised within itself the elements of his defeat; and gave to the allied army an opportunity of attacking him to advantage, for which Lord Wellington had long been waiting. His lordship, seizing the opportunity, instantly reinforced his right with the 5th division, under Lieutenant-general Leith, which he placed behind the village of Arapiles, on the right of the 4th division,

with the 6th and 7th divisions in reserve. As soon as these troops had taken their stations, Lord Wellington detached the honourable Major-general Pakenham to move forward with the 8d division; and General D'Urbans, with two squadrons of the 14th light dragoons, under Lieutenant-colonel Hervey, to turn the enemy's left on the heights; while Brigadier-general Bradford's brigade, the 5th division under Lieutenant-colonel Leigh, the 4th division under the Hon. Major-general Cole, and the cavalry under Sir Stapleton Cotton, were ordered to attack in front; supported in reserve by the 6th division under Major-general Clinton, and the 7th division under Major-general Hope; the Spanish division of Don Carlos d'Espana, and Brigadier-general Pack's division, being at the same time ordered to support the left of the 4th by attacking the position of Dos Arapiles.

By these movements Lord Wellington extricated his army from the danger of being out-flanked, and instead of continuing to act on the defensive, actually became the assailant. The meditated attack upon the enemy's left was now made, and General Pakenham, fully comprehending the plan of his commander, formed the third division across the enemy's flank, and overthrew every thing that opposed him. These troops were supported, in the most gallant style, by the Portuguese cavalry and Lieut.-colonel Hervey's squadron, who defeated every attempt made by the enemy on the flank of the third division. At the same time, Brigadier-general Bradford's brigade, the fourth and fifth divisions, and the cavalry under Lieut.-general Sir Stapleton Cotton, attacked the enemy in front, and drove his troops before them from height to height. This attack, which had been combined with so much skill, and executed with so much bravery, became irresistible; but General Pack was less fortunate; all his efforts to obtain possession of the Dos Arapiles failed, except in diverting the attention of the enemy's corps placed on that eminence from the troops under the command of Lieut.-general Cole. The cavalry, under Lieut.-general Sir Stapleton Cotton, made a brilliant charge against a body of infantry, which they overthrew and cut to pieces; but this success was dearly purchased by the loss of that "most noble officer,"† Major-general Le Marchant, who fell at the head of his brigade.

After the crest of the height had been carried, one division of the enemy's infantry made a stand against the 4th British division, which was obliged to give way, and Lieut.-general

* Report of Marshal the Duke of Ragusa to the French Minister at War.

† Lord Wellington's Dispatches.

Cole was severely wounded in the retreat. The French now redoubled their efforts to regain the ground which they had lost, and Marshal Sir William Beresford, and General Leigh, who were appointed to support General Cole, having both been wounded, the expectations of the French became sanguine; but at this critical moment, General Clinton, at the head of the 6th division, marched to their assistance and restored the former success. Still the contest continued to rage; the enemy's right, reinforced by the troops which had fled from his left and by those which had retired from the Arapiles, maintained their ground. Lord Wellington, seeing the determined stand made by the enemy at this point, ordered the reserve, consisting of the 1st and light divisions, and the brigades under Colonel Stubbs and Major-general Anson, to turn the right, while the 3d and 5th attacked the front. At length this bravely contested point was carried, and the enemy fled through the woods towards Tormes; but night, which had now come on, rendered the pursuit difficult, and favoured the escape of the retreating army.

On the 23d, the pursuit was renewed; when the allies were enabled to reach the enemy's rear-guard near La Serna; here a desperate charge was made upon the fugitives by the brigades of cavalry under Generals Bock and Anson, which was completely successful, and the whole body of the infantry, consisting of three battalions, were made prisoners. The pursuit was continued until the evening of the 23d, and extended as far as Penezanza; while the scattered remains of Marmont's army passed through Flores d'Avila towards Valladolid, where they were joined by the cavalry and artillery of the north. It is difficult to estimate the enemy's loss in the battle of Salamanca; but it probably amounted to about thirteen thousand men, of whom seven thousand were prisoners, including one general, three colonels, three lieutenant-colonels, and a hundred and thirty officers of inferior rank; and in addition to which, eleven pieces of cannon, two eagles, and six standards, were taken. Such a victory could not be achieved without a heavy loss on the side of the allies, but it was not of a magnitude to distress the army or to cripple its operations. The total loss of killed, wounded, and missing in the allied army, amounted to five thousand two hundred and twenty, of whom three thousand one hundred and seventy-six were British; two thousand and thirty-six Portuguese; and six Spaniards.

In reporting the disastrous issue of this battle to the French minister at war, Marshal Marmont says, "It is difficult to express the different sentiments which agitated me at the fatal moment, when the wound which I received

caused me to be separated from my army. I would with delight have exchanged this wound for the certainty of receiving a mortal stroke at the close of the day, on the condition that the faculty of command should have been preserved to me during the battle; so well did I know the importance of the movements which had just taken place, and how necessary the presence of the commander-in-chief was at the moment when the shock of the two armies was approaching. Thus one unfortunate moment has deprived me of the labours of six weeks of wise combinations."

The battle of Salamanca was distinguished from all other battles hitherto fought in the peninsula, by several important circumstances: it was more masterly in the design, more gallant in the execution, and followed by consequences of far greater importance. By the reduction of the strong fortresses at the beginning of the campaign, and the separation of the French armies, the contending parties were placed in an attitude towards each other, very different from that in which they formerly stood, and incomparably more favourable to the allies. In the former battles, the allies had acted in a great measure upon the defensive, and by a display of bravery, had, in very unfavourable circumstances, repulsed the enemy, but here their triumphs might be said to end. A battle however had now been fought which united at once all that was brilliant, with all that was useful. While one of the mightiest hosts of the enemy had been dispersed, his other armies were disjointed; the capital of Spain was laid open; and an opportunity was offered to the Spaniards themselves to come forward and seal the deliverance of their country; but all hopes founded upon their simultaneous exertions proved illusory. If the Spaniards loved the independence of their nation much, they loved their own ease still more; if they hated the French, they contented themselves with shewing their hatred by an irregular and petty warfare, marked with features of ferocity, which could scarcely be justified, even when practised against their invaders.

Lord Wellington, having left a force at Valladolid, under General Paget, to watch the motions of the enemy, advanced with the main body of his army to the Spanish capital. Joseph Bonaparte, who had under his command about twenty thousand troops, hastily evacuated Madrid on the approach of the British, and retreated to Amaroza, on the frontiers of Valencia and Murcia; a position from which he could communicate either with Soult or with Suchet. On the 12th of August the British army entered the capital; the Retiro, garrisoned by fifteen hundred men, immediately surrendered, while Guadalajara was at the same time taken by the

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empeinado. Intelligence was also received that an army of sixteen thousand men, consisting of British and Neapolitan troops from Sicily, with some Spaniards from Majorca, had reached the eastern coast of Spain, and disembarked at Alicant, under the command of Gen. Maitland.

The allies found at Madrid about two hundred pieces of ordnance, nine hundred barrels of gunpowder, and twenty thousand muskets. The joy of the inhabitants was unbounded; the whole population came out to meet their deliverers; and every individual embraced either the officers or the soldiers. The 12th of August was a day of universal jubilee, and in the evening, the ancient form of government, the cortes and Ferdinand VII. were proclaimed anew in the midst of the acclamations of the whole city. But political events are to the inhabitants of a great metropolis what winds are to the sea. The enthusiasm of the Spaniards, which appeared so universal on the entrance of the allied army, vanished when Lord Wellington solicited a loan of two millions of piastres.* This attempt to raise contributions upon the impoverished Castilians, as might have been foreseen, entirely failed, and instead of enriching the military chest, lowered the British general in the estimation of the inhabitants.

The recovery of Madrid was not the only immediate consequence of the battle of Salamanca. The raising of the siege of Cadiz was another, which might have been turned to very great advantage by the Spaniards. Marshal Soult now became convinced, "that there would be no way of preserving Spain, but by abandoning Andalusia for a time;"† under this persuasion, the siege of Cadiz was raised on the 25th of August, and the army of the south was united with the French forces of the north, the centre, and the east.

The disasters of the French in Spain had hitherto arisen in a great measure from their separate and ill-combined plans of operation; but they now determined to profit by experience, and, if possible, to avoid so flagrant an error in future. Their whole force, under Clausel, the successor of Marmont, Suchet, Soult, and Joseph Bonaparte, amounted to a hundred and fifty thousand effective troops; and by their present plan of operation, Clausel's army, reinforced by the troops from Biscay, was to move in the direction of Burgos, to watch the British forces destined for the siege of that fortress, while Soult, with Joseph Bonaparte and Suchet, should advance upon Madrid, and compel the allies to evacuate that capital.

The presence of Lord Wellington was now

required in the north and on the 1st of September his lordship quitted Madrid, with the determination to lay siege to Burgos. On the 19th, Lord Wellington reconnoitred the works, and on the following night General Pack carried the enemy's horn works by assault, and established himself on the hill of St. Michael. This service was performed with the same success which had marked all the other operations of the army; but so thick was the darkness, that some mistakes were made by the assailants, in consequence of which their loss was more than usually severe, amounting at least to three hundred men. The French stationed in the works were five hundred in number, only sixty-three of whom were made prisoners, the remainder having all perished in the fury of the assault. The rapidity of Lord Wellington's advance had prevented him from bringing up his heavy artillery, without which nothing but the imperious necessity which he felt at this time for the most vigorous operations, could have justified him in attempting to take the castle of Burgos. He was thus compelled to abandon the ordinary method of attack, for want of a proper artillery train, and to resort to the slow and more uncertain process of sapping the works. The defence was conducted with great skill and resolution by the garrison; and General Dubreton, who had instructions to hold out to the last extremity, acquitted himself with distinguished valour and success. As soon as the British had got possession of St. Michael's Hill, they erected a battery, which commanded the outer line of the works, connecting the fortress with the town. This line was escaladed at two points by a British and Portuguese detachment; the Portuguese, however, failed in the attempt, and the British had advanced so far that it was not without some difficulty they were drawn off. The French, after this, did not remain altogether on the defensive; they made successively two sorties against the works of the besiegers, which were neither of them attended with very important consequences. The besiegers, in spite of all the efforts of the garrison, still continued to make rapid progress; they established themselves within one hundred yards of the enemy's interior line; they effected a breach in another part of the same line; accomplished a lodgment; and carried on their mines under ground with the utmost celerity. On the 11th of October, a mine was successfully sprung; the breaches were instantly stormed, and the lines escaladed, and part of the British troops actually entered the works; but the fire from the garrison was so heavy, that they were unable to sustain themselves, and retired, after

* The Spanish piastre is of the value of 3s. 7d. sterling.

† Letter of Marshal Soult to Joseph Bonaparte.

suffering a severe loss. Notwithstanding these repeated repulses, the most confident hopes still existed that Burgos was doomed to share the fate of Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo; but a series of unforeseen accidents occurred, which prevented the fulfilment of these expectations, and tarnished the splendour of the closing scenes of the campaign.

In the east, the Spanish General, O'Donnell, sustained a severe defeat from the French under General Harispe, by which the operations of Gen. Maitland were paralyzed, and his army doomed to a state of inactivity at Alicant. From the side of Galicia, Lord Wellington was promised the co-operation of a well-appointed Spanish army, amounting to thirty thousand men; but, to his extreme mortification, he found that this body of men did not exceed ten thousand, and that they were without discipline, and destitute of all the requisites of soldiers. Ballasteros, the commander of the army of the south, was at this time meditating the ambitious project of seizing on the chief command of the Spanish armies, and instead of falling upon the flanks of the French, conformably to the orders of Lord Wellington, he answered these commands by an appeal to his soldiers, and to the Spanish nation; for which contumacious proceeding he was superseded, arrested, and exiled.

In consequence of the inaction of the Anglo-Sicilian expedition, the inefficiency of the Spanish army of Galicia, and the refusal of Ballasteros to act under Lord Wellington, his lordship found himself in a situation of considerable difficulty and embarrassment. The French army of Portugal, for by that name it was still designated, greatly reinforced, was advancing under General Souham, who had now taken the command, with a view either to raise the siege of Burgos or to force the allies to an engagement under great disadvantages. The movements of Souham and Soult were nearly simultaneous, and formed part of the same plan which the latter general had adopted for the recovery of Madrid. On the 21st of October Lord Wellington received information that the whole of the French forces, under Soult, Suchet,

and Joseph Bonaparte, were fast approaching the passes, and threatened Gen. Hill. This intelligence determined his lordship to raise the siege of Burgos, to recall General Hill from Madrid, and to retreat in the direction of Valladolid. It is difficult to describe the feelings of the British people when they learnt that the Spanish capital was again in possession of the enemy, and that the siege of Burgos had been raised by an army which had been so lately broken and almost dispersed by the besiegers.

During the retreat, the British army displayed, under its illustrious leader, its wonted steadiness and bravery; and although closely pressed at different points by very superior numbers, the enemy was kept in check, and the best order preserved. In the course of the retreat, the French endeavoured to turn the flanks of the retiring army at various points; the main body of Souham's force, advancing to Toro and the Jacama, threatened its left, while Soult marched to Avila, in hopes of turning the right. Lord Wellington immediately put his whole force in motion and retired to Salamanca, where he hoped to be able to establish himself, but the united forces of the enemy were too numerous and powerful, and he was obliged to evacuate this city and continue his retreat. In the movements from Salamanca to Ciudad Rodrigo, Sir Edward Paget, a brave and able officer, to whom the command of the centre column was confided, unfortunately missed his way in the dark, and fell into the hands of the enemy. The allies in the mean time continued their retreat, with very little loss or inconvenience, except from the wretched state of the roads, till they reached the Portuguese frontier. Here they were distributed into extensive cantonments; and as the season of the year, and the state of the roads, no longer admitted of military movements, the conquerors of Salamanca were allowed to enjoy the repose necessary to recruit their exhausted strength, and to prepare them for the toils of another campaign, which was to be scarcely more glorious in its progress, but much more decisive and happy in its results.

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CHAPTER XVII.

BRITISH HISTORY: *Meeting of Parliament—Establishment of the Royal Household—Negotiations for an extended Administration—The Prince Regent invested with the unrestricted Powers of the Sovereign—Mr. Perceval retained in his Situation as Prime Minister—Alarm occasioned by the Murders in the Metropolis—Inquiry instituted into the Policy and Operation of the Orders in Council—Assassination of Mr. Perceval—Trial and Execution of Bellingham the Assassin—Sketch of the Life and Character of Mr. Perceval—Motion of Mr. Stuart Wortley for an Address to the Prince Regent, beseeching his Royal Highness to appoint a strong and efficient Administration—Carried by a Majority of four—Negotiations for a New Ministry consequent thereon—Failure of the Negotiations, and Continuance of the existing Administration in Office under certain Changes and Modifications—List of the Administration as constituted in June, 1812—Revocation of the Orders in Council—Finances—Motion in favour of the Catholics—New Toleration Act—Dissolution of Parliament—Overtures for Peace made by France—Political Relations between Great Britain and America—Captain Henry's Mission—War declared by the United States against England—Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Suppression of the Commotions in the Manufacturing Districts of England, popularly styled "Luddism."*

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THE year 1812, by re-uniting all the prerogatives of the crown in the person of the prince regent, may be considered as the actual commencement of a new reign, while the ministerial negotiations by which this period was distinguished, put to the test the strength of the different political parties, and demonstrated the existence of a preponderating mass of power on the part of the executive, which, when brought into exercise, reduces them all to comparative insignificance. The parliament was convened at an early period, as well on account of the important concerns of the country in general, as for the purpose of delegating to his royal highness the prince regent, the full powers of government, which had, during the preceding year, limited him in the exercise of the royal prerogative. Both houses met accordingly on the 7th of January, when a speech was delivered by the lord chancellor, in the name of the prince regent. The speech, after lamenting the disappointment of the hopes so confidently entertained of his majesty's speedy recovery, congratulated parliament on the skill and valour displayed by the British army in the peninsula of Spain and Portugal, as well as upon the extinction of the colonial power of the enemy in the east; and concluded with an assurance on the part of his royal highness, that he would continue to employ all such means of conciliation for adjusting the existing differences between Great Britain and America, as might be consistent with the honour and dignity of his majesty's crown.

The state of the king's health was the first object that engaged the attention of parliament,

after the usual address on the speech had been passed. Two reports by the queen's council on this melancholy subject, the first dated the 5th of October, 1811, and the second, the 5th of January, 1812, were laid before parliament; and committees were appointed by both houses to examine his majesty's physicians. These inquiries proved the improbability of the king's complete and final restoration to health, although the physicians, with one exception, concurred in declaring that they did not entirely despair. The history of this most afflictive case was altogether singular: during the early stages of his majesty's illness, the most sanguine hopes were cherished; the king was visited by his family; he took exercise in the open air; the bulletins, for a short time, were discontinued; and his subjects, with that feeling of loyalty which his numerous virtues inspired, rejoiced in the prospect presented by these favourable appearances. A marked change, however, took place about the beginning of July, 1811, and although, from that period downwards, his majesty had been able at intervals to converse with his medical attendants, yet the symptoms of his illness gradually became more discouraging, until, in the beginning of the present year, they had assumed such an aspect as almost to close the door of hope against his complete restoration to mental health.

At a very early period of the session, Mr. Perceval came forward with a plan for the arrangement of his majesty's household, which seemed neither to imply confident hope nor absolute despair of his recovery. Parliament, he

said, had last year made full provision for supplying the exercise of the royal authority; and as the law now stood, all the prerogatives, as well as all the duties of the sovereign, would, on the 18th of February, devolve on the prince regent; and as the civil list would of course at that time be transferred to his royal highness, it became necessary to make some provision for the personal comfort and dignity of the king. His majesty's civil list he considered as the proper fund for such a provision; and as separate establishments for the regent and the king would now be necessary, he had to propose that an addition of £70,000 per annum should be made to the civil list, out of the consolidated fund. He then proceeded to state, that as the lord steward and lord chamberlain had duties to perform immediately connected with the royal functions, it would be necessary that these officers should be placed round the person of the regent; and that, in their room, the first gentleman of the bed-chamber should be substituted as the chief officer of the king's household, with the vice-chancellor as his deputy; that four lords and as many grooms of the bed-chamber, a master of the robes, and seven or eight equerries, together with his majesty's private secretary, should form the new officers of the proposed establishment, which of course must be placed under the controul of the queen, to whom the care of his majesty's person must continue to be intrusted. The annual expense of this establishment was estimated at a hundred thousand pounds, and this sum it was proposed to take from the civil list, with a reservation that any deficiency should be drawn from the treasury, and that any surplus should go in aid of the public supplies. In the circumstances in which the queen was placed, it was judged proper to add ten thousand a year to her income. It was further proposed, that all pensions and allowances which the king was accustomed to grant to the objects of his bounty, were to be paid as formerly out of the privy purse; that the expenses incurred for medical assistance should be paid out of the revenue of the duchy of Lancaster; and lastly, that a commission of three persons should be appointed, one of them to be a master in chancery, and the other two to be named by the queen and the prince regent, for the management of the king's private property. In virtue of this arrangement, one hundred thousand pounds were to be appropriated to the king's household, together with sixty thousand pounds, the amount of the king's privy purse, and ten thousand pounds to the queen, making an aggregate sum of £170,000 a year. To meet these charges, the prince regent consented to give up his exche-

quer income of fifty thousand a year, which, with the seventy thousand pounds voted by parliament, would leave a deficiency of fifty thousand pounds; but this sum, it was judged, might be dispensed with, as the prince had not so large a family as his royal father. To this plan it was objected, that it was involved in unnecessary perplexity; and that, by establishing two courts, one for the prince regent, and another for the queen, a great unnecessary expense was incurred, and a dangerous and conflicting influence created. These objections were not thought of sufficient weight to influence the decision of parliament, and the plan proposed by Mr. Perceval ultimately passed both branches of the legislature, along with a cotemporary bill, by which the sum of a hundred thousand pounds was voted to the prince regent to meet the expenses which his royal highness had incurred, or might yet incur, on his assumption of the royal authority. In addition to the ample provision made for the royal household, the liberality of parliament was this year called forth in favour of the Princesses Augusta, Elizabeth, Mary, and Sophia, to each of whom a grant of nine thousand per annum was made, exclusive of four thousand per annum, granted to each of the princesses from the civil list, in the 18th and 39th years of his majesty's reign. The princesses had hitherto lived in family with their royal parents, but the melancholy circumstances which had recently occurred, placed them in the same condition as if the demise of the crown had actually taken place, and it became necessary therefore to make a suitable provision for the establishment of these august females.

The near approach of the period when the restrictions upon the royal authority, as exercised by the prince regent, expired, awakened in the minds of the political parties into which the country is divided, a deep and general interest; and their expectations, their hopes, and their fears, were respectively predominant, according to the light in which they viewed the conduct of the royal personage by whom the question that had so long hung in suspense was to be decided. When the prince first resolved to continue Mr. Perceval in his office as prime minister, he considered himself as acting solely as his father's representative, and expressly declared, that an impulse of public duty alone dictated that decision.* These motives were not only expressly laid open to Mr. Perceval, but every opportunity seemed, in the early period of the regency, to be taken, to prove to that gentleman and his colleagues, that their services were merely tolerated, and that the attachments of the prince towards his own political and personal friends.

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* See Vol. II. Chap. XII. p. 160.

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remained unaltered. Only a few months, however, elapsed, before it became manifest that the dislike of the prince had gradually passed to endurance; and long before the period arrived for the removal of the restrictions, it began to be conjectured that this feeling had given place to something approaching to interest and attachment. The evidence of this fact was displayed in the month of February, when the prince took a decisive step, such as left little doubt in the minds of cool and impartial persons, that he wished for no material change in the policy of his government, and that his wish for a change of men to administer public affairs, was by no means ardent.

On the 13th of February, when the restrictions were on the eve of their termination, the prince regent addressed a letter to the Duke of York, in which, after stating the motives by which his mind had been influenced, while he considered himself in the situation of the representative of his royal father, he adds, "A new era is now arrived, and I cannot but reflect with satisfaction on the events which have distinguished the short period of my restricted regency. Instead of suffering in the loss of any of her possessions, by the gigantic force which has been employed against them, Great Britain has added most important acquisitions to her empire. The national faith has been preserved inviolate towards our allies; and if character is strength, as applied to a nation, the increased and increasing reputation of his majesty's arms will shew to the nations of the continent how much they may still achieve when animated by a glorious spirit of resistance to a foreign yoke. In the critical situation of the war in the peninsula, I shall be most anxious to avoid any measure which can lead my allies to suppose that I mean to depart from the present system. Perseverance alone can achieve the great object in question; and I cannot withhold my approbation from those who have honourably distinguished themselves in the support of it. I have no predilections to indulge—no resentments to gratify—no objects to attain, but such as are common to the whole empire. If such is the leading principle of my conduct—and I can appeal to the past in evidence of what the future will be—I flatter myself I shall meet with the support of parliament, and of a candid and enlightened nation." This letter concludes with the expression of a wish on the part of his royal highness, that some of those persons with whom the early habits of his public life were formed, would strengthen his hands, and constitute a part of his government. Two days after the date of this letter, Lords Grey and Grenville, to whom the Duke of York had, in compliance with the request of the prince regent, communicated his sentiments, addressed

a reply to his royal highness, in which they confined themselves to those passages in the prince's letter which they supposed to have a more immediate reference to themselves: in this reply they beg leave most earnestly to assure his royal highness, that no sacrifices, except those of honour and duty, would appear to them too great to be made, for the purpose of healing the divisions of the country, and uniting both its government and its people. All personal exclusions are entirely disclaimed; they rest solely on public measures; and it is on this ground alone that they express the impossibility of uniting with the present government. Twice before they had acted on this impression; the reasons then given still existed, and were strengthened by the increased dangers of the times; nor had there, down to the moment of writing this letter, appeared even an approximation towards such an agreement of opinion on the public interests, as could alone form a basis for the honourable union of parties previously opposed to each other. Into a detail of these differences they expressed an unwillingness to enter; they embraced, however, almost all the leading features of the present policy of the empire; but, on the affairs of Ireland, so far were they from concurring in the sentiments of his majesty's ministers, that they entertained opinions directly opposite, and were firmly persuaded of the absolute necessity of a total change of the present system of government in that country, and of the immediate repeal of those civil disabilities under which so large a proportion of his majesty's subjects still labour, on account of their religious opinions.

This answer, which was the only one which could be expected from statesmen who had, on former occasions, repeatedly declined to sacrifice their honour and consistency, to the acquirement of the patronage and emoluments of office, was decisive, and proved the utter hopelessness of all attempts to accomplish a fair and honourable union between Lords Grey and Grenville and the present ministers. The regent, in offering to include some of his former friends in the ministerial arrangements, had evidently been prompted by considerations of consistency rather than of inclination; and by the result of this negotiation, Mr. Perceval was fixed more firmly than before in his office of prime minister. The ministry, as it was at present constituted, consisted of two parties, at the head of one of which was Mr. Perceval, and at the head of the other the Marquis Wellesley. The differences between these statesmen were partly personal and partly political; the high and aspiring views of the Marquis Wellesley would not permit him to serve under Mr. Perceval, though he had no objections to serve with him, or to serve under

either Earl Moira or Lord Holland;* and when it appeared, at the expiration of the restrictions, that the prince regent intended to continue Mr. Perceval at the head of his councils, the marquis resigned the seals of his office into the hands of his royal highness. The Marquis Wellesley, in assigning the reasons for this step, expressed a conviction, founded on experience, that the cabinet, as then constituted, neither possessed ability nor knowledge to devise a good plan, nor temper and discernment to adopt it; but his principal objection arose from the narrow and imperfect scale on which the efforts on the peninsula were conducted.* On the subject of the catholic claims, against the concession of which Mr. Perceval was decidedly opposed, the Marquis Wellesley declared, that, in his judgment, an intermediary principle should be adopted, equally exempt from the extreme of instant, unqualified concession, and of peremptory, eternal exclusion.* On the resignation of this minister, the seals of the foreign department were put into the hands of the Earl of Liverpool, *pro tempore*; but Lord Castlereagh was afterwards appointed to that department; and the earl continued in his station of secretary of state for war and the colonies.

These negotiations and arrangements, which engrossed so large a share of the public attention, were thought by Lord Boringdon to demand the intervention of parliament; and on the 19th of March, that nobleman submitted to the house of lords a motion for an address to the prince regent, beseeching his royal highness to form an efficient administration. This motion, which was stren-

uously opposed by his majesty's ministers, called forth the whole strength of the upper house of parliament, and, on a division of that assembly, there appeared for the motion, seventy-two; and against it, one hundred and sixty-five voices.

Although the first year of the regency had been eminently distinguished by the success of the British arms abroad, yet at home great distress and dissatisfaction prevailed; in various parts of the country, disturbances of a very alarming nature burst forth; and in the metropolis, events occurred during the winter of 1811, which aroused the alarm and apprehension of the inhabitants in a most extraordinary degree. Although offences against property have increased in this country in full proportion to the growth, wealth, and luxury of the people, it is to the honour of the national character that crimes of aggravated cruelty and enormity have been but little known among us; and when the solitary malignity of a wretch, whose name will in future be classed with those of the monsters who have outraged humanity, exterminated two families of innocent and unoffending beings, the metropolis was in a ferment; the character of the British nation, it was said, was entirely changed; assassination was charged upon us as a national crime; our houses were no longer our castles; and we were considered as unsafe in our beds.† The nature and extent of the evils by which society was assailed were for some time unknown, and as no one could imagine that any single human being, however deep his depravity, could require so much blood to satiate his appetite, it was generally supposed that these horrid

* Statement of the Marquis Wellesley.

† The family of Mr. Timothy Marr, silk-mercier, No. 29, Ratcliffe-Highway, consisting of himself, his wife, an infant son, fourteen weeks old, and an apprentice boy, were all found murdered, between twelve and one o'clock on Sunday morning, the 8th of December, 1811. On entering the house, the horrid spectacle presented itself of James Gohen, the apprentice, lying on his face in the shop, with his brains dashed out, and part of them actually covering the ceiling. On further search, Mrs. Marr was found lying on the floor, near the street door, and Mr. Marr behind the counter, in the shop, both weltering in their blood, from mortal wounds in the head; and the child in the cradle, finding, in its innocence and infancy, no protection from the barbarous hands of the assassin, had its throat cut from ear to ear. Plunder was no doubt the object of the ruthless murderer; but the unexpected return of the servant maid, who had been dispatched, about twelve o'clock at night, on some little domestic errand, created an alarm, and obliged him to decamp without his booty. On the 19th of the same month, another family was murdered in Gravel-Lane, only two streets distant from the house of Mr. Marr, and with circumstances which led to the suspicion that the bloody intent was formed in the same sanguinary mind, and executed by the same relentless hand. The scene of this second series of murders was the King's Arms public-house, and the victims were Mr. and Mrs. Williamson, the keepers of that house, and their servant maid. A lodger, roused by the cries of murder, let himself out of a two pair of stairs window by the sheets of his bed, and alarmed the neighbourhood. On the outer door being forced open, the mistress of the house, and the maid servant, were found lying one upon the other, by the kitchen fire, quite dead, with their throats cut from ear to ear; and on continuing the search, Mr. Williamson was found in the cellar, a lifeless corpse, with one of his legs broken, and his head nearly severed from his body. The murderer, unfortunately, had escaped.

But the retributive finger of Providence speedily pointed to the person of John Williams, *alias* Murphy, a sailor, who had, for some months, lodged at a neighbouring public house; and the evidence of the guilt of this wretch was every day accumulating, when, on the 27th of December, he terminated an existence which had become intolerable, by hanging himself with his neck-handkerchief, in his cell in the Cold-Bath-Fields prison. The coroner's inquest assembled on this occasion, returned a verdict of *felo de se*, and the body of the assassin and suicide was committed to the earth with every possible mark of ignominy, while his memory was consigned to universal execration.

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murders formed part of a system, the object of which no one could fathom, and to the extent of which the human mind, always prone to magnify danger, could fix no limits.

Some radical defect, it was supposed, must exist in the system of police, which exposed the inhabitants of the first city in the empire to such dangers, and many persons, in the moment of panic, seemed disposed to surrender their liberties, with a view to secure the protection of their persons. Under such impressions, a cry was raised for the establishment of an armed police; but the rashness of this proposal was soon detected, and the principal measure resorted to by government on this occasion was the establishment of a more efficient nightly watch than had hitherto existed in London.

The bill for improving the police of the metropolis was succeeded by a motion for an inquiry into the state of the nation. This motion, which was made by Sir Thomas Turton, and involved the whole system of government, foreign and domestic, was chiefly remarkable for the exhibition it afforded of the strength of the parties in parliament, and a majority of seventy voices in favour of ministers, who resisted the proposed investigation, sufficiently proved, that under the powerful influence of royal favour, they were able to maintain their stand in the face of the opposition of their rivals, and the secession of their colleagues.

But the subject which occupied the attention of parliament most closely during the present session, and which, in the existing state of the country, was of the highest importance, was an inquiry into the policy and operations of the orders in council,* not so much as they regarded other countries, but as they affected the interests of the manufacturing and commercial classes in our own. There were several points at issue between those who maintained that the British orders in council ought to be repealed, and those who held an opposite opinion; they differed respecting the nature, extent, and causes of the distresses which prevailed in the manufacturing districts, and respecting the manner in which those distresses might be most effectually removed. The evil was so manifest, that its existence could not be denied; but the advocates for the orders in council insisted, that it had been greatly exaggerated; that similar distresses had prevailed at former periods; that, in fact, the present state of things necessarily resulted from the unusual fluctuations in trade, and that its removal was probably not far distant. However that might be, they held, that the repeal of the orders in council would not remove or greatly diminish the distress, and that it was unfair to

hold out such an idea, since it excited expectations which certainly could not be realised.

Notwithstanding this reasoning, the belief that the orders in council were the principal causes of the decay in trade, and of the consequent distresses both among the merchants, the manufacturers, and the labouring classes, was very strongly prevalent. Petitions were poured into the house of commons from all the principal manufacturing districts in the kingdom, and from those sea-ports which chiefly depended for their commerce on the intercourse with America; and the petitioners begged for permission to be allowed to establish their case by evidence before parliament. They asserted, that if the prayer of their petitions were complied with, they could prove that unparalleled distresses prevailed throughout the most populous parts of Great Britain, and that these distresses had been gradually increasing ever since the promulgation of the orders in council, till they had at length become intolerable. This subject was brought before parliament in the house of lords by the Marquis of Lansdowne, and in the commons by Mr. Brougham, who both, with distinguished force of eloquence, pressed for the appointment of a committee, to take into consideration the present state of the commerce and manufactures of the country, particularly with reference to the orders in council, and the trade by licenses. But the inquiry was resisted by ministers, and their adherents, in both houses of parliament, and the motions were rejected by considerable majorities. The petitioners, feeling the urgency of the case, still persevered; the distresses and agitations in the country increased and extended themselves; and dissatisfaction spread among many descriptions of persons, who had been remarkable for their peaceful and contented demeanour. Still, however, it is probable, that Mr. Perceval would have continued firm in his determination, not to appoint a committee, nor to hear evidence, had not many of the members of the house of commons, who usually supported his measures, and who possessed great weight in the house and in the nation, expressly declared, that they thought a committee ought to be appointed, and that, as the petitioners were so numerous and so urgent, it would have the appearance of slighting their distresses, if they were denied the opportunity of proving their allegations. At length ministers gave a reluctant consent to the appointment of a committee, and to the hearing of evidence. On the 29th of April the evidence began, but on the 11th of May the progress of the investigation was interrupted, and the whole nation thrown into the utmost consternation and

* See Vol. II. Chap. IV. page 53.

horror, by the atrocious assassination of the prime minister.

On Monday, the 11th of May, at half past five o'clock in the afternoon, Mr. Perceval was entering the lobby of the house of commons, when a person, who had some time before taken his station in the recess of the door-way, drew out a small pocket pistol, and shot him in the lower part of the left breast. Mr. Perceval, on receiving the shot, merely moved forward a few steps, and as he was in the act of falling, a gentleman stepped forwards, and caught him in his arms. The only word that escaped his lips after receiving the shot was, "murder," or "murdered," uttered in a low, faint, and nearly inarticulate voice. A surgeon was immediately sent for, but the ball entered the heart, and before the return of the messenger Mr. Perceval had breathed his last. Amidst the general horror and dismay no attempt was made for some time to secure the assassin; but when a spectator at last exclaimed, "Where is the villain who fired?" a person, who had remained unobserved, stepped forward, and coolly said, "I am the unfortunate man." The prisoner, who had made no attempt to escape, was seized by General Gascoigne, and conveyed to the bar of the house of commons. An immediate examination took place in the house of commons, before several of the members who were in the commission of the peace, and the assassin himself, when questioned on the subject, said—"My name is John Bellingham—it is a private injury—I know what I have done—it was a denial of justice on the part of government." Being cautioned not to criminate himself, he added—"I have admitted the fact—I do admit it—I have been ill-treated—they all know who I am, and what I am, through the secretary of state and Mr. Beckett, with whom I have had frequent communications—they knew of my intention six weeks ago, through the Bow-Street magistrates—I have sought redress in vain—I am an unfortunate man, and feel here," pointing to his heart, "sufficient justification of the act I have committed." At the conclusion of the examination the prisoner was committed to the prison-room of the house of commons, and at one o'clock in the morning, conveyed, under an escort of dragoons, to Newgate. An opinion instantly became prevalent that the murder of Mr. Perceval was the first act of a deep and extensive conspiracy, and the departure of the post was delayed till dispatches could be made out, and instructions prepared, for the civil and military authorities in the different parts of the kingdom, particularly in the disturbed counties.

It was desirable, in a case of this nature, that no unnecessary time should be lost between the commission of the crime and the infliction of

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the punishment awarded by the law against the delinquent; but it was equally desirable that the purposes of substantial justice should be answered, and that the decorum and solemnity of a judicial process should be preserved. These observations are suggested by the precipitancy of the proceedings instituted against Bellingham. The deed was committed on Monday evening; the prisoner was tried and convicted on the Friday following; and his friends, who resided at Liverpool, not being aware that the trial would take place so soon, had not time to repair to London, to appear in his behalf. Of the fact of the murder the evidence was too clear to admit of any doubt, but the sanity of the prisoner was involved in a high degree of uncertainty, and the presence of his friends seemed indispensable, to shew whether the assassin could, by a fair and liberal construction, be considered as a moral agent. On his trial, he conducted himself with great coolness and self-possession: he displayed a mind not wanting in quick perception, but apt to draw erroneous conclusions; he discovered intellectual powers which could discern all the tendencies of human action, and estimate its several qualities; bewildered, however, by passion, and stimulated to the confines of madness, by an acute sense of supposed injury, he considered himself as the judge of his own actions, and claimed the right to avenge his own wrongs; he seemed fully and deeply impressed with the idea that the act he had committed was perfectly justifiable; that his acquittal was certain; and that his conduct would be approved by the nation. His defence was remarkable for its acuteness: he stated that he had been engaged in extensive mercantile concerns in Russia; that, by the tyranny and oppression of that government, he had been stripped of nearly all his property, and thrown into prison; that he had applied repeatedly, but unsuccessfully, to Lord Granville Leveson Gower, the British ambassador at St. Petersburg, for redress. In consequence of this he had returned to England, where he had laid the hardship and injustice of his case before his majesty's ministers, but they also had refused to do any thing in his behalf. He then formed his resolution: this resolution he had communicated to the officers at Bow-Street, and they had transmitted it to the treasury; but instead of obtaining redress, he was told, he might do his worst; and he had obeyed these instructions. Towards Mr. Perceval he had no antipathy or ill-will. He was sorry—as sorry as any of the friends of that gentleman could be, for his fate; but he was convinced that much public good would result from it, and that ministers would be taught, by the lesson he had given them, to pay more attention to the just claims of individuals. He

concluded by expressing his firm persuasion that it was impossible to convict him of the crime of wilful murder, unless it were proved that he had malice prepenſe towards the unfortunate gentleman for whose death he was then on his trial, and towards whom he utterly denied all personal ill-will. At the cloſe of this ſingular defence his council wiſhed to put in a plea of insanity; but this the priſoner rejected, declaring, that he acted from a well-defined motive; that reflection, inſtead of creating compunction and remorse for the deed which he had done, only tended to convince him of the propriety of his conduct, and to conſole him under its conſequences; and that he ſhould prefer a thouſand deaths to the injuries and indignities he had experienced. After a ſuitable charge from Mr. Juſtice Manſfield, the jury retired, and on their return into court pronounced the fatal verdict of guilty. On the Monday following the execution of Bellingham took place—juſt one week after the perpetration of the deed for which the malefactor ſuffered; and in the brief interval, his behaviour had been compoſed and tranquil. To the laſt he laboured under the deluſion that the murder he had committed was juſtifiable, and the moment before he was led from his cell to

the ſcaffold, he ſolemnly declared, in answer to the inquiries of the lord mayor and ſheriffs of London, that he had no accomplices.

The aſſaſſination of Mr. Perceval has no parallel in the annals of Britiſh hiſtory; neither the murder of the Duke of Buckingham by Felton, in the reign of Charles I. nor the attempt on the life of the chancellor of the exchequer, Harley, by Guiscard, a Frenchman, in the reign of Queen Anne, were ſimilar caſes. In both inſtances the aſſaſſins believed they had been injured by the objects of their vengeance, while it was proved in this inſtance that the claims of Bellingham had never been ſubmitted to his victim. The day after the aſſaſſination of Mr. Perceval, a meſſage was ſent down to parliament by the prince regent, expreſſing the wiſh of his royal highneſs that a ſuitable provision ſhould be made for the family of the deceased premier. A grant of two thouſand a year was accordingly made to Mrs. Perceval, and the ſum of fifty thouſand pounds voted by the liberality of parliament to her twelve children. It was afterwards propoſed that the annuity of Mrs. Perceval ſhould, at her demise, deſcend to her eldeſt ſon, and this alteration in the original propoſition was ſanctioned by the legiſlature.*

* **THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SPENCER PERCEVAL.**—The biography of this elevated ſtateſman lies within very narrow limits. Mr. Perceval was the ſecond ſon of John, the late Earl of Egmont, by Catharine Compton, ſiſter of Spencer, Earl of Northampton, from whom he took his christian name. His mother was, in the year 1770, created a peeress of Ireland in her own right, with the title of Baroness Arden; and dying in 1784, ſhe was ſucceeded by her eldeſt ſon, Charles George, who, in July 1808, was raiſed to the peerage of England. Mr. Perceval, after having paſſed the uſual time at ſchool, was entered of Trinity College, Cambridge, where he formed ſome of the moſt valuable connections of his future life. As ſoon as he had completed his collegiate ſtudies, he entered himſelf a member of Lincoln's Inn, and purſued the ſtudy of the law as a profeſſion. He was remarkable for cloſe and regular application—aware that eminence is not to be obtained without induſtry and perſeverance, and in theſe he ſtudied to excel. On the death of his uncle, in 1796, a vacancy was created in the borough of Northampton, which place introduced Mr. Perceval to parliamentary life. He immediately gave his ſupport to Mr. Pitt, and purſued the ſame line of politics, regularly and conſiſtently, through the whole of his parliamentary career. In 1801, at the formation of the Addington adminiſtration, Mr. Perceval, then in his 30th year, was appointed ſolicitor-general; and in 1802, he was promoted to the ſituation of attorney-general, on the elevation of Edward Law, now Lord Ellenborough, to the chief-juſtiſhip of the court of king's bench; and the only *ex officio* proſecution worthy of notice, inſtituted by Mr. Perceval in his character of attorney-general, was that againſt M. Peltier, the editor of a French journal, printed in London, for a libel inciting to the aſſaſſination of Bonaparte. He firſt came forward after the death of Mr. Pitt as a public ſpeaker on the ſide of oppoſition, and in this character he was animated, without aſperity; earneſt, without oſtentation; and attached to his party, without an indiſcriminate contention with his adverſaries. When the Fox adminiſtration quitted office, in the early part of the year 1807, Mr. Perceval was appointed chancellor of the exchequer; and, on the death of the Duke of Portland, he became the oſtenſible, as he had for ſome time before been the real, prime miniſter. The ſituation of the country was at this period difficult and embarrassing, and the direction of the ſtate veſſel required great talents, exerciſed with uncommon delicacy, as well as a due degree of vigour and deciſion. The talents of Mr. Perceval were not of the firſt order; but his ready elocution and unwearied induſtry compensated in ſome degree for any deficiency in the brilliancy of his genius. The deciſion of his mind ſometimes aſſumed the character of obſtinacy; and he ſeemed to have imbibed a principle, which a prime miniſter ſhould never admit into his thoughts—that a meaſure once openly avowed, ought on no account ever to be abandoned. He was the decided and avowed enemy to thoſe conceſſions to the catholics, which many ſtateſmen, with as much wiſdom, and greater talents, have regarded as eſſential to the ſafety of the ſtate. To his unyielding temper, the American war, in which the country was plunged, ſoon after his death, has been imputed. As a public ſpeaker, he roſe much in reputation after he had become miniſter; and in domeſtic life, few men were more amiable or more deſervedly reſpected. He fell, as has been already ſtated, by the hand of an aſſaſſin, in the 50th year of his age, and his warmeſt political opponents vied with his friends and ſupporters in the encomiums pronounced in the ſenate on his mild and engaging manners, and his inflexible political integrity.

On the death of Mr. Perceval, which deprived the ministry of its ostensible head, it was deemed impossible, even by ministers themselves, to conduct the affairs of the nation without an accession of strength. The connection which had hitherto subsisted between the members of Mr. Perceval's administration, and the Marquis Wellesley and Mr. Canning, with the general coincidence of their public principles, induced them in the first instance to direct their attention to those statesmen. But it soon became manifest that the object of Lord Liverpool, to whom the negotiation was confided, was not to introduce the Marquis Wellesley and Mr. Canning on equal terms into office, but to assign to them and to their friends subordinate situations. To such a proposal only one answer could be returned, and, as might have been foreseen, the negotiation entirely failed.

In consequence of the general disappointment arising from the failure of this attempt to strengthen the existing government, Mr. Stuart Wortley brought the subject before the house of commons on the 21st of May, and moved an address to the prince regent, praying him to take such measures as would enable his royal highness, under the present circumstances of the country, to form a strong and efficient administration. This motion, which was seconded by Lord Milton, was carried by a majority of one hundred and seventy-four to one hundred and seventy voices, and on the presentation of the address, by the mover and seconder, the prince assured them that he should take into his serious and immediate consideration, the address which he had received from the house of commons.

The Marquis Wellesley was now employed, not actually to form an administration, but to sound the expectations and principles of the leading statesmen who might be called to a situation in the cabinet. The principles upon which the administration was intended to be formed were stated to be,

"First, That the state of the laws affecting the roman catholics, and the claims of that body of his majesty's subjects, should be taken into immediate consideration, with a view to a conciliatory adjustment of those claims. Secondly, That the war in the peninsula should be prosecuted on a scale of adequate vigour."*

The marquis was no sooner vested with this commission than he addressed himself personally to Lords Grey and Grenville, and through the medium of Mr. Canning to Lord Liverpool; from the two former noblemen, he ascertained that their sentiments on the catholic question,

and on the conduct of the war in Spain, were sufficiently accordant with his own to admit of a cordial union and co-operation; but Lord Liverpool replied to the overture, that himself and his colleagues should decline to become members of an administration formed by Marquis Wellesley.† At the close of this preliminary correspondence, full powers were received by the marquis; and on the 1st of June, his lordship declared to Lords Grey and Grenville, that it was the pleasure of the regent that he, the Marquis Wellesley, should be first commissioner of the treasury, and that Lord Moira, Lord Erskine, and Mr. Canning, should be members of the cabinet. As the cabinet was to consist of twelve or thirteen members, the regent wished Lords Grey and Grenville to mention four persons, if of twelve, and five, if of thirteen, to become members, and the Marquis Wellesley was commanded to fill up the vacant situation from among his majesty's ministers, or such other persons as he might think proper.‡ To this novel mode of nominating an administration, Lords Grey and Grenville objected, that the proposal was founded on a principle of disunion and jealousy, the tendency of which, in their opinion, would be to establish, within the cabinet itself, a system of counteraction, which must necessarily defeat the very object which the house of commons recommended—the formation of a strong and efficient government. Such an administration, they added, could neither possess the confidence of the nation, nor act with that decision and unanimity which were absolutely necessary to secure its welfare;§ and upon this point the negotiation with the Marquis Wellesley closed.

The next agent employed by the prince regent in this delicate and embarrassing business was the Earl Moira; and his lordship, in an interview with Lords Grey and Grenville, on the 6th of June, stated, that the prince regent did not mean to lay them under any restrictions or limitations whatever; that such measures as they might conceive to be for the public advantage, they might pursue; and that not only were there to be no restrictions or limitations with respect to the measures of government, but the arrangement of the whole administration was committed entirely to Lord Moira and Lords Grey and Grenville. On further explanation, however, it appeared, that this unlimited power did not extend to the officers of the prince's household, though his royal highness expressed

* Communication made by the Marquis Wellesley to Lords Grey and Grenville, May 24.

† Lord Liverpool's Letter to Mr. Canning, dated May 23d.

‡ Communication from the Marquis Wellesley to Lords Grey and Grenville, dated June 1.

§ Letter from Lords Grey and Grenville to the Marquis Wellesley, dated June 2.

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his readiness, if it were for the good of the nation, to consent to their removal; yet so impressed was Lord Moira with the magnanimity of this resolution, that when it was communicated to him by the prince, he declared, "that he should not part with one of them." Lords Grey and Grenville assured Lord Moira, that in adverting to this subject they were actuated solely by a sense of public duty: they considered that every administration should possess the character of efficacy and stability, and enjoy those marks of confidence, and that constitutional support from the crown, without which it was impossible to act usefully to the public service; hence they were convinced, that on the first arrangement of any administration, the connection of the great offices of the court should be clearly established. On this point, the conversation broke up; and two days afterwards the Earl of Liverpool stated in the house of lords, that his royal highness the prince regent had been pleased that day to appoint him prime minister, and that the vacant offices would be filled up as soon as possible. Speedily after this announcement the vacancies were supplied, and the new ministry, thus constituted, consisted principally of the members of the late cabinet.*

In the midst of all this political fermentation, the inquiry regarding the policy and influence of the orders in council was proceeding in both houses of parliament with little interruption: and in the prosecution of this inquiry, it was proved, that in all the manufacturing districts in the kingdom, an unusual degree of poverty and misery prevailed among the labouring classes; that their wages were in many places little more than one half the regular sum; that not nearly so many were employed at this low rate of wages as formerly; and that, were it not for the subscriptions that had been set on

foot in these districts, the numerous instances of wretchedness and misery pointed out in the evidence, would have existed to a still more alarming magnitude. It was attempted to be shown that this misery arose principally from the high price of all kinds of provisions, and the other necessities of life: but in answer to this supposition it was satisfactorily proved, that in the years 1800 and 1801, when the necessities of life were equally dear, the distress was not nearly so great and extensive, because work was then more plentiful. With respect to the master manufacturers, these might be divided into two classes: the first, comprehending those whose capitals were very large, and who consequently could bear the pressure of the times with comparatively little suffering, though even of this class, there were many who had nearly their whole capital locked up in goods for which they could obtain no demand; and in order to keep their work-people from absolute starvation, they were continuing to manufacture, notwithstanding they had no prospect of a market. With respect to the second class, namely, those whose capitals were trifling, many of them had sunk into the rank of labourers; numbers were plunged into a state of insolvency; and others had been obliged to dispose of their stock at a very inadequate price, in order to keep themselves and their families from the parish.

The circumstance of the misery of the manufacturing districts being thus established, the next inquiry was, to what cause was the decline of trade to be attributed? On this point also the evidence was full and satisfactory. America was the market which took off a large portion of their goods; while this market was open and free, trade was brisk, wages were high and steady, manufactures flourished, and the labouring classes could main-

* LIST OF THE ADMINISTRATION, FORMED IN JUNE, 1812.

CABINET MINISTERS.

Earl of Harrowby	Lord President of the Council.
Lord Eldon	Lord High Chancellor.
Earl of Westmoreland	Lord Privy Seal.
Earl of Liverpool	First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister.)
Rt. Hon. Nicholas Vansittart	Chancellor and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer.
Lord Viscount Melville	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Earl Mulgrave	Master-General of the Ordnance.
Lord Viscount Sidmouth	Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Lord Viscount Castlereagh	Secretary for Foreign Affairs.
Earl Bathurst	Secretary for the Department of War and Colonies.
Earl of Buckinghamshire	President of the Board of Control for the Affairs in India.
Marquis Camden	

NOT OF THE CABINET.

Earl of Clancarty	President of the Board of Trade.
The Hon. F. Robinson	Vice-President of the Board of Trade.
Rt. Hon. George Rose	Treasurer of the Navy.
Lord Palmerston	Secretary at War.
Lord C. Somerset	Joint Pay-Masters-General of the Forces.
Right Hon. C. Long	
Earl of Chichester	Joint Post-Masters-General.
Earl of Sandwich	
Richard Wharton, Esq.	Secretaries of the Treasury.
Sir Charles Arbuthnot, Knt.	
Sir William Grant	Master of the Rolls.
Sir Thomas Plumer	Attorney-General.
Sir W. Garrow	Solicitor-General.

PERSONS OF THE MINISTRY IN IRELAND.

Duke of Richmond	Lord Lieutenant.	Right Hon. Robert Peel	Chief Secretary.
Lord Manners	Lord High Chancellor.	Right Hon. W. Fitzgerald	Chancellor of the Exchequer.

tain themselves and their families in a decent and comfortable manner; but when that market was suspended or closed, as at present, the reverse took place. The nature of the evil suggested the remedy; and the petitioners had the authority of the American government, frequently expressed in public documents, for declaring, that if the British orders in council were rescinded, the ports and markets of the United States would be opened to British ships and British merchandise.

Those who advocated the cause of the orders in council, on the contrary, maintained, that other causes of dispute existed between the British and the American governments; and that such was the attachment and partiality of America to France, and such her hostile spirit towards Britain, that it was absurd to expect that she would be satisfied with the repeal of the orders in council; so that, by revoking those edicts, we should, without benefiting our own trade, deprive ourselves of an engine which had greatly annoyed the enemy. Ministers, however, being no longer directed and animated by the unbending spirit of Mr. Perceval, consented to the repeal of the orders in council, and on the 23d of June a declaration from the prince regent appeared in the London Gazette, absolutely and unequivocally revoking these orders as far as they regarded American vessels;* with this proviso, that if, after the notification of this repeal by the British minister in America, the government of the United States should not revoke their interdictory acts against British

commerce, that revocation on our part should be null and void. But the determination to repeal the orders in council had already been deferred too long, and it afterwards appeared, that five days before the document announcing their repeal appeared in the London Gazette, the government of the United States of America had declared war against Great Britain.

The office of chancellor of the exchequer had now devolved upon Mr. Vansittart, and on the 17th of June, that gentleman, rising in his place in the house of commons, declared, that it was impossible to perform the duty which it had fallen to his lot to discharge, without sensations unusually painful, from the recollection of the singular situation in which he was placed. Considering in whose place he stood, whose papers he held in his hands, and whose plans he was about to state to the house, he felt rather that he was executing the last official duties of his lamented friend than the first act of his own. Happy should he have thought himself if he could, at the close of this day, have resigned those papers into the hands that had formed them, but happier still if he could inherit the talents and virtues of their author, and close a life of public service with the same testimonies of public approbation and equal consciousness of unblemished integrity.†

The whole amount of the charges to be provided by the supplies, he stated at £62,376,348, from which £7,025,700 was to be deducted for Ireland, leaving a total to be provided for by Great Britain for the year 1812, of £55,350,648!

* This act of revocation was grounded upon a certain instrument, purporting to be a decree passed by the French government, on the 28th of April, 1811, and transmitted to his majesty's government for the first time on the 20th of May, 1812, by which the decrees of Berlin and Milan are declared to be definitively repealed, and from the date of the first of November next, considered as never having taken place (*non avenues*) with regard to American vessels.

† FINANCES.

PUBLIC INCOME of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1812.

Branches of Revenue.	Gross Receipts.			Paid into the Exchequer		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Customs	9,676,009	4	7½	7,835,235	5	6½
Excise	20,617,266	8	0	19,003,970	16	5½
Stamps	5,396,882	11	5½	5,291,224	9	10½
Land & Assessed Taxes	7,399,442	1	0½	7,280,919	4	8½
Post-Office	1,709,869	1	9½	1,478,505	3	1½
Miscel. Permanent Tax	91,159	14	9½	96,998	17	2½
Harb. Revenue	119,761	5	0½	127,436	7	6
Extraord. Resources						
{ Customs	5,015,723	2	4½	2,653,919	0	10
{ Excise	6,545,953	1	0	6,484,961	19	7½
{ Property Tax	13,234,896	13	1½	13,451,986	4	8½
Miscel. Income	3,310,664	3	10½	3,288,050	11	10½
Loans, including £4,500,000 for the service of Ireland	16,636,375	3	9	16,636,375	3	9
Grand Total—	£87,749,963	9	9	£83,609,583	5	2

Whitchall, Treasury Chambers,
25th of March, 1812. (Signed) RICH. WHARTON.

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1812.

Heads of Expenditure.	Sums.		
	£.	s.	d.
Interest	22,100,845	1	0½
Charge of Management	228,349	16	0½
Reduction of National Debt	12,502,860	0	11½
Interest on Exchequer Bills	1,556,785	0	5½
Civil List	1,472,403	11	9½
Civil Government of Scotland	109,693	6	1
Payments in anticipation, &c.	596,649	6	1
Navy	19,540,678	14	10
Ordnance	4,537,509	8	6
Army	13,753,163	0	0
Extraordinary Services	10,116,196	0	0
Loans to Sicily, Portugal, and Spain, including £4,432,202 16s. 3d. to Ireland	7,410,039	15	3
Miscellaneous Services	1,962,636	8	2½
Deductions for Sums forming no part of the Expenditure of Great Britain	95,907,659	8	5½
Grand Total—	£91,418,196	10	0½

Whitchall, Treasury Chambers,
25th of March, 1812. (Signed) RICH. WHARTON.

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This sum certainly was an enormous, he might even say, a terrible extent of charge; but, he had the consolation to reflect that, great as it was, the resources of the country were still equal to support it; and by an enumeration of the ways and means, he produced a result of £55,390,460, including a loan made on the preceding day, for £13,650,000. In the course of the present year, a former loan had been obtained to the amount of £6,789,625, which added to the loan as stated above, and to the exchequer bills funded in 1812, created an annual interest of £1,905,924, which was to be provided for by new taxes. For this purpose the chancellor of the exchequer proposed to discontinue the bounty on the exportation of printed goods; to double the duty on tanned hides and skins; to double also the duty on glass; to add one tenth to the existing duty on tobacco; to subject all property offered to sale by auction to the auction duty, under certain modifications; to make an addition of one penny to the postage of all letters carried more than twenty miles; and to increase the assessed taxes on male servants, carriages, horses, dogs, and game certificates. The aggregate annual product of which taxes he estimated at £1,903,000. Of the taxes proposed by Mr. Vansittart, that principally opposed in parliament was the increased duty on leather, but this opposition, though very strong, was unavailing, and the entire budget received the sanction of parliament.

Notwithstanding the repeated failure of the attempts made in parliament to procure for the catholics of this realm an equal participation in the rights and immunities of their fellow-subjects, the advocates of the catholic cause, probably imputing the opposition to circumstances supposed now no longer to exist, resolved not to give up the contest, but to appeal again to the legislature, under more auspicious circumstances. In pursuance of this line of policy, Mr. Canning rose in the house of commons on the 22d of June to propose a motion on this subject. The honourable gentleman assumed as a general rule, 1. That citizens of the same state, living under the same government, are entitled *prima facie* to equal political rights and privileges. 2. That it is at all times desirable to create and maintain the most perfect identity of interest and feeling among all the members of the same community. 3. That where there exists in any community a general permanent cause of public discontent, which agitates men's minds without having any tendency to subside of itself, it becomes the duty of the supreme power in the state to determine in what mode this discontent

may most advantageously be removed. Upon each of these several heads Mr. Canning enlarged with his accustomed force and eloquence, and concluded by moving, "That the house will, early in the next session of parliament, take into its most serious consideration the state of the laws affecting his majesty's roman catholic subjects in Great Britain and Ireland, with a view to such a final and conciliatory adjustment as may be conducive to the peace and strength of the united kingdom; to the stability of the protestant establishment; and to the general satisfaction and concord of all classes of his majesty's subjects." This motion, which was supported by Lord Castlereagh, was carried by the decisive majority of two hundred and thirty five to one hundred and six voices.

A similar motion made in the house of lords, by the Marquis Wellesley, on the 1st of July, displayed an extraordinary balance of opinion in that assembly, where it was supported by one hundred and twenty-five, and opposed by one hundred and twenty-six voices. On this occasion, ministers and their usual supporters were ranged indiscriminately on opposite sides of the house; of the royal dukes, two voted on one side, and three on the other; and even the bench of bishops was divided, though less equally, three of them voting for, and fifteen against the pledge to consider the subject.

During the discussion on the bill brought into parliament by Lord Sidmouth, in the course of the last session, "to explain and amend the act of toleration," it was stated that different constructions had been put upon that act, at the quarter sessions, and that in some instances the justices had assumed to themselves a right to withhold licences from persons wishing to become preachers. In order to remove all ambiguity on the subject of licences, and to extend and secure the privileges of the dissenters, a bill was introduced into parliament by Lord Castlereagh on the 10th of July, by which it was proposed to repeal the intolerant statutes, known by the designation of the conventicle and five-mile acts,* and to make it obligatory upon preachers, when required to take the oath and declaration, set forth in the 19th of George III. cap. 44; and upon justices of the peace, to administer such oath and to take such declaration when applied to for that purpose. Meetings for worship, in which the persons assembled did not exceed twenty, above the family of the occupier of the house, were, by this bill, exempt from all restrictions, but other places of religious worship were required to be registered at the quarter sessions, and held with open doors; and persons disturbing such assemblies were made liable

* 22d Car. II. c. 1.—17th Car. II. c. 2.

to a heavy penalty. Although this bill did not recognize the great principle of the dissenters—That the civil magistrate has no right to interfere in matters purely religious; yet as an act of toleration, it was more complete than any legislative measure ever passed in this country; and to the honour of the British senate, the bill advanced through all its stages in both houses of parliament, and passed into a law, not without observation, but without opposition.

In the month of April, at the time when the French Emperor was meditating a war against Russia, and when that war was on the eve of its commencement, overtures for peace with England were made by the government of France, and a correspondence took place upon the subject, which terminated unsuccessfully, after the interchange of a single dispatch between the foreign ministers of the two governments. No notice of this correspondence was taken in parliament before the 17th of July, on which day, Lord Holland requested to know from the premier whether ministers were in possession of any further information respecting the overture made by the French government than what had been published in the foreign journals? and whether it was the intention of the executive government to take the subject into their consideration?

Lord Liverpool had no hesitation in admitting that the correspondence alluded to, as published in the Paris papers, was substantially correct. With respect to the answer returned to the French minister, he was persuaded that there were few in this country who would not agree, that if the acknowledgment of Joseph Bonaparte as King of Spain were made a necessary preliminary basis by the French govern-

ment, no negotiation could be entered into; it had therefore been thought requisite to call for an explicit declaration on that head in the first instance; and as no communication in reply had been received from the French minister, there the matter was suffered to drop.*

The long session of 1812 now drew to a close, and on the 30th of July, parliament was prorogued by a speech delivered in the name of the prince regent by commission. Ministers at the time of the prorogation of parliament appeared in full possession of all the usual influence of government, and the regent's terminating speech expressed full satisfaction in the measures which had been adopted by that assembly; but this parliament was not to meet again, and on the 29th of September, a proclamation was issued by the prince regent announcing its dissolution. The remainder of the year was occupied with all the bustle of a general election; but the shortness of the notice, combined with the circumstances of the times, served to abridge the usual proportion of contests. As far as the sentiments of the people could be collected from the returns of the representatives to parliament, the cause of opposition had gained no ground by the events of the year. In the metropolis, and the towns of Bristol and Liverpool, the candidates in that interest sustained a defeat, and their success in some other places was not sufficient to counter-balance these losses. In Liverpool, the contest was not only extremely keen, but attended by circumstances of peculiar interest. The candidates were Mr. Brougham and Mr. Creevy, on one side; and Mr. Canning and General Gascoigne, on the other. Mr. Brougham, a young man of

* This correspondence commenced on the 17th of April, and the following was the basis proposed by the French government:—"That the integrity of Spain shall be guaranteed. France shall renounce all idea of extending her dominion beyond the Pyrenees. The present dynasty shall be declared independent, and Spain shall be governed by a national constitution of her cortes. The independence and integrity of Portugal shall be also guaranteed; and the house of Braganza shall have the sovereign authority. The kingdom of Naples shall remain in possession of the present monarch; and the kingdom of Sicily shall be guaranteed to the present family of Sicily. As a consequence of these stipulations, Spain, Portugal, and Sicily, shall be evacuated by the French and English land and naval forces. With respect to other objects of discussion, they may be negotiated upon this basis—that each power shall retain that of which the other could not deprive him by war."—*Letter from the Duke of Bassano to Lord Castlereagh.*

The reply of the English government was dated on the 23d of April, and as a preliminary to negotiation, inquired what precise meaning was attached by the French government to the following passage:—"The actual dynasty shall be declared independent, and Spain governed by the national constitution of the cortes?" "If," says the answer, "the meaning of this proposition is, that the royal authority of Spain and the government established by the cortes shall be recognized as residing in the brother of the head of the French government, and the cortes formed under his authority, and not in the legitimate sovereign, Ferdinand VII. and his heirs, and the extraordinary assembly of the cortes now invested with the power of the government in that kingdom, in his name, and by his authority; the obligations of good faith do not permit his Royal Highness, the Prince Regent of England, to receive a proposition for peace founded on such a basis. But if the expression cited above apply to the actual government of Spain, which exercises the sovereign authority in the name of Ferdinand VII. upon an assurance to that effect from the French government, the prince regent will feel himself disposed to enter into a full explanation upon the basis which has been transmitted in order to be taken into consideration by his royal highness."—*Lord Castlereagh's Answer to the Duke of Bassano.*

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first rate talents, had distinguished himself by the active, zealous, and successful part, which he took against the orders in council; and to his exertions the country was chiefly indebted for their repeal; and as Liverpool had suffered extremely by the suspension of the commercial intercourse with America, Mr. Brougham was very popular in that place. Mr. Canning, however, had the decided support of the government party; and though the contest was well maintained, that interest ultimately prevailed. Indeed the friends of Mr. Brougham attempted too much; they aspired to the return of two representatives, and failing in that purpose, they lost both their candidates.

The relations subsisting between Great Britain and the United States of America had for many years exhibited a singular aspect: the nations were not indeed in a state of open war, but the conflict of opposite pretensions, the angry discussion of many intricate questions of international law, the charges and recriminations which had for a number of years formed the only subject of their diplomatic intercourse, had diffused over both countries a spirit of distrust and animosity, which seemed likely to find in war alone its natural gratification. In Great Britain an idea prevailed, and seemed in a considerable degree to influence the ministry, that America had displayed a very unjustifiable spirit of hostility towards this country, while she had manifested a decided leaning and partiality towards the interests and views of France; this opinion appeared to justify those who were decidedly for war with the United States, in giving currency to their hostile feelings. But another circumstance also operated towards the same end: a war with America, it was argued, would be not only just but of short continuance, and would exhibit a scene of uninterrupted and splendid successes on our part, and of defeat and disgrace on theirs. The Americans, on the other hand, were galled and irritated by the attacks made on their commerce; by the right of search, as claimed and exercised by England, not always on the best grounds, or in the least offensive manner; and by the impressment and detention of their seamen; and to these motives for war was probably added the hope of conquering Canada, and of enriching themselves by the capture of our merchant ships.

As no doubt could be entertained that in the event of a war between the two countries Canada would be attacked, Sir James Craig,

the governor of that province, very judiciously took every measure which he thought could be effectual or conducive to its protection and defence. Had he confined himself to this line of conduct alone, no blame could have been imputed to him; but he thought himself justified in sending a person, of the name of Henry, into the United States on a very ambiguous and reprehensible errand. This man was seized by the American government, who obtained possession of his instructions, as well as copies of the communications which he had made to Sir James Craig; and according to the statements submitted to congress, the object of Captain Henry was to ingratiate himself with the federal party; to ascertain its strength, its wishes, and its views, in the different states; and more particularly to encourage, with the promise of British assistance, any design they might be disposed to form for a separation of the states. This conduct on the part of Great Britain, originating in one of her highest authorities in North America, the president, in a message to the senate, represented as a flagrant breach of public faith, committed at a time when Great Britain and America were employed in discussions of amity and reconciliation. When the subject of the mission of Captain Henry was brought before the British parliament, ministers refused to produce the correspondence and papers connected with these mysterious transactions, nor did they give a very clear and satisfactory account of the business. They denied, however, that Captain Henry was accredited by them, or that they were acquainted with the intention of Sir James Craig to employ him. Notwithstanding this disavowal, the British government had all the disgrace of having acted contrary to the law of nations, and at the same time, the mortification to perceive that the American people were more closely united by this most injudicious and unjustifiable attempt to divide them.

Before the intelligence of the assassination of Mr. Perceval reached America, that government had determined on war with Great Britain; and early in the month of June, a message was sent to the senate and house of representatives, containing a recommendation to that effect. In this state paper, the president complains of the violation which the American flag had so repeatedly suffered from British vessels "on the great highway of nations;" of the practice of impressing American seamen;* of the violation of the American waters, and of the infraction of

* In a publication, issued by the authority of the American government, entitled, "An Exposition of the Causes and Character of the War with Great Britain," it is stated, that up to March, 1811, Great Britain had impressed from the crews of American vessels peaceably navigating the high seas, not less than six thousand mariners, who claimed to be citizens of the United States, and who were denied all opportunity of verifying their claims. And in the same publication it is added, that when war was declared, the orders in council had been maintained with inexorable hostility, until a thousand American vessels, with their cargoes, had been seized and confiscated under the operation of these edicts.

the fundamental principles of the law of nations, by the pretended 'blockades.' But all these causes of war are in the message held as subordinate to the orders in council, both in the injustice which they display, and in the injury which they inflict. These orders were, it is said, evidently framed so as best to suit the political views and the commercial jealousies of the British government; the consequences which would result from them to neutral nations were never taken into the account, or if contemplated or foreseen as highly prejudicial, that consideration had no weight in the minds of those by whom they were imposed. It was, indeed, attempted to justify them, by an appeal to similar measures adopted and carried into execution by France; as if America could be satisfied with the unjust and injurious conduct of one belligerent, by that belligerent proving that she had been treated in an equally unjust and injurious manner by the other. But, what was the fact? France, indeed, by her Berlin and Milan decrees, manifested her willingness and disposition to impede and injure neutral commerce, in order that she might thus cripple the trade of Great Britain; but these decrees were almost a dead letter; British superiority at sea prevented them from being acted upon in any effective or permanent manner; it was therefore absurd to attempt to justify the mischief which actually flowed on America from the orders in council, by appealing to decrees which, while Britain remained mistress of the sea, were utterly without effect. The British government was surprised and indignant that America viewed the conduct of France more coolly than the conduct of England; not recollecting that edicts executed against millions of American property, could not be a retaliation on edicts comparatively impossible to be executed. Besides, this plea of retaliation was untenable, when viewed in another light: to be just, retaliation should fall on the party setting the guilty example, and not on the innocent party; which, moreover, could not be charged with an acquiescence in the injustice practised by France.

This message, which was dated the 1st of June, was, on the 18th of the same month, succeeded by an act of congress, containing a formal declaration of war against Great Britain. Five days after this declaration of war, the orders in council were rescinded by the British government; but the arrival of this intelligence in America did not appear in the slightest degree to restore a pacific disposition on the part of that government. The orders in council, she said, had not been repealed because they were unjust in their principle and highly detrimental

in their effects on neutral commerce; on the contrary, the motive of their repeal was obviously selfish, and had no reference to the rights of neutral nations. America, to protect herself, and to avenge her wrongs, had prohibited all commercial intercourse with Great Britain; the latter power, thus deprived of her best customer, had no longer a sufficient and regular market for her manufactures and colonial produce; her merchants and her manufacturers were nearly ruined; distress, discontent, and poverty, spread over her territory; complaints and petitions poured in from all quarters; and the orders in council were repealed, not to render justice to America, but to rescue a large portion of the British people from absolute starvation. It was, however, stated, that if the revocation of the orders in council had taken place sufficiently early to have been communicated to the United States before they had actually declared war, the repeal of these decrees against neutral commerce would have arrested the resort to arms; and that one cause of the war being removed, the other essential cause—the practice of impressment, would have been the subject of renewed negotiation. But the declaration of war having announced the practice of impressment as one of the principal causes, peace could only be the result of an express abandonment of that practice.*

Such are the causes of war, as stated in the official papers put forth by the government of America; but, in a declaration promulgated by the Prince Regent of England, some months after letters of marque and reprisals against America had been issued, it was stated, "that the real origin of the contest was to be found in that spirit which had long unhappily actuated the councils of the United States—their marked partiality in palliating and assisting the aggressive tyranny of France; their systematic endeavour to inflame the people against the defensive measures of Great Britain; their injurious conduct towards Spain, the immediate ally of Great Britain; and their unworthy desertion of the cause of other neutral nations." "It is through the prevalence of such councils," says the declaration, "that America has been associated in policy with France, and committed in war against Great Britain. And under what conduct on the part of France has the government of the United States thus lent itself to the enemy? The contemptuous violation of the commercial treaty of the year 1800, between France and the United States; the treacherous seizure of all American vessels and cargoes, in every harbour subject to the controul of the French arms; the tyrannical principles of the Berlin and Milan decrees, and the confiscations under

* Exposition of the Causes and Character of the War with Great Britain.

BOOK IV. them; the subsequent condemnation under the Rambouillet decree, antedated or concealed to render it more effectual; the French commercial regulations, which rendered the traffic of the United States with France almost illusory; the burning of their merchant ships at sea, long after the alleged repeal of the French decrees—all these acts of violence on the part of France produced from the government of the United States only such complaints as end in acquiescence and submission; or are accompanied by suggestions for enabling France to give the semblance of legal form to her usurpations, by converting them into municipal regulations. This disposition of the government of the United States—this complete subserviency to the Ruler of France—this hostile temper towards Great Britain, are evident in almost every page of the official correspondence of the American with the French government, and form the real causes of the present war between America and Great Britain.*”

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Towards the close of the year 1811, a spirit of riot and insubordination had manifested itself in the county of Nottingham, which, in the course of the present year, extended to the counties of Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Lancashire, Cheshire, and Yorkshire, and, in some degree, pervaded all the manufacturing districts of England. The avowed and immediate object of the insurgents, who assumed the name of Luddites,† was the destruction of certain articles of machinery, the use of which had superseded or diminished manual labour, in the manufacture of the articles to which they were applied. These disturbances, which had now attracted the attention of parliament, and excited apprehensions of the most alarming nature, first manifested themselves by the destruction of a great number of newly-erected stocking-frames, by small parties of men, principally stocking-weavers, who assembled in various places round the town of Nottingham. The men engaged in the disturbances were at first principally those thrown out of employment by the use of the new machinery, or by their refusal to work at the rate of wages offered by the manufacturers, and they particularly sought the destruction of frames owned by those hosiers, or worked by those men who were willing to work at the lower rates. In consequence of the

resistance opposed to the outrages of the rioters, in the course of which one of their number was shot, on the 11th of November, at Bullwell, near Nottingham, they became still more violent, and the magistrates found it necessary to call in the assistance of a considerable armed force, which was promptly assembled, consisting, at first, principally of local militia and volunteer yeomanry, to whom were added about four hundred special constables. The terror of this force seemed for a time to allay the spirit of insubordination; but before the end of the month of November, the outrages were renewed, and assumed a more serious and systematic character. In several villages, the rioters not only destroyed the frames, but they levied contributions for subsistence, which rapidly increased their number, and enlarged their sphere of action.

A considerable regular military force was now sent to Nottingham, and in January, 1812, two of the most experienced police magistrates were dispatched from London to that place for the purpose of assisting the local authorities in their endeavours to restore tranquillity in the disturbed districts. The systematic combination with which the outrages were conducted, the terror which they inspired, and the disposition of many of the lower orders to favour, rather than to oppose them, made it very difficult to discover the offenders, or to obtain evidence to convict those who were apprehended. Some, however, were afterwards proceeded against at the spring assizes of 1812, at Nottingham, and seven persons, convicted of different offences connected with the riots, were sentenced to transportation. In the mean time, acts were passed by the legislature for establishing a police in the disturbed districts, upon the ancient system of watch and ward, and for making the destruction of stocking-frames a capital crime, punishable by death.

Early in the year, the spirit of riot and disturbance spread itself into Cheshire and Lancashire; at Tentwistle, in the former county, the cotton machinery in Mr. Rhodes's mill was totally destroyed; and at Stockport, the house of Mr. Goodwin was set on fire on the 14th of April, and his steam-looms destroyed. On the 20th of the same month, the manufactory of Messrs. Daniel Burton and sons, situated at

* Declaration of the Prince Regent, dated January 9th, 1813.

† Probably with a view of inspiring their adherents with confidence, the malcontents gave out that they were under the command of one leader, whom they designated by the fictitious name of Ned Ludd, or General Ludd, calling themselves *Ludds*, *Ludders*, or *Luddites*. There is no reason however to believe that there was in truth any one leader. In each district where the disaffection prevailed, the most aspiring man assumed the local superiority, and became the General Ludd of his own district.—*Preface to the Official Report of the Trials at York, in January, 1813.*

Middleton, six miles from Manchester, was attacked by a mob, consisting of several thousand persons, and although the rioters were repulsed, and four of their number killed by the military force assembled to protect the works, a second attack was made on the following day, when Mr. Emanuel Burton's dwelling-house was set on fire, and destroyed. About the same time riots took place in Manchester, of which the alleged cause was the high price of provisions. At West Houghton, near Bolton-le-moors, the rioters, taking advantage of the absence of the military, assailed the large manufactory of Messrs. Wroe and Duncuft, and after having forced the doors, and set fire to the mill and machinery, dispersed before the soldiers could be assembled.

Symptoms of the same lawless disposition appeared at Newcastle-under-line, Wigan, Warrington, and Eccles; and the contagion had spread to Carlisle, and into Yorkshire. In Nottinghamshire, the machinery obnoxious to the rioters was wide weaving frames; in Lancashire, looms wrought by steam; and in Yorkshire, gig-mills, or machinery used in the shearing of woollen-cloth—all inventions of modern date, and each of them calculated to supersede or diminish the demand for manual labour. In the immediate neighbourhood of Huddersfield, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, the destruction of dressing machines began early in February. In March, the machinery belonging to Mr. Francis Vickerman, in that neighbourhood, was destroyed. In April, the destruction of Bradley Mills was threatened; but the execution of these threats was frustrated by the presence of a military guard, to which the protection of that extensive concern was, for many months, confided. The inhabitants of Leeds had for some time been much alarmed by information that attacks were intended to be made on various places in that town and neighbourhood; and early in the month of January, an assemblage of insubordinate workmen, with their faces blacked, and armed with offensive weapons, took place. On the first night of their meeting, they were surprised by the vigilance of the magistrates, and prevented from committing any outrage; but on the 19th of that month, the gig-mill of Messrs. Oates, Wood, and Smithson, was wilfully set on fire, and considerable damage done to the building and machinery. This incendiary act was succeeded by a regular and systematic attack upon the mill of Messrs. Thompson and Brothers, at Rawden, in the same neighbourhood, on the night of the 23d of March, when the shears used in dressing the cloth were broken, and the machinery rendered useless. Previous to the attack the rioters seized and secured the watch;

and when the mischief, which occupied but a few minutes in the perpetration, was effected, they assembled on a neighbouring eminence, and called over the numbers by which each man was designated, and instantly dispersed. Only two nights after, a quantity of woollen-cloth, of the value of five hundred pounds, dressed by machinery, the property of Messrs. Dickinson and Co. was cut in shreds in their dressing-shops, at Leeds. At Horbury, near Wakefield, the mill of Mr. Foster was attacked by an armed body of men, supposed to consist of three hundred, who marched in regular sections to the assault, and destroyed the machinery, having previously secured two of the sons of the proprietor, by tying them together in their bedroom.

These outrages, which had hitherto been practised in the county of York almost with impunity, were at length doomed to receive a check: about midnight on Saturday, the 11th of April, an attack was made by a body of armed men, supposed to amount to about one hundred and fifty, upon the shearing-mill of Mr. William Cartwright, situated at Cleckheaton, at about an equal distance from Leeds, Huddersfield, and Halifax. The mill was defended with so much gallantry by Mr. Cartwright, the proprietor, assisted by two soldiers, and four of his work-people, that the assailants, after a number of desperate efforts, were completely repulsed, and two of their number left upon the field mortally wounded.

From this period, the insurgents determined upon a different course of conduct; they had found one of the mills invulnerable, and it was supposed that other proprietors, animated by the success of Mr. Cartwright, would in future defend their property; it was therefore determined no longer to attack the mills, but to strike at the life of the owners: in pursuance of this sanguinary resolution, Mr. William Horsfall, a respectable merchant and mill-owner at Marsden, in the neighbourhood of Huddersfield, was way-laid by four assassins, on Tuesday the 28th of April, on his return from the market, and mortally wounded by shots fired at him from behind a wall, in open day, on the public road. A reward of two thousand pounds was offered for the discovery of the murderers; but, although the fatal secret was known to many persons besides the parties concerned, such was the spirit of the times, that it was several months before the perpetrators of this atrocious crime were discovered. About the same time a shot was fired at Mr. Armitage, a magistrate in the neighbourhood of Huddersfield, which happily did not take effect; and Colonel Campbell, the commander of the Leeds district, was equally fortunate in escaping two shots,

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At Sheffield, the store-house of arms of the local militia was surprised in the month of May, and a large part of the arms broken and taken away; but this disturbance was followed by no further consequence, and seems to have been a popular ebullition arising from the high price of the necessaries of life. During the months of May and June, depredations of different kinds, and particularly the seizure of arms, continued to be nightly committed in the neighbourhood of Huddersfield and Halifax, where almost all the arms of the peaceable inhabitants were swept away by bands of robbers, who, availing themselves of the general panic, sallied forth nightly to raise contributions upon the public.

The causes alleged for these alarming proceedings were generally the want of employment for the working manufacturers—a want, however, which was the least felt in some of the places where the disorders were the most prevalent; another of the alleged causes was the application of machinery to supply the place of labour; and a third, the high price of provisions. An opinion also prevailed at the time, that the views of some of the persons engaged in these excesses extended to revolutionary measures, and contemplated the overthrow of the government; but this opinion seems to have been supported by no satisfactory evidence; and it is admitted on all hands, that the leaders of the riots, although possessed of considerable influence, were all of the labouring classes.

That societies existed for forwarding the objects of the disaffected was clearly manifest, all which societies were directed by a secret committee, which might be considered as the great mover of the whole machine; and it was established by the various information received from different parts of the country, that these societies were governed by their respective secret committees; that delegates and messengers were continually dispatched from place to place for the purpose of concerting plans and conveying information;* that an illegal oath of the most

atrocious kind was extensively administered;† and that secret signs were arranged, by which the persons engaged in these conspiracies were known to each other. The military organization, carried on by persons engaged in these societies, had also proceeded to an alarming length; in some parts of the country they assembled in large numbers, chiefly by night, upon heaths or commons, taking the usual precaution of paroles and counter-signs. The muster-rolls were called over by numbers, not by names; they were directed by leaders, sometimes in disguise; they placed sentries to give alarm at the approach of any person, whom they might suspect of an intention to interrupt or give information of their proceedings; and they dispersed instantly at the firing of a gun, or other signal agreed upon, and so dispersed as to avoid detection. In some instances, signals were made by rockets and blue lights, by which they communicated intelligence to the parties, and the whole system evinced an extraordinary degree of concert, secrecy, and organization. The collection of arms and ammunition, and the progress in discipline, as manifested in the attacks upon some of the mills, could not fail to produce in the country a great degree of alarm; and the system of intimidation produced by the oaths administered to the initiated; the destruction of property; and the threats held out against, and, in some cases, executed upon their opposers, greatly aggravated this alarm, and for a long time tended to baffle every effort made to bring the offenders to justice.

In consequence of the report of the secret committee appointed by parliament, from which the foregoing relation is principally drawn, government determined to adopt decisive and vigorous measures against the insurgents. A bill was immediately brought into the house of commons, which made it a capital offence to administer illegal oaths; and the power of the magistrates in the disturbed districts was considerably enlarged. These measures were strongly objected to by Mr. Whitbread, Sir Francis Burdett, and several other members,

* A small weekly contribution paid by every member of these combinations formed a fund, by which the delegates and messengers were wholly, or in part, supported, according to the nature and extent of their service. This fund there is reason to suppose was also applied to the support of the imprisoned Luddites; and its application in this way, combined with the nature of the oath, may in some degree account for the paucity of information collected from them while in prison, and even in the prospect of death. In fact, they made no disclosures. All their secrets, whether they related to the organization of their societies, the names of their leaders, or their depots of arms, died with them.

† Several copies of the oath were discovered, but the following appears to be the correct version:—

OATH—"I, A. B. of my own voluntary will, do declare, and solemnly swear, that I never will reveal to any person or persons under the canopy of heaven, the names of the persons who compose this secret committee, their proceedings, meeting, places of abode, dress, features, complexion, or any thing else that might lead to a discovery of the same, either by word, deed, or sign, under the penalty of being sent out of the world by the first brother who shall meet me, and my name and character blotted out of existence, and never to be remembered but with contempt and abhorrence; and I further now do swear, that I will use my best endeavours to punish by death any traitor or traitors, should any rise up among us, wherever I can find him or them, and though he should fly to the verge of nature, I will pursue him with unceasing vengeance. So help me God, and bless me to keep this my oath inviolable."

on the ground that the report of the secret committee had been entirely made up from documents and evidence which were by no means entitled to implicit belief; and which ought not to guide parliament when they were about to legislate for the purpose of curtailng the liberty of the subject and increasing the number of capital crimes, already much too great in the criminal code of this country. That at any rate, if such strong and severe measures as those proposed by ministers were to be resorted to, it would be but just that government should, at the same time, as much as lay in their power, remove the cause of the disturbances which they were about to punish; that their principal cause must be sought in the extension of taxation, and the destruction of commerce and manufactures; and that these, in their turn, originated in the foolish and wicked continuance of a war without object and without hopes, and in the profligate expenditure of the public money. These representations, however, had no effect; and it must be confessed, that when certain classes of the people, in any country, are so ill-advised as to have recourse to violence and force for the purpose of removing their real or imaginary grievances, it is the first and most imperious duty of government to protect the peaceable and well-disposed, and to restore public tranquillity by subduing the lawless. After order and tranquillity are restored, government have another duty to perform, equally imperious—the removal of every real and well-founded cause for complaint and dissatisfaction: and a government that with equal judgment and promptitude performs both these duties, will be at once respected and loved, and will best secure the well-being of the nation committed to its charge.

The exertions of the magistrates in Lancashire and Cheshire, had, early in May, filled the gaols of those counties with prisoners, charged with various offences; and in the interval between the spring and the summer assizes, special commissions were issued to try the offenders. These commissions were opened at Lancaster on the 23d of May, before Mr. Baron Thompson and Sir Simon Le Blanc; and at Chester on the 25th of the same month, before Mr. Justice

Dallas and Mr. Justice Burton. Under each of the commissions numerous convictions took place for every gradation of offence; and of the capital convicts, eight at Lancaster, and two at Chester, suffered the penalty of the law.

Although the excesses in the west-riding were checked by the executions in the neighbouring counties, and by the laws passed by parliament, yet no very important discoveries were made in the county of York, earlier than the month of July. At that time some commitments took place, and information was obtained, principally through the zeal, perseverance, and energy, of that intrepid magistrate, Joseph Radcliffe, Esq. of Milns-Bridge, near Huddersfield,* by which sixty-four persons, charged with offences connected with the disturbances in the west-riding, were, before the close of the year, apprehended and lodged in the castle at York. Government now determined to issue a special commission for the trial of these prisoners, which was directed to Mr. Baron Thompson, and Mr. Justice Le Blanc, who appointed the 2d of January for opening the assize. The trials exhibited a scene of moral turpitude, at which the mind shudders; of sixty-four prisoners, eighteen were capitally convicted;† of whom three, the murderers of Mr. Horsfall, were executed on Friday the 8th of January, and fourteen others on Saturday, the 16th of the same month, the sentence of the remaining capital convict being commuted to transportation for life. Six were convicted of administering, or of aiding in, and consenting to, the administration of unlawful oaths, and sentenced to be transported for seven years: seven others put upon their trials were acquitted: seventeen, against whom bills of indictment had been found for capital offences, were discharged on bail; and sixteen others by proclamation.

For some months before the special assize, the disturbances in Yorkshire, as well as in all the other manufacturing districts of the kingdom, had nearly subsided; and this tremendous example, made to the offended laws of the country, served to confirm and render permanent the public tranquillity.

* As a mark of the royal favour for the distinguished services rendered to the country at the period now under consideration, this gentleman was, in the course of the following year, created a baronet.

† Three for murder; five for the attack on Mr. Cartwright's mill; and the remainder for burglaries, committed ostensibly for the collection of arms, but really for the acquisition of plunder.

CHAPTER XVIII.

RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN : *Causes of the War—Austria and Prussia become Parties in the War against Russia—Preparations for Opening the Campaign—Bonaparte quits Paris to assume the Command of the French Army—Opening of the Campaign—Passage of the Niemen by the French—Retreat of the Russian Army, and Advance of the French to the Capital of Russian Poland—The French interpose between the First and Second Russian Armies—Concentration of the First Russian Army on the Dwina, under the Commander-in-chief, General Barclay de Tolly—Critical Situation of General Bagration—Advance of the French Army to the Dwina—The French possess themselves of Vitepsk—Defeat of Marshal Oudinot by Prince Wittgenstein on the Dwina—Junction of Prince Bagration with the First Russian Army—Advance of the Russians, under Admiral Tschichagoff, from the Danube into the Government of Minsk—Operations in the North—The Intention of Marshal Oudinot and General St. Cyr to penetrate to St. Petersburg defeated—Battle of Smolensk, and Advance of the French Army—Arrival of the French at Viasma—Command of the Russian Armies transferred from General Barclay de Tolly to Prince Kutusoff—Battle of Borodino—Entrance of the French into Moscow—Destruction of that magnificent City.*

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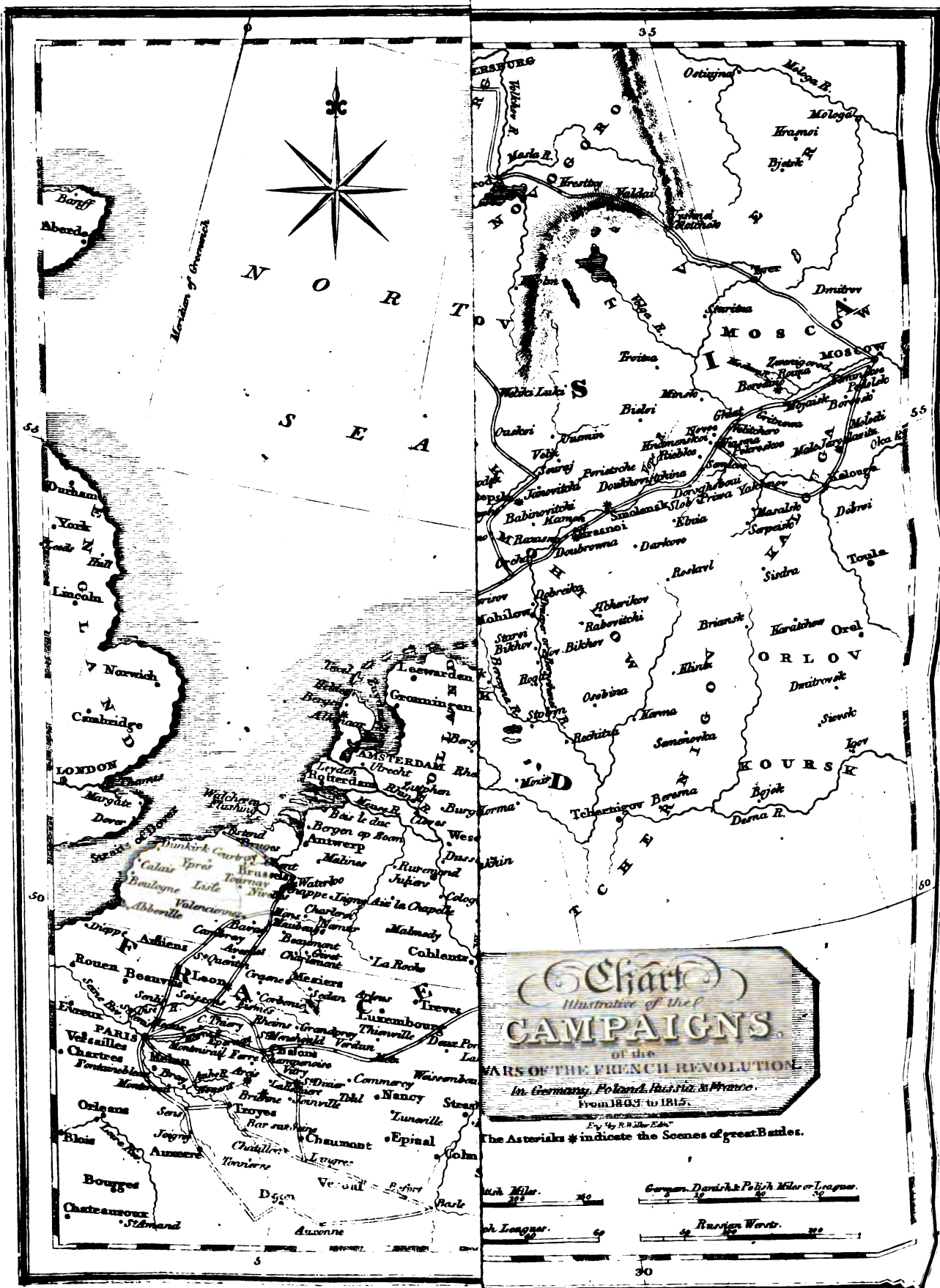
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THE campaign of the French in Russia will form one of the most interesting and extraordinary passages in history ; whether we consider the mighty interests which depended on its issue, the magnitude of the means employed, the singular and impressive events which marked its progress, or the momentous consequences that flowed in rapid succession from this prolific source. Here all the efforts of genius, discipline, and numbers, were rendered abortive. The army which, in the arrogance of the invader's calculation, was to lay the foundation of universal dominion, was itself annihilated ; the stupendous fabric of power and conquest raised by a life of adventurous and successful enterprise, was shaken ; and the enemies of the conqueror of Austerlitz and Friedland, gathering strength as they advanced, and animated by a succession of triumphs, were at length enabled to execute an awful retribution for all the humiliation they had experienced, and all the wrongs they had suffered.

The principal article of the treaty of Tilsit was that by which Russia bound herself to accede to the continental system, and to exclude from her ports all British manufactures and colonial produce.* On this article Bonaparte laid so much stress, that he was willing to purchase the acquiescence of Russia by foregoing all the advantages of his victory over her. Finding all direct efforts to subjugate Great Britain impracticable, he resolved on measures

for gradually exhausting her resources ; but while his edicts were limited in their operation to the states over which he exercised a direct controul, they were found to be in a great measure ineffectual. His plan therefore was to render them general throughout the continent ; to seduce or to compel all the nations of Europe to give them effect, and in this way to dissolve the commercial relations of Great Britain with continental Europe. The Emperor of Russia, not aware of the consequences of his engagements at Tilsit, had placed himself in a situation of great difficulty and embarrassment : if he attempted to fulfil the treaty so far as to interdict the trade between Great Britain and the Russian empire, he deprived his subjects of the best market for their produce, and roused his nobility against him—and the nobility in Russia, as in all despotic and semi-barbarous countries, are as frequently the masters as the subjects of their sovereign. A regard, therefore, to his own tranquillity and safety, as well as to the well-being of his subjects, prompted him to deviate from the continental system ; while, on the other hand, his apprehensions of the power of Bonaparte were so strong and well founded, that he determined upon a species of compromise ; and as he could not strictly prohibit British manufactures, for which the produce of Russia was exchanged, the Emperor issued an ukase on the 10th of December, 1810, forbidding the introduction of all British produce and manufactures

* See Vol. II. Chap. II. p. 28.



into his dominions, except by special license and in neutral ships. This partial prohibition was by no means satisfactory to Bonaparte: the slightest tendency to favour British commerce did not fail to rouse his indignation; and the natural irritability of his temper was whetted the more sharply against Russia, because she had bound herself by treaty to adhere to the "Continental System," and in consequence of this agreement, had experienced more favour from him in the other articles of the treaty of Tilsit, than she would otherwise have acquired, or indeed had, in her portentous situation, any right to expect.

But while Bonaparte was thus peremptory with Russia respecting the rigid fulfilment of the secret article of the treaty of Tilsit, he did not himself hesitate to violate its open and avowed stipulations. In contravention of this treaty,* he seized the dominions of the Duke of Oldenburg, the brother-in-law of the Emperor Alexander, and the ally of Russia; and with most insulting sophistry, attempted to justify this act of spoliation by representing it to be in conformity with the spirit of the treaty of Tilsit. The French minister, assuming the language of complaint, upbraided Russia with having abandoned the engagements to which she had pledged herself at Tilsit, and with violating that treaty, the principle of which she had solemnly espoused in her declaration of war against England:

"From the moment," says the French minister, "the ukase of the Russian government permitted the importation of British goods under neutral flags, the treaty of Tilsit was at end. Russia had broken her solemn engagements: she forgot what she owed to the clemency and magnanimity of the French Emperor, in not only not stripping her of part of her dominions, but in even permitting her to enlarge them by the annexation of Moldavia and Wallachia. Russia further discovered that she had abandoned the continental system by protesting against the occupation of the duchy of Oldenburg: that occupation was indispensable to the full execution of that system; but France, willing to pacify Russia, offered the Duke of Oldenburg an indemnity for his loss of territory; and that indemnity, by the advice of Russia, was refused. These events occurred in the course of the year 1810: in the subsequent year, the intentions of Russia were still more manifest: at the very time that she was dictating the terms of peace to the Turks, she was preparing for war against France: in the month of February, 1811, the Russian armies pressed so closely, and in such numbers, on the Vistula, that the army of the duchy of Warsaw was compelled to re-pass that river, and fall back on the confederation. At the very moment when the Russian armies were so powerful, and were collected in such a menacing posture and situation, all the French troops were within the Rhine, except a corps of forty thousand men stationed at Hamburg, for the defence of the coasts of the North Sea, and for the maintenance of tranquillity in the countries recently united; the reserved places in Prussia were occupied only by the allied troops: the garrison of Dantzic consisted of not more than four thousand men; and even

the troops of the duchy of Warsaw were on the peace establishment. His majesty, nevertheless, was even yet unwilling to suspect Russia of breaking her most solemn engagements, or to imagine that, after the experience she had had of the result of a contest with France, she would again hazard it, unprovoked and without cause: he therefore proposed an arrangement on the following terms:—

"In the first place, the existence of the duchy of Warsaw; this indeed was a condition of the treaty of Tilsit: secondly, the annexation of Oldenburg; this the war with England had rendered necessary; and this also, though not contained in the treaty of Tilsit, was conformable to its spirit: thirdly, that Russia should pass clear and positive laws respecting trade in English merchandise and denationalized vessels; these laws to be regulated by the spirit and terms of the treaty of Tilsit: lastly, the re-calling of the ukase of 1810, by which the mercantile relations of France and Russia were destroyed, and the ports of the latter opened to English produce.

"The offer of articles so moderate in themselves, and which would have been discussed and modified on the part of France with perfect sincerity and an anxious desire to be at peace with Russia, and to secure her interests, was received, not with the same spirit which dictated them, but with evidences of a hostile disposition. All new offers made to Russia were answered by her with fresh armaments; she refused to enter into explanation, to propose any terms, to state what were her grievances, or the object she had in view, till at length it became apparent that it was not her own commerce, but the commerce of England, she wished to protect and encourage; that she did not wish to secure the independence of Warsaw, but to seize it herself; and that it was not for the interests of the Duke of Oldenburg that she wished to interfere, but that it was an open quarrel with France that she wished to keep in reserve till the moment of the rupture for which she was preparing."

Very soon after the differences began between Napoleon and the Emperor Alexander, the former took such measures as he thought would either awe the emperor into submission, or secure victory and success in case of hostilities: he assembled large bodies of troops in the north of Germany; instead of evacuating Prussia, which he was bound to do, he kept possession of a great part of that kingdom, especially of those places which were most conveniently situated for an attack on Russian Poland; and he forcibly occupied Swedish Pomerania. To all these circumstances, the Russian ambassador alludes in his reply to the communication from the French minister of foreign affairs:—

"The preservation of Prussia and her independence," says the Russian minister, "from every political engagement hostile to Russia, are indispensable to the interests of his imperial majesty: it is impossible that peace between France and Russia should be permanent, that it should not be frequently interrupted or endangered, if there does not exist between them a neutral country; neutral in reality, and not merely in name, and capable of making its neutrality respected: it is therefore absolutely necessary that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from Prussia; till they are withdrawn Russia cannot consider herself safe, nor can she regard France as that sincere and

* See Vol. II. Chap. II. page 28.

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really which she always wishes to consider her. The Emperor Alexander is convinced that it is his real policy to be at peace with France; and he therefore is extremely solicitous to remove every cause of suspicion or quarrel: but this cannot be done, while, by the occupation of Prussia, the Russian frontiers are threatened by the French army. Under these impressions, therefore, the Russian ambassador declares, that the first basis of a negotiation must be a formal engagement, or a complete evacuation of the Prussian states, and of all the strong places in Prussia; a diminution of the garrison of Dantzic; the evacuation of Swedish Pomerania; and an arrangement with the King of Sweden, calculated to give mutual satisfaction to the crowns of France and Sweden:—If these terms are previously complied with, the Emperor Alexander engages not to adopt any change of the prohibitory measures established in Russia against direct trade with England; to agree with the French Emperor respecting a system of licenses, to be introduced into Russia in the same manner as in France, provided such system does not augment the deterioration already experienced by the trade of Russia; to modify the custom-house duties of the Russian empire, in such a manner as may be desired by France; and, finally, to conclude a treaty of exchange for the duchy of Oldenburg, and to withdraw the protest he was about to issue on the subject of the seizure of that duchy, and on the claims of his family to it."

No answer was made by France to this remonstrance. The die was now cast, and Napoleon was preparing to place himself at the head of his army; but before he quitted Paris, the usual annual exposition on the state of France was presented by the minister for foreign affairs. In this document the approaching war with Russia was avowed, and descanted upon with much formality. New charges against the Emperor Alexander were made, and it was asserted, that in the Austrian war of 1809, the Russian contingent of auxiliary troops had not been brought forward; Russia was bound by treaty to assist France with one hundred and fifty thousand troops; but so slow was she in her movements, and so inadequate in the force sent, to co-operate with her ally, that only fifteen thousand men came into the field, and by the time they had crossed the Russian frontier, the fate of the war was decided. This exposé was accompanied by copies of treaties which had been entered into by France with Austria and Prussia; by the former of which the Emperor Francis engaged to furnish thirty thousand men to France in her war with Russia; to guarantee the integrity of the Turkish territories in Europe; and to recognize the principles of the treaty of Utrecht, which sanctions the favourite doctrine of the French Emperor—that neutral bottoms make neutral goods, and that the flag covers and protects the merchandise, even though it be the property of a belligerent, provided it be not contraband of war. The treaty between France and Prussia was merely nominal; all the resources and troops of Prussia had long been at the disposal of France, and this treaty, which was defensive, contained no stipulation regard-

ing the force which either party should bring into the field.

Preparations had been made by Russia, so early as the spring of 1811, to meet the crisis which was so fast approaching. Two hundred thousand troops were concentrated in the western governments of the Russian empire; the manufacture of arms was encouraged; five hundred thousand muskets, and two thousand pieces of ordnance, were manufactured with unexampled rapidity; the cannon from the arsenals and in the interior was secretly dispatched towards the frontier; and the fortifications of the Dwina were every where strengthened and improved. At this period the Russian infantry of the line consisted of twenty-eight divisions, of six regiments each, and every regiment containing one thousand eight hundred men, forming a total of three hundred and two thousand four hundred; the cavalry consisted of seven divisions, of forty squadrons each, each squadron containing one hundred and forty-two effective men, so that the whole cavalry amounted to thirty-nine thousand seven hundred and sixty; besides these there were fifty thousand Cossacks; making an aggregate of three hundred and ninety-two thousand one hundred and sixty men. But of this number two divisions were employed against the Persians; five against the Turks; and two were stationed in Finland, as the system meant to be pursued by Sweden was not at that time ascertained. It follows, therefore, that the force which could have been brought to act against the French, nearly reached three hundred thousand men, exclusive of the militia. Such were the military preparations of Russia in 1811, and as the probability of war was continually increasing subsequent to that period, it is reasonable to infer, that her preparations and means were augmented when hostilities actually commenced.

Bonaparte had been more urgent and imperious in his demands than active in his preparations. In 1811, he had about sixty thousand men in Germany, including the garrisons of Stettin, Custrin, and Glogau; from the duchy of Warsaw he might have drawn about the same number; while the confederation of the Rhine, whose contingent was one hundred thousand, could not, at this time, have supplied more than half that number. By the spring of the following year, however, the French armies had been greatly augmented; the troops of the confederation had been raised to the stipulated quota, and the Kings of Saxony and Naples had been induced to embark in the great enterprise against Russia. The armies which Napoleon had thus assembled on the frontiers of Russian Poland, amounted, by a moderate computation, to three hundred thousand infantry, and sixty thousand

cavalry, in a state of the highest discipline and equipment, provided with fifteen hundred pieces of cannon, and commanded by the first military talents of the age.

The preparations made on each side corresponded to the magnitude of the interests embarked in the contest. The Russians were about to contend for the very existence and independence of their country; the French, on the other hand, were now to strike a blow which would, if successful, place the whole of continental Europe under their dominion. In numbers the combatants were not, at first, on a footing of equality; and in discipline, in science, and in organization, the French had a marked superiority. The whole of the military resources of a mighty empire, pre-eminent in civilization, yet devoted to war, were brought forth; every aid experience and skill could give in the application of these resources, was contributed; the accumulated means and varied talents which twenty years of successful war had created, were concentrated in this formidable host. The French legions were composed of soldiers grown old in victory, or the successors of those who had perished in the midst of triumphs; all animated by the lively enthusiasm so characteristic of their nation, and so natural to the circumstances in which the army was placed.

The Russians possessed other advantages for the approaching contest, which may seem almost to have over-balanced those of the enemy. They had been impelled into a state of warfare by the necessity of defending their country from a foreign yoke. They had indeed few distinguished generals, but they had many men of bold and vigorous minds, who required only the extraordinary combination of circumstances

which the enemy had hastened, to draw forth their talents. The science of war, it has been justly remarked, requires not the highest gifts, either of the head or of the heart; and barbarous nations, in general, possess a great deal more of that species of talent which qualifies a man for the conduct of a fierce and obstinate contest, than their more polished neighbours. The Russian soldiers, if they were less active than the French, were far more resolute and steady; if their onset was less impetuous and vigorous, they could sustain the conflict with more firmness and determination; if they had less discipline, they had more native courage; if they could not rally so fast, neither were they so soon thrown into disorder; if they had not, in the present instance, the hope of conquest to animate them, they had a sense of duty, the feelings of patriotism, and the sanction of religion, to confirm their native bravery.

On the 9th of May, Bonaparte left Paris, and on the 22d of June he arrived on the banks of the Niemen. The organization of the army was now fully completed, and placed under its respective commanders.† The Russian army at this time opposed to the French was composed of seven great corps.† The first, twenty thousand strong, occupied Rossiena and Keidanoui; the second, of the same force, guarded Kowno; the third, consisting of twenty-four thousand, was posted at New Troki; the fourth, corps was stationed in the country between New Troki and Lida; and these four corps, together with the guards, were designated by the name of the "First Army of the West." The "Second Army of the West" consisted of the 5th corps, amounting to forty thousand men; and of the 6th, consisting of eighteen thousand men; and

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† LIST

OF THE PRINCIPAL FRENCH COMMANDERS IN THE RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN OF 1812.

NAPOLÉON, Emperor of France.
 Jerome, King of Westphalia, Commander of the Advanced-Guard.
 Joachim Murat, King of Naples, Commander of all the Cavalry.
 Eugene Beauharnois, Viceroy of Italy, do. 4th Corps.
 Berthier, Prince of Neufchatel and of Wagram, Major-General.
 Davoust, Prince of Eckmühl, Commander of the 1st Corps.
 Oudinot, Duke of Reggio, do 2d
 Ney, Duke of Elchingen, do 3d
 Prince Poniatowski, do 5th
 Marshal Count St. Cyr, do 6th
 General Count Regnier, do 7th
 Junot, Duke of Abrantes, do 8th
 Victor, Duke of Belluno, do 9th
 MacDonald, Duke of Tarento, do 10th
 Prince Schwartzberg, do Austrian Auxiliary Corps.
 Bessières, Duke of Istria, do Cavalry of the Guard.
 Canincourt, Duke of Vicenza, General of Division, Grand Ecuyer.
 Duroc, Duke of Friuli, Gen. of Division, Grand-Marshal of the Palace.

Count Rapp, Gen. of Division, } Aides-de-Camp to the Emperor.
 Count Lauriston, do. }

&c. &c. &c.

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† LIST

OF THE PRINCIPAL RUSSIAN COMMANDERS IN THE CAMPAIGN OF 1812.

ALEXANDER, Emperor of Russia.
 Grand Duke Constantine.
 Prince Kutusoff, Commander-in-Chief.
 Barclay de Tolly, Commander-in-Chief before the arrival of Prince Kutusoff.
 Prince Wittgenstein, Commander of the 1st Corps.
 Bogawout, do 2d
 Schomouloff, do 3d
 Tutschkoff, do 4th
 Prince Bagration, do 5th
 Doctorow, do 6th
 Tormasow, do 7th
 Admirals Tschikakoff, Commander of the Army of the Danube.
 Platoff, Hetman of the Cossacks.
 Platoff, Son to the Hetman.
 Orlov Dennisow, General of the Advanced-Guard.
 Generals { Kamenski, }
 { Ertel, } Commanders in Volhynia.
 { Essen, }
 { Marcoff, }
 Count Rostopchin, Military Governor of Moscow.
 Milloradowitch, Commander-General of the Advanced-Guard of Prince Kutusoff.

&c. &c. &c.

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was encamped at Grodno, Lida, and in other parts of Wolhynia. General Marcoff organized in this province the 9th and 15th divisions, which formed the 7th corps, and which acted in the sequel under General Tormasow, against the duchy of Warsaw.

On taking the field, Napoleon, assuming a prophetic tone, issued the following proclamation at Wilkowsky, dated the 22d of June:—

"SOLDIERS!—The second Polish war is begun; the first terminated at Friedland and at Tilsit: at Tilsit, Russia vowed an eternal alliance to France, and war to England. She now breaks her vows, and refuses to give any explication of her strange conduct; let not the French eagles repossess the Rhine to leave our allies at her discretion.

"Russia is hurried away by a fatality! her destinies will be fulfilled. Does she think us degenerated? Are we no more the same soldiers who fought at Austerlitz? She places us between dishonour and war. Our choice cannot be difficult. Let us march across the Niemen! and carry the war into her country. This second Polish war will be as glorious for the French arms as the first has been; but the peace we shall conclude, will carry along with it its own guarantee, and will put a stop to the fatal influence which Russia, for fifty years past, has exercised in Europe."

On the 24th, the French army forced the passage of the Niemen at Kowno; and on the 25th, the Emperor Alexander issued from Wilna the following proclamation:—

"For a long time past we had remarked, on the part of the Emperor of the French, hostile proceedings towards Russia; but we had always hoped to avert them by conciliatory and pacific means. At length, experiencing a continued renewal of direct offences, in spite of our desire to maintain tranquillity, we have been obliged to complete and to assemble our armies. But even then, we still flattered ourselves to succeed in a reconciliation, by remaining on the frontiers of our empire, without violating the peace, and being prepared only for our defence. All these conciliatory and pacific means could not preserve the peace we desired. The Emperor of the French, by suddenly attacking our army at Kowno, has been the first to declare war. As nothing, therefore, can make him sensible of our desire to maintain peace, we have no choice but to oppose our forces to those of the enemy, invoking the aid of the Almighty, witness and defender of the truth. It is unnecessary for me to recall to the minds of the commanders, to the chiefs of the corps, and to the soldiers, their duty and their bravery; the blood of the gallant Sclavonians runs in their veins. Warriors! you defend your religion, your country, and your liberty! I am with you. God is against the aggressor.

(Signed)

"ALEXANDER."

The plan of defence which the Russians had decided upon was well adapted to the circumstances of the country, and the character of the army and of the people. A general battle, in the early stages of the campaign, was to be avoided, because the superior discipline and tactics of the enemy must, in such a conflict, have given him many advantages. His progress was, however, to be retarded by a bold resistance at all points where a stand could easily be made, without com-

mitting the armies in a general engagement. The country, so far as the invaders might be able to penetrate, was to be laid waste; every thing useful to the enemy was to be destroyed or removed; and a scene of desolation was to be presented on every side. Should the enemy, in such circumstances, dare to advance into the heart of the country, his difficulties would every day accumulate; and should he be desperate enough to linger in the interior till the approach of winter, his doom would be sealed.

The passage of the Niemen, and the capture of Kowno, though in themselves events of little moment, were attended with very important consequences. The Russians, in pursuance of the plan of the campaign which they had resolved to follow, had marked out their first line of defence on the banks of the Dwina, and it is not easy to discover the military policy which induced them to push forward a large portion of their troops to the margin of the Niemen. By this disposition of their forces, the Russian line became too much extended, and in many places so disadvantageously posted, that it was exposed to the attacks of the enemy without any prospect of presenting a successful resistance to his advance. Bonaparte, instantly perceiving the error that had been committed, penetrated into Russian Poland with so much rapidity as to cut off the communication between the first and second Russian armies, and hoped to consummate his success by his favourite manœuvre of attacking and defeating his enemies in detail. In the former part of his plan he was completely successful; but in the latter he was foiled and disappointed, by the steady and persevering resistance of the troops to which he was opposed.

As soon as the French troops had crossed the Niemen, they pushed forward with great rapidity to Wilna. On many accounts the occupation of this city was of the utmost consequence to Napoleon: the Emperor Alexander was still here; and though there was no chance of making so exalted a captive, yet the circumstance of Alexander flying before the French, served to give *éclat* to the commencement of the campaign; and the expectation might be entertained, that if he remained sufficiently long to witness the rapid advance and formidable numbers of the French army, he would be intimidated into submission. On the 28th of June Bonaparte entered the capital of Russian Poland; and from the measures which he immediately adopted, it was plain that he expected considerable assistance from the Poles. He knew their just hatred to Russia; and though he had already deceived them, in the expectation of independence which he had held out on a former occasion, yet he knew how to inspire them with fresh confidence.

France herself had never inflicted, because it was impossible to inflict, greater evils upon any nation, than those which Poland had suffered from Russia; and when the re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland was now proclaimed, and a diet assembled, under the guarantee of the French Emperor, the national enthusiasm was raised in his favour, and the ranks of his army swelled by Polish levies.

The French troops, instead of following the Russians to the Dwina, whither they had retired, spread themselves towards the south, with the two-fold object of cutting off the second corps of the Russian army, under Prince Bagration, which was already separated from the first, under General Barclay de Tolly, the commander-in-chief, and of turning the intrenchments on the Dwina, without being exposed to the hazard of carrying them by storm. The bulletins issued by the French Emperor during this campaign, were read with avidity in every part of Europe; and never were they so interesting as they had now become. Already they began to change their character; no victories were gained, few prisoners were made; and the capture of cannon and colours, the trophies of war, no longer imparted a splendour to those military documents.

As soon as the Emperor Alexander became acquainted with the nature of the movements made by the enemy, he issued orders to the different divisions of the Russian army to re-unite at Drissa, at which place a strongly intrenched camp had been previously formed. In compliance with this order, Gen. Wittgenstein advanced with the first corps from Vilkomir to Braslaw. Gen. Doctorow was eagerly followed by the enemy, and had several affairs during his retreat with the corps of Soult, Borde, Nansouty, and Pajol, whom he continually repulsed, and on the 4th of July effected a junction with the main army. On the 6th, the rear-guard of the right of the army under Generals Korff and Kutusoff, was attacked near the Dwina by the troops under the King of Naples, supported by a strong corps of flying artillery under General Moutbrun; but the assailants were received with bravery, and quickly repulsed by the Cossacks of the guards, who took some prisoners, among whom was the Prince Hohenloe Kirchberg, in the service of the King of Wirtemberg. The Russians were now enabled to pass the river without molestation, and on the 8th the main body of the first army effected their passage at Dinabourg. The divisions of the first army had thus been assembled without loss; but the movements of Prince Bagration were attended with infinitely greater difficulty. This general, who, when the orders of the emperor for forming a junction on the Dwina reached him, was stationed with the second army in the

government of Minsk, in the neighbourhood of Bialystock and Volkovisk, ordered the Hetman Platoff, with his Cossacks, to advance upon Grodno, and thus protect the movements of the main body, on their advance in the direction of Wilna. But he soon discovered that the French army was already spread over his line of march, and that the junction with the first army in this direction could only be effected by great sacrifices. Under these circumstances, he thought proper to retrace his steps, and to direct his march towards Minsk; he had soon however the mortification to learn that here again he had been anticipated, and that the Prince of Eckmuhl was already in possession of that place. The situation of the Russian general had now become critical and embarrassing in the extreme; but with that presence of mind, which never deserts a brave and able commander, he instantly resolved to march towards Slutsk, in the hope that he might afterwards proceed by Mohilow towards Vitepsk, and there accomplish the object of his exertions.

The route on which Prince Bagration now determined was circuitous, and his progress was attended with much hazard. To cover his movements, Platoff, with his Cossacks and light artillery, left Grodno and passed towards Mir. This movement of the Cossack chief probably saved the second Russian army. On the 7th of July, Platoff was met by the advanced guard of the French army, under the King of Westphalia, which he repulsed with great slaughter. The following day Platoff occupied the suburbs of Mir, and again repulsed a still greater force, under the Polish chief Rominski. In the sanguinary affair which succeeded, the enemy was defeated; three entire regiments of Polish hulans were cut to pieces; and their commander narrowly escaped being made prisoner. The loss of the Russians was also severe; and their indefatigable leader had fresh obstacles to encounter. He no sooner directed his troops towards Romanoff, than he was again attacked by an enemy still more formidable; when an obstinate engagement again ensued, in which the first regiment of chasseurs à cheval, and the grenadiers à cheval, shared the fate of the Polish hulans. Two colours, sixteen inferior officers, and three hundred men, were made prisoners in this rencontre; and after having pursued the enemy for three leagues, the Cossacks advanced to Mohilow, to maintain their communication with the second army, which was moving on this place by forced marches.

Notwithstanding these partial advantages, no effectual resistance had been made to the progress of the grand army of the enemy; and the Emperor Napoleon, in announcing his progress, exclaimed, "Ten days after the opening of the

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campaign, our advanced posts are upon the banks of the Dwina! Almost all Lithuania, a country containing four millions of inhabitants, is conquered. The Russians are engaged in concentrating their forces at Drissa. They now talk of fighting, after having abandoned, without a stroke, their Polish possessions. Perhaps they adopt this peaceful mode of evacuation as an act of justice, to make some restitution to a country which they had acquired neither by treaty nor the right of conquest." It now seems to have been the intention of the French to attack the right of the Russian army, and to force the works of the Dwina. With this view Marshal Oudinot approached Dinabourg; and in the morning of the 18th attacked the bridge, where some works had been constructed. This attack was gallantly repulsed by the Russians; and although the attempt to force the passage was renewed with increased vigour on the following day, the enemy was again driven back with considerable loss. The project of forcing the Russian intrenched camp was now abandoned, and the enemy determined to push forward to Vitepsk, on which station Beauharnois, Davoust, and Mortier, were already moving. The Russian left at the same time made a rapid movement on Polotsk; and the commander-in-chief finally resolved to abandon his intrenched camp at Drissa and to retire on Smolensk, where it was hoped that a junction might at last be formed with the second army. Prince Wittgenstein, who about this time began to display those military talents by which their possessor was enabled to act so distinguished a part in the deliverance of Europe, was in the mean time left to occupy the country to the north of the Dwina, and to keep in check the corps under Macdonald and Oudinot. On the 25th the Russian corps under General Osterman was in motion; and three versts (two English miles) in advance of Ostrowno, they fell in with a large body of French cavalry under the King of Naples, who fought with determined bravery, but were ultimately compelled to give way. The Russians, too impetuous in following up their success, were in their turn repulsed, with a loss of twenty pieces of cannon. On the following day, the King of Naples, powerfully reinforced by the Viceroy of Italy, renewed the attack. The Russians had their right on the Dwina, their centre on the great road leading to Vitepsk, and their left covered by a wood, of which the French made several vigorous efforts to obtain possession. During the heat of the battle the Emperor Napoleon was discovered on the road in the midst of a brilliant suite. After surveying the field from an eminence, he caused new dispo-

sitions to be made, which being executed with order and rapidity, the French army was soon in the middle of the forest, and at the close of the day this advanced-guard arrived at the foot of the hills of Vitepsk.

On the morning of the 27th, at the dawn of day the French marched upon Vitepsk, and took possession of that city, from which the Russians retired, taking up a position which commanded the Smolensk road. The two grand armies, now in sight of each other, waited with impatience for the commencement of a general battle; but at the moment when every thing seemed to be prepared for the great struggle, the plans of the Russian general-in-chief were changed by the receipt of intelligence from Bagration, who, finding Mohilow in possession of the French, had determined to retire by another route upon Smolensk. The night of the 27th was passed by the French army under arms, with a confident expectation that the great battle would be fought on the following day. But what was their astonishment on the following morning to find that the Russians had effected their retreat during the night, in such perfect order that they had neither left cannon, waggons, or even a single vehicle, to indicate the road they had taken.*

The French Emperor determined to remain some time at Vitepsk, to afford his army a respite from the fatigues and privations to which they had already become exposed; but while the grand armies were thus reposing in a state of inactivity, the operations of the campaign were vigorously prosecuted in the neighbourhood of Polotsk, by the Russian corps under Prince Wittgenstein, and the French division commanded by Marshal Oudinot. On the 11th of August, Wittgenstein encountered a detachment of French cavalry, from one of whom he learned that the French marshal had formed the project of advancing to St. Petersburg. The Russians, however, defeated this intention, and compelled Oudinot to retire upon Polotsk, where he was joined by a corps of Wirtemberg and Bavarian troops, under the command of General Gouvion St. Cyr. Thus reinforced, Oudinot once more advanced on the route to the Russian capital; but the promptitude and penetration of Prince Wittgenstein again arrested his progress. The arrangements of the Duke of Reggio were made with consummate skill, but they availed not against the courage of the Russians, who bore down upon him with such fury, that after a brave resistance, which lasted for more than six hours, the enemy was repulsed with great loss. On the following day Wittgenstein resumed the attack, and the Duke of Reggio had

* Narrative of the Campaign in Russia, by Eugene Labaume, an officer of engineers, serving in the fourth corps of the French army, during the whole of the campaign.

improved the few hours of darkness by which the conflict was interrupted, in such a manner as might have been expected from an able general. The contest was again maintained with great vigour, and attended with a heavy loss on both sides. On the third day the French troops were completely overthrown, and the fugitives who escaped from the field sought shelter in the lines before Polotsk. The loss of the enemy in these obstinate and sanguinary engagements, was estimated at five thousand killed and wounded, and three thousand prisoners, besides artillery, baggage, and ammunition waggons; and the Russians admit a loss of two thousand men, among whom was General Kouluff. "During the three days of attack," says Prince Wittgenstein, "the corps I had the honour to command performed prodigies of valour. Their resolution was not to be shaken; and their ardour, like a devouring flame, consumed all before it. The artillery and the bayonet were equally the instruments of their zeal; for where the one fell short of the mark, the other was pushed with a resolution that overthrew whole ranks of the enemy. Even the most solid columns of infantry, and batteries of cannon, were compelled to give way before the intrepid motions of our troops."

Another effort was now to be made by the Russian army, under Bagration, to effect a junction with the commander-in-chief, and with this view, he formed the hazardous determination to cross the Beresina at Bobruisk, and to cut his way through the divisions of Marshals Davoust and Mortier on the Dnieper. The battle which ensued was extremely bloody, and lasted for upwards of ten hours with various success; but at length the Russian troops opened themselves a passage, and on the 12th of August re-established, at Smolensk, that communication which had been lost on the 24th of June, by a military error committed on the banks of the Niemen.

The Russians, concentrated at Smolensk, seemed to await the approach of the enemy, whose head-quarters were still at Vitpeck, but whose divisions were now pressing forward in all directions. Delay still promised advantages to the Russians; it was necessary in some measure to repair the strength of the second army, already exhausted by marches so harassing, and greatly reduced in numbers by the desertion of the Poles, and other adverse circumstances. The whole force under General Barclay de Tolly did not, even including the second army, exceed one hundred and thirty thousand men, upon which the powerful divisions of Beauharnois, Murat, Ney, Davoust, Mortier, and Poniatowski, were fast advancing. Had the

French, at this moment, been able to force their enemies to a general and decisive action, the integrity of the Russian empire might have been exposed to great peril; but the affairs of Russia were gradually improving, while every day that elapsed was as the loss of a battle to the fortunes of the invaders.

About the end of July, when the French armies had been six weeks in Russia, and had made the most alarming progress in the interior, the emperor received intelligence that peace had been concluded with Turkey, and that the Russian army of the south, which had distinguished itself in the protracted contest on the Danube, was now at liberty to unite in repelling the invaders of the empire. This gratifying intelligence was at the same time accompanied by the annunciation, that peace with England, which all orders in Russia, had so earnestly desired, was concluded: that from this time all the ports of Russia would be open to English vessels; and that, every commercial relationship should instantly re-commence between the empire of Russia and the kingdom of Great Britain.*

General Count Kutusoff, who became afterwards so famous in the campaigns of the north, had hitherto conducted the army of the Danube to victory, and had, by his wise policy, hastened that pacification with the Ottoman empire, which it was so much the interest of Russia to conclude. This gallant officer had been created a prince of the Russian empire, as a reward for his distinguished services, and as he was far advanced in years, he had retired to St. Petersburg, in the hope of spending the evening of life in tranquillity. A more brilliant destiny, however, was reserved for him; and the closing scenes of his military career were to be signalized in the defeat and destruction of the enemies of his country. The army of the Danube was, in the mean time, commanded by Admiral Tschikakoff, a man of singular and versatile powers, and of a genius for martial affairs which was not confined to one element. The first task imposed upon him in his new situation was, to conduct his army through a long and difficult march; to bring up his troops from the Danube and the Pruth, and to encounter the Austrians, under Prince Schwartzenberg, and the Saxons, under General Renier, who had reached Kobrin, Slonim, and Minsk. At Kobrin, a detachment of Saxons, under General Kleingel, had been previously surprised by a Russian force, commanded by General Kamenski, and after an obstinate engagement, the Saxon commander, with seventy officers, and two thousand five hundred men, were made prisoners. General Tormasow resolved to follow

* Proclamation of the Emperor Alexander.

up these successes by an advance on Slonim, where Renier and Schwartzberg were now posted. On the morning of the 12th of August the attack was begun. Schwartzberg, observing that the whole attention of the Russians was directed to their left, made an unsuccessful effort to pass a morass, by which the right of their position was defended. The French general, rendered desperate by the unexpected difficulties which he had to encounter, brought immense reinforcements from his centre and left, and extending his front, endeavoured to out-flank the Russians. General Tormasow instantly adopted the only plan by which these movements could be counteracted, and charged the enemy in front, at the same time extending his line in a parallel direction with that of the hostile army. The battle was once more renewed with great fury; and six fresh battalions of infantry, and several regiments of hulans and hussars, were led on to the attack. Night alone parted the combatants, each of whom left on the field about five thousand killed and wounded. This immense expenditure of blood was attended by no decisive result; the enemy occupied his former positions, and the Russians during the night, prepared to retreat to Kobrin, where they arrived on the following day without molestation.

While these events occurred in the south, great exertions were made by General Essen to strengthen the city of Riga, against which a division of the French army, under Marshal Macdonald, had been directed. In the month of July an obstinate engagement was fought in the vicinity of that city, in which a strong Russian detachment, under General Lewis, was repulsed by the Prussian General Kliest, and obliged to seek refuge within the walls of the fortress. This was the first engagement in which the Prussians had entered the lists with their ancient ally; and it was not till the 23d of the following month that the contest in this quarter was renewed. On that day General Essen, who had received intelligence that a strong force was advancing from the side of Germany to reinforce the besieging army, determined to attack the Prussians, and to drive them back to Mitau. The attack was made with great spirit, and the enemy's intrenchments were carried at the point of the bayonet. But the incautious intrepidity of the Russian troops having hurried them into an eager and disorderly pursuit, their ranks were laid open, and a large body of Prussian cavalry, perceiving the advantage that presented itself, rushed upon the advancing Russians, and inflicted a terrible slaughter. Notwithstanding the surprise of this assault, the Russians receded not from the field till it was covered with the dead bodies of their comrades, when they gallantly and deliberately

retreated beyond their lines of defence. This adverse turn in the fortunes of the day gave the enemy time to rally his ranks, and to return to his guns, from which he had been driven. Battle was again offered, with an air of triumph, which roused the spirit of the Russian army, and the engagement was renewed with increased fury. The Prussians fought with distinguished bravery, but Russian energy at length prevailed, and the discomfited flank of the enemy assumed a retrograde movement, and ultimately abandoned the field.

Prince Wittgenstein, who continued to occupy the ground gained from the enemy on the Petersburg road, having now received reinforcements from Dinabourg, determined to dislodge Marshal Oudinot from his fortified position at Polotsk. On the 17th of August, the Russian general advanced in two columns, and after a few hours reached the ground on which he meant to give the French battle. A heavy fire from a Russian battery, directed against the enemy's masses, while they were yet unformed, created the utmost confusion; while a concentrated charge of cavalry completely laid open the flank of the French army. At this crisis Marshal Oudinot received a dangerous wound in the shoulder, which obliged him to retire from the field; and at the close of the day, Prince Wittgenstein was enabled to take possession of the intrenchments, erected by the enemy, in front of Polotsk. General St. Cyr, on whom the command of this division of the French army had now devolved, animated by the hope of retrieving the disaster of the 17th, determined to renew the conflict on the following day. On this occasion Count Wrede commanded the Bavarians on the right; General Maison was intrusted with the left; and General St. Cyr in person led the centre. Prince Wittgenstein, availing himself of the intrenchments obtained from the enemy on the preceding day, determined to remain on the defensive. The attack was commenced by a discharge of the Bavarian artillery, which was instantly followed by a general and destructive fire from the whole of the French line. The French had added to the strength of the left by a well-appointed battery, placed on the banks of the Dwina; but the Russians, regardless of this advantage, charged to the very mouth of the guns, and with the point of the bayonet, drove the front line back upon the reserve. The contest in the centre, where the commanders-in-chief on both sides were arrayed against each other, was maintained with the most obstinate bravery; but the steady courage of the Russians at length prevailed, and obliged St. Cyr to fall back upon his lines of defence. The right, yet unbroken, distinguished itself by memorable acts of bravery; but General Wrede,

finding all his exertions to resist the Russian columns unavailing, felt himself obliged to follow the retreating legions, and, like them, to seek refuge within the walls of Polotsk. The battle continued for twelve hours; and the pursuit, which was continued into the streets of the city, did not cease till midnight. The number of prisoners made by the Russians during the 17th and 18th amounted to three thousand, including thirty officers. The killed on both sides are variously estimated, but that the victory was purchased at a high price will appear clear, when it is stated, that three Russian general officers—Berg, Hamen, and Kazatichkovsky, were numbered among the wounded. The splendid victories achieved in this quarter were, however, of inestimable value, and it was probably to the successful efforts of the Russian armies under Prince Wittgenstein, that the city of St. Petersburg owed its deliverance from that disastrous fate which now awaited the ancient capital of the empire.

Bonaparte remained at Vitepsk until he received intelligence that his reinforcements from Tilsit were advancing upon Wilna; he then resolved immediately to attack Smolensk, and with this view, Murat and Beauharnois were ordered to advance on the 13th of August, and to force the passage of the Dnieper—the Borysthènes of the Greeks. The Russian general-in-chief, aware of these movements, ordered Prince Bagration to fall back on Smolensk on the Moscow road; while, on the 14th, he himself retired to the high ground on the right bank of the river by which Smolensk is commanded. Here he learned that the advanced posts of the Russian army had suffered a severe defeat at Krasnoi, and that their columns were rapidly advancing. The garrison of Smolensk was in the mean time strengthened, and the necessary preparations made to arrest the further progress of the invaders. The communication between the garrison of Smolensk, now thirty thousand strong, and the army under Barclay de Tolly, was fully established by three bridges; and the ancient walls of that city, although ill adapted to resist the operations of modern warfare, were mounted with cannon, that no advantage might be left unimproved. Smolensk, which formed the only favourable position for defence on the west of Moscow, was an object of great importance to the enemy, and the ardour of the Russians in its defence was increased by an order given to the army by the Emperor Alexander, to give battle to the invaders, for the purpose of saving this ancient city.

On the 16th of August, Napoleon was at the head of his army before Smolensk, and no sooner had he ascertained the strength, and reconnoitred the position of the Russians, than he

immediately decided on his plan of operations. The object of the emperor was to carry the intrenched suburbs of the city, and at the same time to destroy the bridges, by which a communication was maintained between the garrison and the army on the heights. With this view, Marshal Ney was ordered to take the position on the left, inclining towards the Borysthènes; the command of the centre was confided to Marshal Davoust; and Prince Poniatowski commanded on the right; the reserves, consisting of cavalry, under Murat and Beauharnois, formed the rear; and the emperor himself remained with the guards. On the 17th, about noon, the contest began, and the fire from the Russian cannon was answered by the French with energy and effect. Poniatowski was now ordered to advance, and having succeeded in driving a body of Russians from a formidable position on the right, a battery was instantly constructed, and directed against the bridges. Animated by this success, the enemy pushed forward in great numbers, and drove the Russians before them into their intrenchments at the point of the bayonet. For two hours this sanguinary and unequal contest was maintained with great firmness. Every moment the fight became more arduous, and the operations of the Russians began to be impeded by the heaps of slain with which they were surrounded. In these desperate circumstances, they retired, still fighting, into the city, and already the French were under its walls. The centre of the enemy's army now penetrated into the city, and on the left the Russians were obliged to withdraw within the ramparts. General Barclay de Tolly, perceiving that the assault of the town was likely to be attempted, reinforced the garrison with two new divisions, and two regiments of infantry of the guards. The battle continued to rage after the sun had sunk beneath the horizon. As the night advanced it was discovered that the city was on fire; the flames were seen distinctly to communicate to the principal quarters; and in the middle of a fine summer's night, Smolensk presented to the contending armies the same spectacle that Vesuvius sometimes offers to the inhabitants of Naples. At two o'clock in the morning the French grenadiers advanced to mount the breach; but, to their astonishment, they approached without resistance, and soon discovered that the place was entirely evacuated. All the streets were covered with the bodies of expiring Russians, over which the flames shed a melancholy glare, that filled the imagination with awe, and aggravated the horrors of the surrounding scene. When the French leader entered the city on the following morning he found it a heap of ruins, and, in an agony of disappointment, he exclaimed, "Never was a

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war prosecuted with such ferocity; never did defence put on so hostile a shape against the common feelings of self-preservation. These people treat their own country as if they were its enemies."

It had hitherto been supposed that Napoleon would, for the present season, finish his conquests by taking the two towns of Vitepsk and Smolensk, which, by their position, closed the narrow passage comprised between the Borys-thenes and the Dwina. His army considered these two towns as points for their repose on the approach of winter; and if their leader had limited the operations of this campaign to fortifying Vitepsk and Smolensk; and more especially if he had organized Poland, the whole of which had been conquered; there is little doubt but, in the following spring, he would have forced the Russians either to subscribe to his conditions, or to hazard the destruction of both Moscow and St. Petersburg. But, dazzled by his successes, and "hurried away by a fatality," he ventured upon the grand road to Moscow, through a country every where devastated at his approach, and with the hostile army under Tschikakoff cantoned in his rear.

After the fall of Smolensk, the pursuit by the French corps under Marshal Ney was so prompt, that Baron Korff, to whom the command of the Russian rear-guard was confided, found his progress interrupted, the enemy having pre-occupied his line of march. A furious battle ensued, which lasted till midnight, when the enemy was obliged to withdraw and to leave the Russians at liberty to direct their future movements without molestation.

The Russians still continued to retreat, and on the morning of the 29th, the invaders arrived at Viasma. The retreating army, following up their determination to lay the country waste, had given up this city to the flames, and on the arrival of the French they found the dwellings of its ten thousand inhabitants reduced to a heap of ruins.

At this period, the chief command of the Russian army was transferred from General Barclay de Tolly to Prince Kutusoff—a general grown hoary in arms, on whom the Muscovites reposed the hopes of their country, and whose arrival was hailed by the army with unbounded exultation. Kutusoff had scarcely arrived at headquarters when he announced to his troops that no more retrograde movements were to be made by the Russians; and that he might the better defend Moscow, he chose a strong position at the village of Borodino, about twelve versts in advance of Mojaisk. At a small distance from this village there is a deep ravine, through which a rivulet runs, and of which the Russian general availed himself for the protection of his right and centre, the command of the former of which

was committed to General Barclay de Tolly, and the latter to General Benningsen, while the left, under Prince Bagration, stretched to the village of Semenovka. The general-in-chief communicated the plans which he had formed to his officers; he encouraged his soldiers by his presence and exhortations, and made every arrangement to secure success in the approaching conflict.

It was remarked, that as soon as Bonaparte was apprised of the appointment of Prince Kutusoff to the command of the Russian army, he became more cautious in his operations, and paid this silent and involuntary tribute to the genius of his antagonist. On the 30th of August, the French emperor had reached Viasma, and on the 4th of September he advanced into the vicinity of Borodino. On the 5th the reconnoitring parties of the enemy were rapidly succeeded by strong masses of infantry and cavalry, which, by advancing on the Russian left, unequivocally indicated the intention of Bonaparte to direct his efforts against that part of the army under Kutusoff, which the prince expected would be the first assailed. The rear-guard of the Russian army under Lieutenant-general Konovitzzen, was still a little in front of the Russian left, where it was attacked with great impetuosity. After a short resistance, this corps was compelled to fall back on Prince Bagration's line, under cover of a redoubt which was erected on a height between two woods, where the Russians had placed a corps of nine thousand men. Napoleon, having reconnoitred this position, resolved to carry the height. Orders were accordingly given to Murat to pass the Kaluga, while Prince Poniatowski, who had marched to the right, was directed to turn the position. At four o'clock the attack commenced; and an obstinate contest ensued. The post was abandoned and re-taken by the Russians four different times, but they were at last compelled to fall back, and to leave the fortified eminence in possession of the enemy. The whole of the 6th of September was employed in active preparations for the conflict which was expected to decide the fate of Russia.

The skill and activity of Napoleon were eminently conspicuous on this occasion. The height which his troops had carried on the 5th was now covered with a hundred pieces of artillery; three other batteries, two of which were directed against the centre, and one against the left of the Russians, were constructed; detachments of artillery were also distributed along the French line, and no less than a thousand pieces of cannon on each side, were ready to open their fire. It was obvious, that the chief efforts of the French army were to be directed against the Russian left; and every thing that military

skill and enterprise could effect was done to insure success in this quarter. Nor were the dispositions of the Russian commander less judicious. Kutusoff quickly penetrated the intentions of the enemy, and strengthened his left with the *élite* of his army, which he formed into two lines, supported by cavalry and artillery. A strong body of the militia of Moscow was posted in a wood on the left, that they might act on the enemy's right and rear, should he attempt to turn the Russian flank. Strong batteries were also constructed for the protection of the centre and other parts of the army; a general battle had now become inevitable, and the combatants on each side were estimated at from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and thirty thousand.*

The veteran hero by whom they were commanded, well knew how to avail himself of the different principles of action which guide the Russian soldiers; and he did not omit on this great occasion to touch their feelings of religious enthusiasm. The sacred emblems, saved amidst the ruins of Smolensk, were carried along the lines by the priests attached to the army, and inspired the soldiers to a degree which cannot easily be conceived by nations far removed from these vivifying superstitions. While the minds of the troops were in this state of excitement, Prince Kutusoff pronounced a speech, which, as it was delivered on the eve of one of the greatest battles fought in modern times, and as it characterises the general and his troops, is worthy of being preserved:—

"BROTHERS AND FELLOW SOLDIERS!" said he, "Behold before you, in those sacred representations of the holy objects of our worship, an appeal which calls aloud upon heaven to unite with man against the tyrannic troubler of the world. Not content with defacing the image of God, in the persons of millions of his creatures, this universal tyrant, this arch rebel to all laws human and divine, breaks into the sanctuary, pollutes it with blood, overthrows its altars, tramples on its rites, and exposes the ark of the Lord (consecrated in these holy insignia of our church) to all the profanations of accident, of the elements, and of unsanctified hands. Fear not then, but that the God whose altars have been so insulted by the very worm his almighty fiat has raised from the dust, fear not that He will not be with you! that He will not stretch forth His shield over your ranks; and with the sword of Michael fight against His enemies.

"This is the faith in which I will fight and conquer! This is the faith in which I would fight and fall, and still behold the final victory with my dying eyes! Soldiers! Do your part. Think on the burning sacrifice of your cities—think of your wives, your children, looking to you for protection—think on your emperor, your lords, regarding you as the sinews of their strength;—and, before tomorrow's sun sets, write your faith and your fealty on the field of your country with the life's blood of the invader and his legions!"

The morning of the 7th of September at

length appeared; and thousands beheld the dawn for the last time. The moment was arrived when the discharge of two thousand cannon was to break the pause of expectation, and to arouse at once all the horrors of war. The opening day is thus described in the eighteenth bulletin of the French army:

"On the 7th, at two o'clock in the morning, the Emperor Napoleon, surrounded by his marshals, appeared on the position taken up on the preceding evening. It then rained, but now the sun rose without clouds. '*It is the sun of Austerlitz!*' exclaimed the emperor, 'although but September, it is as cold as December in Moravia!' The army received the omen. The drums beat; and the order of the day was issued in these words:—

"Soldier: Before you is the field you have so ardently desired! The victory depends upon you. It is necessary to you. It will give you abundance, good winter quarters, and a quick return to your country. Conduct yourselves as when at Austerlitz, at Friedland, at Vitepsk, at Smolensk, and the latest posterity will cite with pride your conduct on this day. They will say—*He was in that great battle under the walls of Moscow!*"

At four o'clock in the morning the corps of Marshal Davoust and Prince Poniatowski advanced by the wood which supported the Russian left; at six the action commenced, and the enemy experienced the advantages derived from the possession of the redoubt which he had taken on the 5th. Marshal Ney, in the mean time, bore down with great force on the Russian centre, and the Viceroy of Italy assailed the right. General as the attack seemed, the corps of Prince Bagration had to sustain the accumulated weight of nearly half the French army. The resolution of the enemy's cavalry on his flank was conspicuous; they charged the Russians even to the batteries, and both cavalry and infantry were mown down by the cannon. For three hours this furious attack continued without effect; and Bonaparte, well aware of the importance of the station, ordered up reinforcements of troops under Marshal Murat and Count Caulincourt, supported by fifty additional pieces of cannon. The vigour of the onset, thus strengthened, was found irresistible, and Prince Bagration was compelled to fall back on the second line of the army, while the enemy turned against the retiring columns the guns which had just been abandoned. Prince Kutusoff, seeing the left of his army thus overpowered, ordered up to its support, from the reserve, a strong body of cavalry and grenadiers; and at the moment when they were making a desperate effort to regain their lost position, the militia and other troops which had been posted in the wood, rushed forward, and took a dreadful vengeance on the enemy. The shock of this concentrated force obliged the French in their turn to give

* Eighteenth Bulletin of the French army, dated Mojaïsk, September 10, 1812.
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way, and Napoleon had the mortification to behold the choicest of his troops driven from their dearly acquired conquest with immense loss.

On the other extremity of the line, a combat scarcely less obstinate was maintained: the viceroy made repeated efforts to carry the village of Borodino, and the redoubts by which it was protected; but his failure in all of them was complete, and he was ultimately repulsed with great loss. The Russian commander was now enabled to reinforce his centre, where the battle still raged with undiminished violence. The thunder of a thousand pieces of artillery, was answered by an equal number on the part of the French. A veil of smoke shut out the combatants from the sun, and left them no other light to pursue the work of death but the flashes which blazed from the cannon and musketry. The sabres of forty thousand dragoons met each other, clashing in the horrid gloom; and the moving ramparts of countless bayonets, bursting through the rolling vapour, strewed the earth with heaps of slain.* Night at last arrived, and added to the sublime horrors of the scene.

Both parties claimed the victory;† but the impartial historian can award it to neither. The Russians failed in their object, which was, to arrest the progress of the enemy, and to preserve the ancient capital of the empire; and the French, instead of realizing another day of Austerlitz, were obliged, at the close of the battle, to retreat for several versts, leaving their heroic adversary in possession of the field. The return of day presented a scene calculated to appal the stoutest heart. The carnage on both sides was immense. The Russians estimated their own loss, in killed and wounded, at 40,000 men, and that of the enemy at 60,000. The enemy, in putting in their claim to the victory, assert, that the loss of the French did not exceed ten thousand, while that of the Russians is rated at from forty to fifty thousand. "At eight o'clock in the morning," say they, "the Russian redoubts were taken, and our artillery crowned his heights. At two in the afternoon, the Russians had lost all hope; the battle was ended; the cannonade still continued; the enemy fought for retreat and safety, but no longer for victory. Never was there seen such a field of battle; out of six dead bodies there were five Russians for one Frenchman. Forty Russian generals were killed, wounded, or taken. The emperor (Napoleon) was never exposed; neither

the foot nor the horse guards were engaged, or lost a single man." Such is the account given of the termination of the battle of Borodino by the French. With such contradictory statements, the present age and posterity must labour under great difficulty in arriving at a just conclusion, and in this, as in other battles of a dubious issue, the result alone must decide the validity of the conflicting claims.

The Russians lost some officers of distinction, among whom were Generals Touthkoff and Konovitzin; and the gallant Prince Bagration afterwards died of his wounds. Of the French Generals, Augustus Caulincourt and Montbrun were numbered among the slain, and Generals Plausanne, Houard, Grouchy, Rapp, and Morand, shared the same fate.

A feeling of astonishment was universal among all those to whom the plans of the Russians were unknown, when they learned the determination of Field-marshal Kutusoff‡ to abandon Moscow to its fate—Moscow, the ancient and venerable capital of the Russians—the grand repository of their wealth, the centre of their patriotic affections. For such a city it might have been expected that even a beaten army would have continued to struggle, but that conquerors, who had shed so much blood in its defence, should willingly give up the stake for which the battle was fought, seemed wholly inexplicable. Yet no sooner did the Russian general learn that the French had been strongly reinforced, and were advancing to the gates of the ancient capital, than he marched his army through Moscow, and took up a position on the Kalouga road.

To explain the extraordinary determination taken by Marshal Kutusoff, he addressed a letter to his sovereign on the 16th. The sacrifice of Moscow was, he said, a dreadful alternative to every Russian; but it was a sacrifice of a great city, for the preservation of a mighty empire. Had Moscow been defended to the last extremity, the rich provinces of Toula and Kalouga, from which the resources of the army were drawn, must have been abandoned. The army would have been ruined, and the empire might have been lost. By relinquishing Moscow, the Russian army became master of the Toula and Kalouga roads, covered those fertile provinces, maintained its communication with the corps of Tormazow and Tschikakoff, interrupted the enemy's line of operations from Smolensk to

* Sir Robert Ker Porter's Narrative of the Russian Campaign.

† *Te Deum* was celebrated nearly at the same time both in the Great Cathedral at St. Petersburg, and in the Church of Notre Dame at Paris, for the victory of Borodino.

‡ The rank of Field-Marshal was conferred on Prince Kutusoff, by his sovereign, for the gallantry and skill displayed by that general in the battle of Borodino.

Moscow, cut off the supplies which he expected from his rear, and actually blockaded him in the capital. The occupation of Tver by General Winzingerode completed the line drawn round the enemy; and the Russian general in conclusion promised, that "the invader should soon be compelled to evacuate the capital of the Czars."

Count Rostopchin, the military governor of Moscow, had been unremitting in his labours to prepare for the defence or the evacuation of that city. Every exertion was made to equip and organize the inhabitants for the army. Orders had been issued for the removal of every thing in the capital that might be an acceptable spoil to the enemy. The archives of the empire and the treasures of the Kremlin were taken to places of safety; and the princes and nobles resident in Moscow had transported a large share of their property into the more distant provinces. The scene which imperial Moscow, so recently the pride of the Russian empire, now presented, was deplorable beyond all description. Two hundred and fifty thousand human beings, of both sexes and of all ages, were driven from their homes, ignorant where they might seek protection, and exposed to the inclemency of the approaching Russian winter. The great mass of them abandoned their homes with precipitation; others, whose minds were influenced by stronger impulses—and who had vowed to take vengeance on the invaders, remained in the city. The governor, having made every preparation, gave the signal for evacuating the place on the 13th of September, and placing himself at the head of forty thousand of its inhabitants, proceeded to join the grand army.*

On the 14th, at noon, the French army appeared in front of Moscow. The advanced guard, under the command of the King of Naples, entered the gates with all the pomp and pride of conquest. The troops moved towards the Kremlin, where a body of the self-devoted citizens had stationed themselves; but the "holy gate" was instantly forced, and the "sacred for-

ress," which, in the confidence of superstition, was held to be impregnable, became an easy prey to the invaders.† Scarcely had the French troops entered the Kremlin, when Moscow appeared at different quarters in flames. The Governor, Rostopchin, by whose orders this sacrifice was made, had ordered the fire-engines to be removed from the city, and the invaders were too intent upon plunder to supply their place by those zealous and persevering exertions which could alone arrest the progress of the devouring element.

The entry of the Emperor Napoleon was delayed by the expectation that he should be met at the barrier by the constituted authorities, and hailed as a conqueror; but this expectation being entirely disappointed, he entered the city on the 15th in sullen silence, and took up his residence in the Kremlin. Immediately on his arrival, he directed that all the Russians who might be suspected of participating in the destruction of the city, by setting fire to its edifices, should be seized and brought to instant trial. One hundred of these unhappy persons were soon arraigned before the tribunal, and questioned as to their proceedings; but though offered a free pardon on condition of divulging the nature and extent of the conspiracy formed for the destruction of the city, they all remained silent; death had lost its terrors to them; and they received in succession the balls of the executioner with no other emotion than that which was exhibited by each in a unanimous contest to become the first victim.

One of the buildings first consigned to the flames, was that vast mercantile pile called the Exchange; numerous warehouses, containing every kind of merchandise, the productions of Europe and Asia, composed this edifice. The activity of the soldiery was never more visible—not in extinguishing the flames, that indeed was impossible, but in securing the plunder. No cry nor tumult prevailed in this scene of horror and destruction; every one found sufficient to satisfy his cupidity; and the falling roofs and exploding

* "The circuit of Moscow has been variously stated; it may perhaps be about 26 versts, (26 miles) but this includes many void spaces. The population is, as usual, exaggerated. It is decidedly greater than that of St. Petersburg—perhaps three or four times as much, judging from the concourse in the streets. The extent, in comparison with that of Petersburg, is nearly twelve to one; yet, by the master of the police, of all men the most likely to know, the population is estimated at only 250,000 fixed inhabitants. The servants and numerous retainers of the nobles, may be perhaps estimated at nearly 50,000, who are only here in winter."—*Heber's MSS. Journal*.

† Moscow is divided into five circles, which lie one within another. The interior circle or the *Krem in*, signifying a fortress, contains the old imperial palace, the patriarchal palace, nine cathedrals, five convents, four parish churches, the public offices, and the arsenal. The Kremlin is like nothing seen in Europe. In some parts riches and even elegance present themselves, in others barbarity and decay. Taken together, it is a jumble of magnificence and ruin. The second circle of the city is called *Kitaigorod*; in this circle are five streets, two cathedrals, eighteen parish churches, four convents, thirteen noblemen's houses, and nine public edifices. The third circle, which surrounds the former, is *Belgorod*. Though the houses in this part of the city are many of them very mean, it includes eleven convents, seven abbeys, seventy-six parish churches, and nine public edifices and areas. *Semlanoigorod*, which is the fourth circle, is surrounded, as the name imports, by ramparts of earth, and contains two convents, one hundred and three parish churches, a cloth manufactory, an artillery arsenal, magazines for provisions, and a mint. Round these divisions of the city lie the vast suburbs, or the *Sloboda*, which resemble villages, and in which are ten convents and sixty parish churches. The view of Moscow from the terrace of the Kremlin is grand beyond description. The number of magnificent buildings, the domes, the towers, and the spires, which fill all the prospect, make it perhaps the most novel and interesting sight in Europe.—*Crutwell's Gazetteer*, and *Dr. Clarke's Travels* in 1800.

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combustibles alone broke in upon the dreadful silence: On the morning of the 16th, a violent wind prevailed, which spread the flames in every direction. The whole extent of the capital for many versts seemed at length a sheet of flame. The immense tract of land about the river, which was formerly covered with houses, was one sea of fire; and the sky was hidden from the view by the tremendous volumes of smoke which rolled over the city.

The most heart-rending scenes now presented themselves; that portion of the population which had not abandoned the city, had concealed themselves in the interior of the houses; but the fire, having penetrated to almost every part of the town, forced them to quit their asylums. The aged, borne down with grief, as much as with years, could hardly follow their families, and numbers of them, lamenting the ruin of their country, expired near the houses in which they drew their first breath. Parents, absorbed in the feelings of nature, were seen emerging from their places of concealment, saving nothing but their children from the universal wreck. The streets, public buildings, and particularly the churches, were filled with these unhappy people. Neither the accents of sympathy nor the voice of lamentation were heard; both the conqueror and the conquered were equally hardened—the former from excess of fortune, the latter from excess of misery. The fire, which continued its ravages, soon reached the finest parts of the city. All those places which had been admired for the elegance of their architecture and the taste of their furniture, were buried in the flames; many of the churches, with their beautiful steeples, resplendent as gold, disappeared; and the hospitals, which contained more than twenty thousand wounded Russian soldiers, soon began to burn.* This occasioned a most revolting and dreadful scene; almost all these poor wretches perished, and a few, who still lingered, were seen crawling half consumed among the smoking embers. “But how,” says the French officer from whom we quote, “shall I describe the tumultuous proceedings, when permission was granted to pillage this immense city! Soldiers, sutlers, galley-slaves, and prostitutes, were running through the streets, penetrating into the deserted palaces, and seizing every article which could gratify their avarice. Some were covering themselves with stuffs, of the most costly fabrics; others, without any discrimination, placed rich and costly furs upon their shoulders; and even the galley-slaves concealed their rags under splendid court-dresses; the rest crowded into cellars, and forcing open

the doors, drank the most costly wines, and carried off immense booty. This horrible pillage was not confined to deserted houses alone, but extended also to those which were inhabited. All the asylums were soon violated; and the cries of the miserable wretches who fell under the hands of the murderer, and the shrieks and groans of young females seeking protection against the brutal outrages of a licentious soldiery, added inexpressibly to the horrors of the scene.

“Napoleon, finding himself no longer safe in Moscow, the ruin of which had now become unavoidable, left the Kremlin, and established himself, with his suite, in the imperial palace of Petrovsky, four versts from the city. It now became necessary that the army should quit the ruins of Moscow, when a scene of the most dreadful confusion arose. A long line of carriages, loaded with plunder, was drawn through the streets of the capital. The soldiers, still stimulated by an ardent desire of pillage, ventured into the middle of the flames. They walked in blood, treading upon dead bodies, while burning fragments fell on their murderous heads. They would probably all have perished, had not an insupportable heat forced them at last to withdraw from the city and take refuge in the camp. During the four days that the army remained at Petrovsky, Moscow never ceased burning. In the mean time the rain fell in torrents: and the houses near the place being too few in number for the great multitude who were encamped there, it became impossible to obtain shelter, and men, horses, and carriages, bivouacked in the middle of the fields. Although it was forbidden to go into the city, the soldiers, drawn there by hope of gain, betrayed their trust, and continually returned loaded with provisions and merchandise. Thus the French camp no longer resembled an army, but a fair, where the soldiers, metamorphosed into merchants, sold the most valuable articles, at an inconsiderable price; and although encamped in the fields, and exposed to the injuries of the weather, by a singular contrast, they dined off china plates, drank out of silver vases, and possessed the richest and most elegant commodities of life, which luxury could invent. But the neighbourhood of Petrovsky at length became unhealthy and inconvenient. Napoleon returned to establish himself in the Kremlin, which had not been burnt, and the guards and staff officers received orders to re-enter the city on the 21st of September. According to the calculations of the geographical engineers, one-tenth part of the houses still remained, and these being divided among the corps of the grand army, afforded them quarters.”*

* Labaume's Narrative.

CHAPTER XIX.

RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN : *Napoleon, impressed with the perilous Situation of his Army, proposes to open a Negotiation for Peace—Repeated Rejection of these Overtures—Moscow abandoned by the French—Battle of Touratino—Retreat of the French Armies—Advance of the Russian Auxiliary Corps from the North and South to close in upon the Enemy and cut off his Retreat—Battle of Malo-Jaroslavitx—Battle of Viasma—The Winter sets in—Its Effects on the French Army—Passage of the Vope—Arrival at Smolensk—Battles of Krasnoi—Junction of all the Russian Armies—Dreadful Passage of the Beresina—Capture of the Bavarian Auxiliaries under General Wrede—Arrival of Napoleon at Molodetschno—The Twenty-ninth Bulletin of the French Army—The Emperor Napoleon abandons his Army and repairs to Paris—Disorganization of the French Army—Ruin and Dispersion—Defection of the Prussians under General D'Yorck—Surrender of the Prussian Fortresses, garrisoned by French Troops, to the Russians under Wittgenstein—Permission granted by the Russians to Prince Schwartzberg to retire with the Wreck of his Army into Austrian Galicia—Result of the Campaign.*

THE French Emperor was now awakened from his vision of conquest, and all the horrors of his situation at once opened to his view. His soldiers became turbulent and clamorous; they demanded from their leader that peace which he had promised to dictate in the Russian capital. Napoleon soon perceived that peace alone could afford hope to himself and his followers; but he was yet unwilling to stoop from the attitude of conquest, and to implore the forbearance of those whom he had so deeply injured. His dignity seemed still to require that he should be addressed as a conqueror; and he was, no doubt, aware, that if he talked of peace, the weakness of his situation, and the extent of his fears, would be exposed to the enemy. He waited therefore in anxious expectation for proposals from Russia; he trusted to his erroneous impression of the character of the Russian monarch and people; but all the hopes resting on this foundation were disappointed. The fatal delay, which he required as a sacrifice to his pride, was increasing his difficulties every moment; his stores were exhausted, his supplies intercepted, and already his troops were becoming the victims of famine and disease. At this moment the energetic proclamation issued by the Emperor Alexander on the entrance of the enemy into Moscow, was distributed through the Russian empire, and reached the French camp; this memorable, and almost prophetic document, was expressed in these terms:—

"Moscow was entered by the enemy on the 3d of September, O. S. (the 15th, N. S.) At this intelligence it might be expected that consternation would appear in every countenance; but far from us be such pusillanimous despondency! Rather, let us

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swear to redouble our perseverance and our resolution; let us hope that, fighting in a just cause, we shall hurl back upon the enemy all the evil with which he seeks to overwhelm us. Moscow indeed is occupied by French troops; but it has not become theirs in consequence of their having destroyed our armies. The commander-in-chief, in concert with the most distinguished of our generals, has deemed it wisest to bend for a moment to necessity. He recoils, only to give additional force to the weight with which he will fall on our enemy. Thus will the short triumph of the French leader lead to his inevitable destruction.

"We know that it is painful to every true heart in Russia, to see the desolators of their country in the ancient capital of the empire. But its walls alone have been suffered to fall into his hands. Deserted by its inhabitants, and dispossessed of its treasures, it offers a tomb, rather than a dwelling-place, to the ruthless invader, who would there plant a new throne on the ruins of the empire.

"This proud devastator of kingdoms, on his entrance into Moscow, hoped to become the arbiter of our fates, and to prescribe peace to us upon his own terms. But the expectation is fallacious. He finds in Moscow, not only no means for domination, but no means of existence. Our forces, already surrounding Moscow, and to which every day is bringing accession, will occupy all the roads, and destroy every detachment the enemy may send forth in search of provisions. Thus will he be fatally convinced of his error, in calculating that the possession of Moscow would be the conquest of the empire; and necessity will at last oblige him to fly from famine, through the closing ranks of our intrepid army.

"Behold the state of the enemy. He has entered Russia at the head of an army of three hundred thousand men. But whence do they come? Have they any natural union with his aggrandizement? No; the greater number of them are of different nations, who serve him, not from personal attachment, not for the honour of their native land, but from a base and shameful fear. The disorganizing principle, in such a mixture of people, has been already proved. One half of the invader's army, thus made up of troops that have no natural bond of union, has been destroyed; some part, by the valour of the soldiers; another, by desertion, sickness, and famine; and the miserable remainder is at Moscow.

"Without doubt the bold, or rather, it should be called, rash enterprise of penetrating into the bosom of Russia; nay, of occupying its ancient capital; feeds the pride of the supposed conqueror: but IT IS THE END WHICH CROWNS ALL!

"He has not yet penetrated into a country where one of his actions has diffused terror, or brought a single Russian to his

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feet. Russia clings to the parental throne of a sovereign, who stretches over her the guardian arms of affection: she is not accustomed to the yoke of oppression: she will not endure subjection to a foreign power. She will never surrender the treasure of her laws, her religion, and her independence; and we will shed all our blood in their defence! This principle is ardent and universal; and is manifested in the prompt and voluntary organization of the people under the sacred banner of patriotism. Protected by such an *Aegis*, who is it that yields to degrading apprehension? Is there an individual in the empire so abject as to despond, when vengeance is breathed by every order of the state? When the enemy, deprived of all his resources, and exhausting his strength from day to day, sees himself in the midst of a powerful nation, encircled by her armies; one of which menaces him in front, and the other three watch to intercept the arrival of succours, and to prevent his escape? Is this an object of alarm to any true-born Russian? When Spain has broken her bonds, and advances to threaten the integrity of the French empire! When the greatest part of Europe, degraded and despoiled by the French Ruler, serves him with a revolting heart, and fixing her eyes upon us, awaits with impatience the signal for universal freedom! When even France herself wishes in vain, and dares not anticipate an end to the bloody war whose only motive is boundless ambition! When the oppressed world looks to us for an example and a stimulus, shall we shrink from the high commission? No; we bow before the hand that anoints us to be the leaders of the nations in the cause of freedom and of virtue.

"Surely the afflictions of the human race have at length reached their utmost point! We have only to look around us on this spot, to behold the calamities of war, and the cruelties of ambition, in their extremest horrors. But we brave them for our liberties; we brave them for mankind. We feel the blessed consciousness of acting right, and that immortal honour must be the meed of a nation who, by enduring the evils of a ruthless war, and determinately resisting their perpetrator, compels a durable peace, not only for itself, but for the unhappy countries the tyrant had forced to fight in his cause! It is noble, it is worthy a great people, thus to return good for evil.

"All-powerful God! The cause for which we fight, is it not just? Look down then with an eye of mercy upon thy sacred church! Preserve the strength and constancy of thy people! May they triumph over their adversary and thine! May they be instruments in thy hand for his destruction! and, in rescuing themselves, may they rescue the liberty and the independence of nations and of kings!

(Signed)

"ALEXANDER."

This proclamation, which tended to rouse the patriotic feelings of the army and the people to the highest state of enthusiasm, sufficiently shewed the determination of the Russian government. The pride of Napoleon was humbled; he was at last compelled to give way to circumstances, and to sue for peace to those over whom but a few days before he affected to exercise the rights of conquest. General Lauriston, a favourite diplomatist of the French Emperor, was now sent with a flag of truce to the Russian head-quarters. After expressing the anxiety of his sovereign to prevent the further effusion of blood, he announced his readiness to treat with the Russian court. The answer of Prince Kutusoff was resolute; "as to the effusion of blood," said he, "there is not a Russian who is not ready to sacrifice his life in this contest, and no terms can be entered into while an enemy remains upon the Russian territory."

The discontent of the French army now became more alarming than before, and Bonaparte affected to believe that Kutusoff had exceeded his powers, and that as soon as the overture for peace

should reach the Emperor Alexander negotiations would be opened. Count Lauriston was accordingly dispatched a second time to the Russian head-quarters, to demand, that if Prince Kutusoff would not listen to negotiation, he would forward a letter from Napoleon to the Emperor Alexander. "I will do that," replied Kutusoff, "provided the word *peace* be not expressed in the letter. I would not be a party in such an insult to my sovereign, as to forward to him, what he would instantly order to be destroyed in his presence. You already know the only terms on which offers of peace will be attended to. His imperial majesty will keep firm to his resolves, and we shall stand steadfast in ours to support the independence of his empire." This contemptuous rejection of Bonaparte's second offer exasperated him to the highest degree; but such was the desperate situation to which he was reduced, that Lauriston was ordered to repair a third time to the Russian camp with proposals for an armistice, and with an offer that the French would totally evacuate Moscow, and take up a position in the neighbourhood, where the terms of a treaty might be afterwards arranged. The Russians however were not to be diverted from their purpose; they had their enemies in their power; and having every thing to gain, and nothing to lose, by the continuance of the contest; the general-in-chief replied:—"It is not a time for us either to grant an armistice, or to enter into negotiations; the French indeed have proclaimed the campaign terminated at Moscow, but on our part it is only just opening."

Thus were extinguished all the hopes which had for a while sustained the drooping spirits of Napoleon and his army. The desire of vengeance was the first impulse of his mind: he determined that Moscow should bear lasting marks of his resentment, and that whatever of her magnificence yet remained should be sacrificed to his disappointed hopes. When a retreat was first determined upon it was the intention of the French Emperor to place a garrison in the Kremlin, and to retain military possession of Moscow. With this view he employed the troops in fortifying the palace; but when the full extent of the perils to which he was exposed presented themselves, he abandoned this project, and gave orders that the fortress should be destroyed. In assigning the reasons for taking these measures, his followers were told that the Kremlin had not sufficient natural strength to be defended by a garrison of less than twenty thousand men; that so large a body of troops could not be spared without forfeiting advantages of greater moment; and that Moscow, now a heap of ruins, was not worth the sacrifice. The official report of the French army gave an

exulting account of the success of this grand enterprise—"All the adjoining buildings," says this report, "have been emptied with great care, and the Kremlin, being judiciously mined, at two o'clock in the morning of the 23d of October it was blown into the air by the Duke of Treviso. The arsenal, the barracks, the magazines, all have been destroyed. This ancient capital, from which is dated the foundation of the empire, this first palace of the czars, exists no more!" This, however, is a very erroneous account of the mischief inflicted by the enemy; such was doubtless his intention; but the activity of the Russian corps, in the neighbourhood of Moscow, arrested the hand of the destroyer, and saved the principal part of this venerable edifice.

About the middle of October, General Winzingerode received intelligence that the enemy's force still remaining in Moscow was very much reduced; and on the 19th of that month, this general observed that the corps under Mortier, stationed on the Mojaisk road, had fallen back from the capital. The Russians, encouraged by these movements, gradually approached without opposition to the walls of the city. They were at length, however, assailed by a strong body of French infantry and cavalry, and must have been cut to pieces, had not the opportune arrival of General Iliovaskoy repulsed the enemy, and rescued them from their perilous situation. Winzingerode was thus enabled to draw his forces round Moscow; and on the 22d he passed the barriers of that city, overthrew the enemy, and drove them under the guns of the citadel. At this moment the Russian general, accompanied by his aide-de-camp, rode forward to the French lines, carrying a flag of truce, to intimate that further resistance must be unavailing, and to propose to the enemy a capitulation. The French answered, as the Russians assert, by making the general and his aide-de-camp prisoners.* This singular violation of the usages of war animated the Russians with resistless fury; and on the morning of the 23d of October, when the first mine was about to be sprung which was to level the Kremlin to the ground, they marched forward under General Iliovaskoy, and seized the incendiaries with the torches in their hands. In this way the Krem-

lin was saved; and the French having on the same day finally evacuated Moscow, the inhabitants, with Rostopchin at their head, returned to their desolated city, where every effort was made to mitigate sufferings which no human power could altogether relieve.†

About the 16th of October Napoleon made preparations for his retreat from Moscow. The conflagration of that city, he had now discovered, rendered it no longer a desirable or proper military station; it must therefore be abandoned; but not with an intention of flying from Russia; a stronger position, and an untouched and fertile country, was to be sought, in which the army having recruited itself, the campaign might be re-opened in the spring with renewed vigour and fresh triumphs. But the difficulty of fixing on a line of retreat was extreme; if possible, the route by which the army had advanced to Moscow was to be avoided; over that country had already passed two large armies; the Russians had laid it so completely waste, that the French, when advancing, had found the roads almost impassable, and the country on all sides was completely stripped of provisions and accommodations. Nothing therefore but dire necessity could compel Bonaparte to retreat by this route. If he chose one more to the south, it would not only lead him along roads little injured, but through a rich and fertile country; and though necessarily circuitous, yet if he could accomplish his retreat in this direction, he would in the end arrive much sooner in a friendly country than if he marched by Smolensk.

Having decided, if possible, to penetrate by the route of Kalouga and Toula, it was necessary, as a preliminary step, to drive back the Russian grand army, which occupied and defended the Kalouga road. Marshal Kutusoff, aware of the intention of the French, and having received information that a strong reinforcement was marching from Smolensk to assist in extricating Napoleon from the perilous situation in which he was placed, resolved to attack Murat, who commanded the advanced-guard. This division of the army, which consisted of forty-five thousand men, was attacked and defeated at Touratino, on the 18th of October, with a loss of thirty-eight pieces of cannon, two thousand slain, and fifteen hundred pri-

* General Winzingerode, who is a Hessian by birth, was conducted to Verreia, and taken before Bonaparte, who charged him with being a traitor, and threatened to send him back to his country to meet the fate merited by his infamy. The general repelled the charge of treason, and replied with the utmost firmness, that he feared not death, from whatever quarter it might come. The baron, and his aide-de-camp, Captain Narishkin, were however ordered to Hesse under an escort of gens d'armes; but the carriage breaking down at Minsk, they were rescued by a body of Cossacks, and restored to the Russian army.

† "Of 4,000 houses, built with stone, which were in Moscow, not more than two hundred remain. It has been said a fourth remained, because in that calculation 800 churches were comprehended, some of which are damaged. Of 8,000 houses of wood nearly 500 remain."—*Twenty-sixth Bulletin of the French army, dated Borovsk, Oct. 23d, 1812.*

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While these events occurred in the neighbourhood of Moscow, some affairs of considerable moment, and materially influencing the result of the campaign, took place in other parts of the Russian dominions. The army of General Steingel, after having obtained important advantages over the enemy in the neighbourhood of Riga, advanced along the left bank of the Dwina, and on the 10th of October came in close communication with a part of General Wittgenstein's corps near Drissa. The plans and operations of these generals were combined with so much judgment, that while the former attacked the corps of Marshal Macdonald, the latter fell upon the division under St. Cyr. General Steingel succeeded in driving the army to which he was opposed, into the vicinity of Polotsk; and Count Wittgenstein, on the 18th of October, after a sanguinary engagement of twelve hours, compelled the enemy to seek safety in his intrenchments. On the following day these intrenchments were assailed and carried by storm, and the enemy, who was now driven to the necessity of quitting the city, hastened to join the corps of Marshal Victor, which was on its march to reinforce the grand army. During the engagements of the 18th and 19th the enemy lost two thousand prisoners, exclusive of the killed and wounded, among the latter of whom was General St. Cyr.

In the month of September, the army of the Danube had united with the Russian force under General Tormazow, in the neighbourhood of Sloutzk; while the enemy had again overrun those parts of Volhynia, which he had for a time abandoned. The Polish division under Dombrowski, once more communicated with those of Renier and Schwartzenberg; and several affairs, important only for the gallantry displayed on both sides, occurred between their detached parties and those of the Russians. When Renier and Schwartzenberg were apprised of the junction of Tormazow with the army of the Danube, they determined to retire; but they were actively pursued in their retreat until their arrival at Bialystock, about the middle of October. At this juncture, Admiral Tschikakoff received orders from the commander-in-chief to hasten towards Minsk, for the purpose of co-operating with Wittgenstein, and on the 1st of November he arrived in that city. Such were the arrangements made in this quar-

ter, for the purpose of cutting off the retreat of the invaders, who had now begun their flight through the Russian territories.

On the 18th of October, all the French corps in the neighbourhood of Moscow assembled, and on the following day they quitted that city, taking the great road to Kalouga; but it had already become obvious that this movement was only a false manœuvre, to conceal from the Russians the project of retreating on Smolensk and Vitepsk. In the rear of the army was a long train of carriages, loaded with the spoils of Moscow, which, in three or four ranks, extended for several leagues; these were succeeded by ammunition waggons filled with trophies, and Turkish or Persian draperies, torn from the palaces of the Czars; and lastly followed the celebrated cross of St. Ivan, held in such high veneration by the members of the Greek Church. The cohorts of Xerxes had not more baggage.

On the 22d the French army had advanced to Borovsk. After the battle of the 18th, Marshal Kutusoff had resumed his position at Touratino, that he might direct the movements of his armies according to the intelligence which he should receive of the enemy; while the Hetman, reinforced by twenty-five newly raised regiments from the banks of the Don, scourged the country in all directions, and harassed the march of the invaders. During the night of the 23d, the sixth Russian corps, under General Doctorow, arrived at Malo-Jaroslavitz, and took possession of the heights which command that place. Here a sanguinary battle took place on the following day, in which the French claim the victory. "At day-break the battle commenced; at which time the Russian army appeared quite entire, and took a position behind the town. The French divisions Delzon, Broussier, and Pino, under the Viceroy of Italy, were successively engaged. The town was taken and retaken not less than eleven times during the day, and was completely burnt to ashes; but at ten o'clock at night the Russians were finally driven from the heights, and retreated so precipitately that they were obliged to throw twenty pieces of cannon into the river. General Delzon fell pierced by three balls, and General Lévié shared the same fate. The loss on the side of the Russians was very severe; it amounted to from six to seven thousand."* On the following morning Napoleon arrived on the field, and he soon perceived, that whatever glory the battle of Malo-Jaroslavitz had shed on the French arms, "two battles more, contested like this, would leave their leader without an army."† He also discovered

* Twenty-seventh Bulletin of the French army.

† Labaume's Narrative.

that after the engagement the Russians had out-flanked him; and that he had now no alternative left but to gain the road to Mojaïsk, and to cross that country which the retreating Russians and the advancing French armies had two months before reduced to a desert.

From the commencement of the campaign, the son of the Hetman Platoff, mounted on a superb white charger from the Ukraine, was the faithful companion of his father, and always at the head of the Cossacks. This gallant youth was the idol of his family, and the hope of the warlike nation who would one day have been under his command. But in a desperate charge of cavalry, which took place near Vereia, at the commencement of the retreat of the French army, between Prince Poniatowski and the Cossack chief, the Poles and the Cossacks, animated by a mutual hatred, fought with fury, and the young warrior received a mortal wound in the heat of the battle, from a Hulan Pole, which terminated his career of glory, and destroyed the hopes of his family.*

With the battle of Malo-Jaroslavitz the sun of Napoleon's Russian victories set, never more to rise. A scene of horrors now commenced to which no parallel can be found in history. Flight, disgrace, fatigue, famine, and pestilence,—misery, in short, in all the various aspects it can assume, was before the French soldier. Napoleon and his generals could no longer close their eyes to the disasters that were approaching; yet a thousand efforts were made to conceal them from their followers, and to animate the drooping spirits of the soldiers by hopes of plenty and repose, which were never to be realized. So sensible was the French Emperor of the overwhelming difficulties of his situation, that he already meditated his own escape; already did he cease to command men who were no longer entitled to the name of soldiers, among whom discipline no longer existed, and military subordination was forgotten, unless when it was called forth by despair. To his generals he in a great measure consigned the direction of this unhappy multitude, and surrounded by a few of his favourite generals, and

accompanied by his guards, he began to retire towards Smolensk, from the indignant view of thousands of wretched beings, whose bones were doomed to blanch on the inhospitable plains of the north.

Marshal Kutusoff, who had ordered his troops to advance, moved with one part of the army on Krasnei, and directed General Miloradowitch to move in a parallel direction. The Cossacks and light troops maintained, as usual, their harassing and destructive warfare, breaking down the bridges in the enemy's line of march, and contributing essentially to these dreadful disasters, which form the conclusion of this memorable campaign. Scarcely had the French troops, worn out by a day's march along broken and deep roads, during which they were either actually fighting, or constantly on the alert, laid down on the ground to obtain a little repose, when the Cossacks rushed into their camp; and before the men could prepare for resistance or defence, many were killed, all were thrown into confusion and dismay, and their artillery and stores frequently formed the trophies of assailants, whose vigilance was never suffered to slumber. Platoff, the celebrated leader of the Cossacks, received intelligence on the 30th of October, that a large convoy, strongly escorted, was on its way towards Smolensk. On the 31st he came up with this convoy near the monastery of Kolotsk, and began a spirited attack upon the left flank. The enemy, paralyzed by the danger of the situation, shewed at first no disposition to resist; and the Cossacks having pressed on with their wonted impetuosity, great slaughter ensued. Two entire battalions of French were cut to pieces in this affair; and the object of the victors was attained by the desperate resolution of the fugitives, who, to prevent the convoy from falling into the hands of the Russians, blew up the whole of the waggons.

Straggling parties of the enemy, rendered frantic by suffering, frequently broke off from the main army in quest of sustenance; but such were the activity and zeal of the warriors by whom they were beset, that these marauders generally paid the forfeit of their lives for their

* The character of the Cossacks has been misunderstood; instead of forming the most barbarous, they may be ranked among the most polished subjects of the Russian government. The appearance, character, and habits of the natives of the Don, are thus delineated by a modern English traveller:—"There is something extremely martial, and even intimidating, in the first appearance of a Cossack. His dignified and majestic look; his elevated brows, and dark mustachios; his tall helmet of black wool, terminated by a crimson sack, with its plume, laced festoon, and white cockade; his upright posture; the ease and elegance of his gait; give him an air of great importance. A quiet life seems quite unsuited to the disposition of the Cossacks. They loiter about, have no employment to interest them; and, passionately fond of war, seem distressed by the indolence of peace. There is no nation (I will not except my own) more cleanly in their person and apparel than the Cossacks. Polished in their manners, instructed in their minds, hospitable, generous, disinterested in their hearts, humane, and tender to the poor, good husbands, good fathers, good wives, good mothers, virtuous daughters, valiant and dutiful sons; such are the natives of Tscherschaskoy. In conversation the Cossack is a gentleman, for he is well-informed, free from prejudice, open, sincere, and upright.—Place him by the side of a Russian—what a contrast!"—*Dr. Clarke.*

BOOK IV. tamerity. Platoff himself, whose recent loss seemed only to inflame his zeal, gives the following description of the state of the enemy about this period: "The retreat of the French," says he, "is a flight without example, abandoning every thing that demands carriage, even to the sick and wounded. The traces of their career are marked with every species of horror; at every step are seen the dying and the dead, not merely those who have died in battle, but the victims of famine and fatigue. In two days, even in sight of my division, their despair has blown up one hundred ammunition waggons, while the sudden movement of my troops has compelled them to leave untouched almost an equal number." "Their fugitives," he adds, "we destroy wherever we meet them; and when they attempt to make a stand, the brave sons of the Don, assisted by their artillery and their chasseurs, soon relieve the empire of hundreds of its invaders."

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When the French army reached the neighbourhood of Viasma on the 3d of November, they came in contact with General Milloradowitch, to whom had been confided the command of nearly one half of the Russian army. A line of battle was instantly formed by the rear-guard of the French army, under the Viceroy of Italy, and Marshals Ney and Davoust. The impetuosity with which these disorganized corps were assailed by the Russians was so irresistible, that in spite of the insulated acts of bravery to which despair had aroused the enemy, the contest was not long sustained. The Russian infantry charged into the town with drums beating and colours flying, and made a passage for the rest of the troops over the dead bodies of the enemy. In the heat of the engagement the town was set on fire, and all the houses that had escaped the first conflagration were destroyed; two thousand prisoners were taken, and twenty-five pieces of cannon, while the road was every where covered with the horses and baggage of the retreating army. While the viceroy made a hasty retreat to Doukhovistchina, Davoust and Ney took the road to Doroghobouï, and the stragglers and fugitives scattered themselves along the banks of the Dnieper. "Men and horses, worn out with fatigue, could scarcely drag themselves along; and, as soon as the last fell exhausted, the soldiers eagerly divided the carcasses among themselves, and hastened to broil on the coals that food, which, during many days, had constituted their only nourishment. Suffering yet more from cold than from hunger, they abandoned their ranks to warm themselves by fires hastily kindled; but when they wished to rise to depart, their frost-bitten limbs refused

their office, a partial insensibility crept over them, and many of them preferred falling into the hands of the enemy to making the necessary efforts to continue their journey."*

On the 5th of November, Milloradowitch had driven the enemy forty versts beyond Viasma: and while his right was menaced by Platoff, his left was pressed upon by the main Russian army under Kutusoff, who directed his march upon Elnia. The march of the retreating army was however continued towards Smolensk, from which they were within three days' march, with renovated spirits, from an expectation that the supplies accumulated in that place would terminate their privations and re-establish the organization of the army; when, on the 6th of November, the atmosphere, which had hitherto been clear, became clouded by dark and cold vapours. The sun, obscured by thick mists, disappeared from their sight, and the snow, falling in large flakes, obscured the day, and confounded the earth with the sky. The wind, blowing furiously, howled dreadfully through the forests, while the country around, as far as the eye could reach, presented, unbroken, one wild and savage appearance. The soldiers, vainly struggling with the snow and the tempest, which rushed upon them with the force of a whirlwind, could no longer distinguish the road, and falling into the ditches, many of them there found their graves. Others pressed on towards the end of their journey, scarcely able to drag themselves along, without food, badly clothed, and shivering with cold; becoming selfish through despair, they afforded neither succour, nor even the glance of pity, to those who, worn out with fatigue and disease, expired around them. How many unfortunate beings, on that dreadful day, died of cold and famine! The rigours of the frost seized on their benumbed limbs, and penetrated through their whole frame. Stretched on the road, only the heaps of snow which covered them could be distinguished, and which, at almost every step, formed small elevations, like so many newly-filled graves. At the same time, vast flights of ravens abandoned the plain to take refuge in the neighbouring forests; and troops of dogs, which had followed the army from Moscow, and lived solely on mangled remains, howled around, as if they would hasten the period when the soldiers were to become their prey.

"From that day the army lost its courage and its military attitude. The soldier no longer obeyed his officer, and the officer separated himself from his general. The regiments, disbanded, marched in disorder. Searching for food, they spread themselves over the plain, burning and destroying whatever fell in their

* Labaume's Narrative.

way. The horses fell by thousands. The cannon and the waggons, which were now abandoned, served only to obstruct the way; and no sooner did the soldiers separate themselves from their corps, than they were assailed by a population eager to avenge the horrors of which they had been the victims. The Cossacks came to the succour of the peasants, and drove back to the great road, already filled with the dying and dead, those of the stragglers who escaped from the carnage. Such was the situation of the army when it arrived at Doroghobouï. This town, small as it was, would have given new life to the unfortunate troops, if Napoleon had not been so far blinded by the fury of his rage, as to forget, that his soldiers would be the first to suffer by the devastation which he caused to be made. Doroghobouï had been burnt, its magazines pillaged, and the brandy, with which they were filled, poured into the streets, while the rest of the army was perishing for want of cordials. The few houses that remained were occupied exclusively by a small number of generals and staff officers; and the soldiers which yet survived to face the enemy, were exposed to all the rigours of the season.

"When Napoleon quitted Moscow, it was his intention to re-unite his troops between Vitepsk and Smolensk, and to make the Dnieper and the Dwina the grand line of his operations. The 6th and 7th of November having destroyed the third part of his army, he alleged this cause, and the inclemency of the winter, as the reasons for abandoning his original design. But the true motive which induced him to change his plan, was the intelligence which he received at Smolensk on the 10th of November, that Wittgenstein, having forced the Dwina, had taken Vitepsk, and that the army of Moldavia, united to that of Volhynia, having driven before it the corps of Prince Schwartzemberg, was taking a position on the Beresina, with the design of joining Wittgenstein, and effectually cutting off the retreat of the French army. This manœuvre of the Russians was so well known, and appeared so natural, that the report soon spread through the French troops, that it was the intention of the enemy to take Napoleon alive, and to put the whole of his army to the sword; wishing, by this severe chastisement, to give to Europe an example of the punishment which they deserve who disturb the world with unjust wars."*

On the 7th, Platoff and the light cavalry were dispatched in pursuit of Beauharnois, who was pushing for Vitepsk, by the way of Doukhovietchina, with the fourth corps consisting of four divisions. On coming up with the enemy, near the village of Zezelia, the Hetman directed

both these corps to be turned at the same time, while with a chosen squadron he bore down himself upon the centre. Discomfited at every point, the division of Beauharnois fled in two parties, one towards Smolensk, and the other towards the Vope. The viceroy, who had dispatched General Poitevin forward in the night with a body of engineers, to construct a bridge for the passage of the army over the Vope, found, to his extreme consternation, that a sudden rise in the water had swept away the bridge, at the moment when it was nearly finished. The Cossacks, apprised of this disaster, did not fail to advance in great strength; and the viceroy, seeing that it was necessary that some officer of rank should set an example of courage, ordered Colonel Delfanti to place himself at the head of the royal guard, and to force the Vope. In obedience to this order, the colonel, rushing into the river at the head of the grenadiers, made his way through the masses of ice that floated down its stream. The viceroy next followed with his staff, and on his arrival at the opposite bank, gave the necessary orders to facilitate the passage of the army. The waggons now began to file off; the first passed over with much difficulty; and after them a few pieces of artillery; but as the channel was far below the level of the ground, and the banks were steep and covered with ice, the only practicable point was at a place where steps had been dug to descend to the river. The cannon, all passing in the same track, formed indentions so deep, that it soon became impossible to drag them out. Thus the only accessible ford was soon choked up, and rendered utterly impassable for the rest of the artillery and baggage. Notwithstanding the efforts of the rear-guard, the Russians still continued to advance. The river was only half-frozen; and as the waggons could no longer make any progress, it became necessary for those who had no horses, to throw themselves into the stream. A vast number of provision waggons, carts, and *drouschki*, were abandoned, and the artillery-men, on the report that the enemy was fast approaching, spiked a hundred pieces of cannon. The cries of those who were passing the river, the consternation of others who were preparing to descend, and who, with their horses, were every moment seen overwhelmed by the current, the despair of the women, the cries of the children, and the terror even of the soldiers, rendered this passage so horrible, that the very recollection of it yet terrifies those who witnessed and survived the scene. On the 7th, the loss of the French amounted to fifteen hundred killed, and three thousand five hundred taken prisoners; on the 8th, in the words of

* Labaume's Narrative.

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Platoff, "the Cossacks killed a great many, but made few prisoners." The night of that day was truly dreadful. "To form some idea of it," says an eye witness, "the reader must picture to himself an army encamped on the bare snow, in the midst of a Russian winter, closely pursued by the enemy, and having neither cavalry nor artillery to oppose him. The soldiers, without shoes, and almost without clothes, were enfeebled by famine and fatigue. Sitting on their knapsacks, they slept on their knees. From this benumbing posture they rose but to broil some slices of horse-flesh, or to melt a few morsels of ice. Often they had no wood, and to find fuel they destroyed the houses in which their generals lodged; sometimes, when they awoke in the morning, the village which they had seen the night before had disappeared; and towns, which to-day were untouched, would form on the morrow one vast conflagration."* The Russians, habituated to the climate, and supplied with every necessary, scarcely felt the severity of the season; while the French and Italians, born in more genial climes, and unprepared for the intense rigour of a northern winter, sunk under its severity.†

Napoleon reached Smolensk in the night of the 9th of November, and on the 10th, the first instance occurred during the campaign of the surrender of a French corps without firing a gun. Ignorant of the movements of the Russians, General Augereau had advanced from Mohilow, on the Kalouga road, to secure the communication between Krasnoi and Smolensk, when the force under his command, while in separate bodies, was attacked with so much vigour by three partisan corps, detached by Count Orlov Dennisow, that the French general, with sixty officers, and two thousand men, laid down their arms.

On the approach of the main army to Smolensk the most flattering hopes again presented themselves; here abundance was to succeed want, and repose to solace the exhausted. But what was the grief of the soldiers to learn, in the very suburbs of the city, that all the provisions were consumed, and that famine prevailed even in the garrison. Thus Smolensk, which they had hoped would terminate their misfortunes, cruelly deceived their hopes, and became the witness of the most profound despair. The soldiers, who could not find a shelter,

encamped in the middle of the streets, and numbers of them were found dead round the fires which they had kindled. The hospitals, the churches, and such of the public buildings as still existed, were unable to contain the sick, who presented themselves by thousands. On the 14th a cry suddenly arose of—"Rise, they pillage the magazines;" and it was soon found that the soldiers, dying of hunger, and no longer able to wait the dilatory distribution of provisions, had, in spite of the guard, forced the gates of the magazines, and began to pillage their scanty contents. Incapable of bearing up against so many distresses, Napoleon, for the first time, held a grand council, on the 14th of November, at which all the generals of division, and marshals of the empire, assisted. As soon as the council broke up, the author of all their miseries, after burning part of his equipage, immediately departed in his carriage, accompanied by his chasseurs, and by the Polish lancers of the guard.

On the 15th the order was given to continue the march from Smolensk; and now a spectacle the most horrible was presented to view; for three leagues the road was entirely covered with cannon and ammunition-waggons, which they had merely time to spike or to blow up. Horses, in the agonies of death, were seen at every step; and sometimes whole teams, sinking under their labours, fell together. From time to time trees were seen, at the foot of which the soldiers had attempted to light fires, but the poor wretches had perished ere they could accomplish their object. These horrors, far from exciting the sensibility, only hardened the hearts of the survivors. The cruelty which could not be exercised on the enemy was extended to their companions. The best friends no longer recognized each other. Every one chose to save the plunder of Moscow, rather than the life of his comrade. On all sides, the groans of the dying, and the lamentable cries of the abandoned, were heard. But every one was insensible to their sufferings, or if he approached those who were on the point of expiring, it was to plunder, not to assist them.*

Prince Kutusoff, perceiving that Napoleon designed to make a movement upon Krasnoi, pushed forward a strong body of troops on the 16th, in order to intercept his advance: the French, aware of their danger, drew together

* Labaume's Narrative.

† The guard of honour of Italy, composed of young men, selected from the most illustrious families in that country, was in the course of the campaign entirely annihilated. Their education and habits ill-suited them to submit to the menial and degrading offices by which others gained a scanty morsel, and prolonged a wretched existence: of three hundred and fifty, of which this corps on its entrance into Russia consisted, all, except five, had perished before they reached Smolensk!—*Labauume*.

strong bodies of troops, under the command of Marshal Davoust, and marched without interruption into the vicinity of Krasnoi. Here the Russians suddenly attacked them at all points, and with their artillery, which had been placed in ambush, made dreadful ravages in the hostile ranks. The French fought desperately until night, when they were completely routed, and the whole division was either slain or dispersed among the woods on the banks of the Dnieper; their loss in killed was immense; two generals, fifty-eight superior officers, and upwards of nine thousand soldiers, with seventy pieces of artillery, three standards, and the marshal's staff of Davoust, fell into the hands of the victors.* This defeat annihilated the first corps of the French army: though the division was commanded by Davoust, Napoleon was on the field of battle, and was personally exposed to the most imminent danger, from which he was alone rescued by the bravery of his guards.

This engagement was only a prelude to one more fatal. On the following day, Marshal Ney, anxious to retrieve the falling fortunes of his master, but totally ignorant of the events of the preceding day, was advancing from Smolensk towards Krasnoi, with the rear-guard of the French army. The Russian commander-in-chief, determining to cut off this division from the rest of the hostile forces, strongly reinforced General Milloradowitch. About three o'clock in the afternoon, the approach of the French was discovered, and a herald was dispatched to inform them that the imperial guard had sustained a signal defeat on the preceding day, and to summon them to surrender. This summons the French marshal treated with contempt, and immediately prepared for action. Under cover of a thick fog, he advanced to the very foot of the hill on which the Russians were encamped, when suddenly their batteries were unmasked, and such was the effect of the tremendous discharge of forty pieces of cannon, and the whole musketry of the line, that a flag of truce was sent to the Russian camp, and at midnight, nearly twelve thousand French soldiers laid down their arms. On this day, twenty-seven pieces of cannon were taken, together with immense booty. Favoured by the darkness of the night, Marshal Ney fled across the Dnieper, accompanied by a few hundred fugitives, who were actively pursued by clouds of Cossacks.

During these important transactions, General Wittgenstein was actively and success-

fully engaged on the Dwina. After the capture of Polotsk, this general proceeded towards Vitepsk, in prosecution of his design of cutting off Bonaparte's communication with the west of Europe. On the 8th this city was carried by storm; and the French Emperor, finding his progress impeded by the forward movements of the gallant Wittgenstein, ordered Marshals Victor and Oudinot to drive him across the Dwina. On the 14th the Russian general was attacked, but so masterly were his manœuvres on that day that the French were obliged to retire to Senno, with the loss of four cannon, two standards, sixty-seven officers, and three thousand soldiers. A fine trait of military spirit is noticed in the Russian account of this affair:—a battalion of newly raised militia having received orders to fall back, peremptorily refused, saying—"the emperor has not sent us to retire, but to advance, and beat the enemy, which we are willing to do."

The Russians have divided the retreat of the French into three epochs, which, besides the constant increase of their misfortunes, have each a peculiar character. The first ended at the battle of Krasnoi; the second, at the passage of the Beresina; and the third, at the Niemen. At the conclusion of the first period, at which we are now arrived, the Russians had already taken forty thousand men, twenty-seven generals, five hundred pieces of cannon, thirty-one standards, and, besides the immense baggage of the French army, all the plunder of Moscow, that had not been destroyed. If to these losses are added forty thousand men, dead of fatigue or famine, or killed in the different battles, it will be found that the army, which quitted Moscow with a force amounting to one hundred and ten thousand men, was reduced to thirty thousand, including the imperial guard, of whom not more than eight thousand combatants survived. The cavalry was almost extinct.† In this situation the soldiers formed mournful presages of what they had yet to endure, since they were scarcely half way to the Niemen, and had three rivers to cross, and two mountains to climb.

The 18th of November was rendered memorable in the history of this campaign, by the arrival of Colonel Czernicheff from the army of the Danube at the head-quarters of Count Wittgenstein, after one of the most extraordinary marches on record. The corps under Czernicheff had to encounter on every day's march numerous bands of the enemy; but these

* The *baton* is used by the field-m Marshals of France on days of ceremony alone, and this capture adds no glory to the Russians; in the present instance, the staff of Davoust was, no doubt, found in a baggage wagon that had been abandoned.—*Labaume*.

† *Labaume's Narrative*.

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he either eluded or overcame, frequently seizing their convoys, and destroying the escorts by which they were accompanied. In other respects, the march of Czernicheff was such as Russian troops only could have accomplished; he had many rivers to cross, and had no leisure to construct bridges, but he and his troops, even at that inclement season, plunged into the streams, and gained the opposite shores. On his arrival he brought to Count Wittgenstein the welcome intelligence of the flight of the Austrian and Saxon auxiliaries, the utter ruin of the French army, and the rapid advance of the Russians. A few days afterwards the general aide-de-camp, Kutusoff, also arrived, and announced to the count, that he was in communication with Platoff, and with the main army; in fact, that the whole force of the Russian empire was now in full communication, and that the circle was thus completely around the remains of the French armies.

Napoleon, finding his situation perilous in the extreme, was hastening by forced marches with the remnant of his army from Orcha towards the Beresina, hoping to effect his retreat to the Vistula by the way of Minsk, in which, by his orders, stores of all kinds had been accumulated. But, in the mean time, Admiral Tschikakoff occupied that town, and detached his advanced-guard, under Count Lambert, to Borisov; on the 21st, this general attacked the *têtes-du-pont* on the Beresina, guarded by the Polish general Dombrowski, and after carrying the works by storm, and taking three thousand prisoners, destroyed the bridge of Borisov. Thus disappointed in his expectation of crossing the Beresina, Bonaparte, with the remainder of the army of Moscow, which, having been joined by the skeletons of Victor and Oudinot's corps, and by the different detachments that had been left on the Dnieper, now amounted to about seventy thousand men, proceeded towards Minsk, along the right bank of the Beresina. On his rear and flank was the grand army, under Prince Kutusoff; on his right was Count Wittgenstein, who had been joined by the northern corps; and in front, at Borisov, was the victorious division under Admiral Tschikakoff.

During the 25th Napoleon manœuvred to deceive the vigilance of the Russians, and by stratagem obtained possession of the village of Studzianca, where the Beresina is 40 toises or 80 English yards wide. Here, in the presence, and in the face of the opposition of the Russians, he constructed two bridges, one for cavalry, and the other for the passage of the infantry. Over these bridges Marshal Oudinot passed to attack the troops which resisted the advance of the French army. Napoleon, having, with the assistance of his guard, forced his way through

the immense crowd which now lined the banks of the Beresina, crossed that river about three o'clock in the afternoon of the 27th of November, taking the route towards Zemblin. A large proportion of the French army, paralyzed by their sufferings, and insensible of their approaching danger, passed the night of the 27th on the left bank of the Beresina.

On the morning of the 28th, Count Wittgenstein arrived with the first division of the Russian army in the neighbourhood of Studzianca, and opened a dreadful cannonade upon the fugitives, who were pressing in such crowds over the bridges as completely to choke up the passage. To add to the confusion and horrors of the scene, about eight o'clock in the morning the bridge for carriages and cavalry broke down, and the baggage and artillery, now advancing towards the bridge intended for the infantry, a scene of horror and contention arose exceeding all description. Numbers perished by the hands of their comrades, but a greater number were suffocated at the head of the bridge, and the bodies of men and horses so choked every avenue, that it was necessary to climb over mountains of dead bodies to arrive at the river. Some, buried in these horrible heaps, still breathed, and struggling with the agonies of death, caught hold of those who mounted over them. During this contention the multitude, which followed like a furious wave, swept away, and increased the number of victims.

The French division of Parthonneaux, which formed the rear-guard of the army, having received orders to return, left a brigade to burn the bridge. These troops, having lost their way, wandered more than three leagues in a wrong direction. In the middle of a dismal night, and pierced with cold, they mistook the forces of the Russians for those of their own army, and ran to join their comrades; when seeing themselves surrounded, and without the least hope of escape, they were forced to surrender.

While the troops under Marshal Victor were engaged on the left bank of the river, those under Marshal Oudinot were attacked on the right. Soldiers, who had before been wandering in confusion, fell into the ranks, and the battle was maintained with great obstinacy. Oudinot, who could only obtain the victory at the price of his own blood, was wounded at the beginning of the action, and being obliged to quit the field, the command devolved on Marshal Ney. The marshal having rallied his troops, the battle re-commenced with great fury, and several pieces of cannon, and four thousand prisoners, were taken by the French. But it was in vain that they captured prisoners whom they could not retain; they fought not for victory, but for life.

In the heat of the engagement, many balls struck the miserable crowds which were yet pressing to cross the bridge of the Beresina; some shells burst in the midst of them; and terror and despair took possession of every heart. The women and children, who had escaped so many disasters, seemed to have been preserved only to meet here a death the most deplorable. The artillery, the baggage-waggons, the cavalry, and the infantry, all pressed on to escape the cannon and musketry in their rear, each endeavouring to gain the opposite bank by passing before the other. The strong made their way by casting the weak into the river, or trampled under foot the maimed and the sick that interrupted their passage. Hundreds were crushed to death by the wheels of the cannon; others, hoping to save themselves by swimming, were frozen in the middle of the river, or perished by placing themselves on pieces of ice, which, overweighed, sunk in the stream; and thousands of victims, deprived of hope, threw themselves into the Beresina, and perished in the waves. The division of Girard made its way by force, through all the obstacles that retarded its march; and climbing over the mountains of dead bodies that obstructed the way, gained the other side; thither the Russians were pressing to follow them, when they hastened to effect their escape by setting fire to the bridge. At this moment the unhappy beings still on the left side of the Beresina, abandoned themselves to absolute despair. Crowds upon crowds still pressed towards the burning bridge, choking up the passage amid bursting flames, scorched and frozen at the same instant, till at length the whole sunk with a tremendous crash into the bosom of the Beresina.

On the frightful night of the 28th, the elements let loose seemed to conspire to afflict universal nature, and to chastise the ambition and crimes of men. The conquerors and the conquered were alike overwhelmed with suffering. Between the 25th and the 29th of November, upwards of twenty thousand French soldiers fell into the hands of the Russians; two hundred pieces of cannon were abandoned, and the passage of the Beresina was, in its consequences, more terrible than the most sanguinary battle.*

After the passage of the Beresina, Bonaparte, finding Minsk already occupied by the Russians, was compelled to take the more circuitous route of Wilna; and in order to cover his retreat, the wretched fugitives who formed the wreck of his once stupendous army, were collected near Kamen. This movement had been anticipated by the enterprising Wittgenstein, who, having dispatched Count Kutusoff,

the general aide-de-camp, by a more distant route, proceeded himself on the enemy's right flank to intercept his retreat. Both these plans were crowned with complete success: the whole body of the Bavarians, under General Wrede, which formed the remains of the 6th corps, and were on their march to join the main French army, were taken in detail by Count Kutusoff; and Napoleon, finding himself cut off from Vileika, abandoned his project of advancing to Wilna in that direction, and took the road by Molodetschino. Here, however, he was exposed to the attacks of Tschikakoff, whose force, impatient to give the final blow to the retreating army, were hovering on his flank. On the 26th they bore down upon the French; who, notwithstanding the efforts of the commanding officers to re-animate their exhausted and dispirited troops, were at length obliged to retreat in disorder. Early in the morning of the same day, two thousand Cossacks fell upon the advanced-guard of the 4th corps of the French army, with their usual "*Hourra!*" and slaughtered great numbers of them in the streets of Kamen. On the 1st of December, the retreating army arrived at Ilija, and on the 2d at Molodetschino. At this place Napoleon, who was still with the army, wrote that bulletin, which may be considered as the French official account of the retreat from the Moskwa to the Wilna, and which made France and her allies a large family of mourners. A document more important never issued from the pen of a military commander, and the historian would ill discharge his duty to the present age and to posterity, who should neglect to place upon record so extraordinary a production. This memorable communication was thus expressed:

TWENTY-NINTH BULLETIN.

"*Molodetschino, Dec. 3, 1812.*"

"To the 6th of November the weather was fine, and the movement of the army was executed with the greatest success. The cold weather began on the 7th; from that moment we every night lost several hundred horses, in consequence of bivouacking. Arrived at Smolensk, we had already lost many cavalry and artillery horses. The Russian army, from Volhynia, was opposed to our right: our right left the Minsk line of operations, and took for the pivot of its operations the Warsaw line. On the 9th, the emperor was informed, at Smolensk, of this change in the line of operations, and conceived what the enemy would do. However hard it appeared to him to put himself in movement during so cruel a season, the new state of things demanded it. He expected to arrive at Minsk, or at least upon the Beresina, before the enemy; on the 13th he quitted Smolensk; on the 16th he slept at Krasnoi. The cold, which began on the 7th, suddenly increased; and on the 14th, 15th and 16th, the thermometer was 16 and 18 degrees below the freezing point. The roads were covered with ice; the cavalry, artillery, and baggage horses, perished every night, not only by hundreds, but by thousands, particularly the German and French horses. In a few days, more than 30,000 horses perished; our cavalry were on foot; our artillery and our baggage were without conveyance. It was necessary to abandon and destroy a great part of our cannon, ammunition, and provisions. This

* Labaume's Narrative.

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army, so fine on the 6th, was very different on the 14th,—almost without cavalry, without artillery, without transports. Without cavalry, we could not reconnoitre a quarter of a league's distance; without artillery, we could not risk a battle, and firmly await it; it was requisite to march, in order not to be constrained to a battle, which the want of ammunition prevented us from desiring; it was requisite to occupy a certain space, not to be turned, and that too without cavalry, which led and connected the columns. This difficulty, joined to the cold which suddenly came on, rendered our situation miserable. These men, whom nature had not sufficiently steeled to be above all the chances of fate and fortune, appeared shook, lost their gaiety, their good humour, and dreamed but of misfortunes and catastrophes; those whom she has created superior to every thing, preserved their gaiety, and their ordinary manners, and saw fresh glory in the different difficulties to be surmounted.

"The enemy, who saw upon the roads traces of that frightful calamity which had overtaken the French army, endeavoured to take advantage of it. He surrounded all the columns with his Cossacks, who carried off, like the Arabs of the desert, the trains and carriages which separated. This contemptible cavalry, which only make a noise, and are not capable of penetrating through a company of voltigeurs, rendered themselves formidable by favour of circumstances. Nevertheless, the enemy had to repent of all the serious attempts which he wished to undertake: they were overthrown by the viceroy, before whom they were placed, and lost many men.

"The Duke of Elchingen, with 3,000 men, had blown up the ramparts of Smolensk: he was surrounded, and found himself in a critical position, but he extricated himself from it with that intrepidity by which he is distinguished. After having kept the enemy at a distance from him during the whole of the 18th, and constantly repulsed him, at night he made a movement on the right, passed the Borysthènes, and deceived all the calculations of the enemy. On the 19th, the army passed the Borysthènes at Orcha; and the Russian army, being fatigued, and having lost a great number of men, ceased from its attempts. The army of Volhynia had inclined, on the 16th, upon Minak, and marched upon Borisov. General Dombrowski defended the bridge-head of Borisov with 3,000 men. On the 23d he was forced, and obliged to evacuate this position. The enemy then passed the Beresina, marching upon Bobr; the division Lambert formed the advanced-guard. The second corps, commanded by the Duke of Reggio, which was at Tacherein, had received orders to march upon Borisov, to secure the army the passage of the Beresina. On the 24th, the Duke of Reggio met the division Lambert, four leagues from Borisov, attacked and defeated it, took 2,000 prisoners, six pieces of cannon, 500 baggage waggons of the army of Volhynia, and threw the enemy on the right bank of the Beresina. General Berkeim, with the 4th cuirassiers, distinguished himself by a fine charge. The enemy could only secure his safety by burning the bridge, which is more than 300 toises in length. Nevertheless, the enemy occupied all the passages of the Beresina: this river is forty toises wide, and had much floating ice on it, but its banks are covered with marshes 300 toises long, which present great obstacles in clearing it. The enemy's general had placed his four divisions at the different debouches, where he presumed the French army would attempt to pass. On the 26th, at break of day, the emperor, after having deceived the enemy by different movements made during the day of the 25th, marched upon the village of Studzianca, and caused, in spite of an enemy's division, and in its presence, two brigades to be thrown over the river. The Duke of Reggio passed, attacked the enemy, and led him, fighting, two hours. The enemy retired upon the tête-du-pont of Borisov. General Legrand, an officer of the first-rate merit, was badly, but not dangerously, wounded. During the whole of the 26th and 27th, the army passed.

"The Duke of Belluno, commanding the 9th corps, had received orders to follow the movement of the Duke of Reggio, to form the rear-guard, and keep in check the Russian army from the Dwina, which followed him. Parthonneaux's division formed the rear-guard of this corps.

"On the 27th, at noon, the Duke of Belluno arrived with two divisions at the bridge of Studzianca. Parthonneaux's division set out at night from Borisov. A brigade of this division, which formed the rear-guard, and which was charged with burning the bridge, marched at seven in the evening, and arrived between ten and eleven o'clock; it sought its first brigade and its general, who had departed two hours before, and which it had not met with in its route. Its researches were in vain;

some uneasiness was then conceived. All we have since been able to learn is, that the first brigade set out at five o'clock, missed its way at six, went to the right in place of proceeding to the left, and marched two or three leagues in this direction; that during the night, and benumbed with cold, it rallied at seeing the enemy's fires, which it mistook for the French army. Thus surrounded, it was taken. This cruel mistake must have caused us a loss of 2,000 infantry, 300 cavalry, and three pieces of artillery. Reports state, that the general of division was not with his column, and had marched alone.

"All the army having passed, on the morning of the 28th the Duke of Belluno guarded the tête-du pont upon the left bank: the Duke of Reggio, and behind him all the army, was upon the right bank. Borisov having been evacuated, the armies of the Dwina and Volhynia communicated; they planned an attack on the 28th, at break of day. The Duke of Reggio caused the emperor to be informed that he was attacked. Half an hour afterwards, the Duke of Belluno was on the left bank. The Duke of Elchingen immediately followed the Duke of Reggio, and the Duke of Treviso the Duke of Elchingen. The battle became warm. The enemy wishing to turn our right, General Doumère, commanding the 5th division of cuirassiers, which made part of the 2d corps that remained on the Dwina, ordered a charge of cavalry, by the 4th and 5th regiments of cuirassiers, at the moment when the legion of the Vistula was engaged in the woods, to pierce the centre of the enemy. The enemy was defeated and put to the rout, together with his cavalry, which came to the assistance of his infantry. Six thousand prisoners, two standards, and six pieces of cannon, fell into our hands. On his side, the Duke of Belluno vigorously charged the enemy, defeated him, took from five to six hundred prisoners, and did not suffer him to advance within reach of the cannon of the bridge. General Fournier made a fine charge of cavalry. In the battle of the Beresina, the army of Volhynia suffered much. The Duke of Reggio was wounded, but his wound is not dangerous. He received a ball in his side.

"The next day (the 29th) we remained on the field of battle. We had to make our choice between two routes—that to Minsk, and that to Wilna. The road to Minsk led through the middle of a forest, and of uncultivated marshes, where it was impossible for the army to subvert itself. On the other hand, the road to Wilna led through a very fine country. The army being without cavalry, deficient in ammunition, and horribly fatigued by fifty days' march, carrying in its train all the sick and wounded of so many battles, stood greatly in need of getting to its magazines.

"On the 30th, the head-quarters were at Pletchinichou; on the 1st of December at Slaike; and on the 3d, at Molodetschino, where the army received the first convoys from Wilna. All the wounded officers and soldiers, and whatever else could be of embarrassment, with the baggage, &c. were sent off to Wilna.

"To say that the army stands in need of re-establishing its discipline, of refreshing itself, of remounting its cavalry, completing its artillery, and its matériel,—this is the result of the *expose* which has just been made. Its repose is of the first necessity. The matériel and the horses are coming in; General Bourcier has already more than 20,000 remount horses in different depôts.

"The artillery has already repaired its losses. The generals, officers, and soldiers, have suffered greatly from want. Numbers have lost their baggage by the loss of their horses, and several by the effect of the Cossacks' ambushes. The Cossacks have taken numbers of isolated persons, of geographical engineers, who were taking positions, and of wounded officers, who were marching without precaution, preferring running the risk, to marching slowly, and going with the convoy.

"The reports of the general officers commanding the different corps, will make known what officers and soldiers have chiefly distinguished themselves, and the details of these memorable events.

"In all these movements the emperor has been continually marching in the middle of his guards—the cavalry commanded by the Duke of Istria, and the infantry commanded by the Duke of Dantzic. His majesty has been well satisfied with the fine spirit shown by his guards. They have always been ready to show themselves wherever their presence was needful: but circumstances have always been such that their appearance alone was sufficient, and that they never were in a situation which required them to charge. The Prince of Neufchatel, the grand marshal, the grand equerry, and all the aides-de-camp and military officers of the household, have always accompanied his majesty. Our cavalry was dismounted to such a degree, that it was ne-

cessary to collect the officers, who had still a horse remaining, in order to form four companies of 150 men each.

"The generals there performed the functions of captains, and the colonels those of subalterns. This sacred squadron, commanded by General Grouchy, and under the orders of the king of Naples, did not lose sight of the emperor in all those movements. The health of his majesty was never better."

Napoleon, alarmed by so many disasters, and apprehensive of the consequences which the appearance of the "Twenty-ninth bulletin of the Grand Army," might produce in France, now determined to abandon the miserable remains of his army for the purpose of repairing to Paris. Quitting Molodetschino at midnight, on the 3d of December, he proceeded to Smorghoni, where he called together the chiefs of his army, and after having appointed the King of Naples his lieutenant-general, took his departure from that place *incognito* on the 4th, accompanied by and under the name of the Duke of Vicenza. On his route to the French capital, he travelled in a single sledge, passing rapidly from Wilna through Warsaw to Dresden; whence he pursued his journey through Leipzig and Mentz, and arrived in Paris at midnight on the 18th of December.

The presence of the emperor had kept the chiefs in some degree to their duty; but when the fact of his departure became known, many of the officers, unrestrained by shame, abandoned the remains of the regiments committed to their command. Till that time, some armed soldiers, conducted by their officers, still rallied round the standard which they had sworn never to forsake; but from the moment they were deprived of their chiefs, unheard of calamities reduced their numbers. The division Loison, which had arrived from Königsberg, and the Neapolitans from Wilna, having been obliged to encamp in cold twenty-two degrees below the freezing point, were almost annihilated, and out of six thousand men, of which each division was composed, only some feeble battalions remained, who, on their junction with the main army, ran on the road in a state of distraction, or fell down without being able to rise again. Those who could support the fatigue of marching prolonged their griefs; but if, weary of life, they wished to terminate their existence, it was only necessary to stand still, and the frost would become their executioner. The roads, in every direction, presented at every step, brave officers, covered with rags, supported upon sticks, their hair and beards stiffened by the ice; these warriors, who, but a short time before, were the terror of their enemies, and the conquerors of two-thirds of Europe, could now scarcely obtain a look of pity from soldiers whom they had formerly commanded. Misfortune having equaliz-

ed conditions, every thing was confounded. The colonel who had no food, was obliged to beg from a private soldier. Thus the man who possessed provisions, although he were a servant, was surrounded by a crowd of courtiers, who, to obtain food, threw aside their rank and distinction, and condescended to caress him.

On the 7th, the French army, no longer dignified by the term *grand*, advanced to Jouproui, and on the 8th to Ochmiana. The route was still covered with soldiers, so deplorably reduced that the Russians disdained to make them prisoners. Some had lost the sense of hearing, others their speech, and many, by excessive hunger and cold, were reduced to a state of frantic stupidity, which made them roast dead bodies for nourishment, or consume their own hands and arms.* Suffering had driven many mad, who threw themselves into the fires and perished in the flames; and every day's march presented a repetition of these horrible scenes.

Wilna, which was entered by the French on the 10th, was carried by the Russians on the 11th, and their advance was so rapid, that in the hurry of passing through that city it was neither plundered nor set on fire; this was the more remarkable, as in the whole line of march between Moscow and the Niemen, Wilna was the only town that escaped pillage and devastation. By the capture of Wilna the ruin and dispersion of the French army were completed; the soldiers, no longer held together by any bond of union, fled in every direction into the forests, and over distant wastes, to escape the sabres and pikes of their enemies, who divided themselves into several columns, which acted simultaneously in different directions. On the 14th the Russians advanced to Kowno, the place at which the French crossed the Niemen in triumph six months before. But how changed the circumstances of the contending armies!

In Courland, Marshal Macdonald had maintained himself, with the Prussian contingent, and a body of French troops; where, by some unaccountable casualty or omission, he was not apprised of the disastrous condition of the grand army until the 16th of December, when he took immediate steps for abandoning Königsberg and the line of the Niemen. On the 28th of December, Count Wittgenstein, having made a rapid march by cross roads into East Prussia, advanced upon Tilsit, where Macdonald was then stationed. Here the Russian light cavalry immediately prepared to surround him, while General Diebitch cut off the communication with the Prussian corps under the command of General D'Yorck. On the following day the Prussian general entered into a

* Russian Official Report, dated December 2, 1812.

BOOK IV. negotiation with General Diebitch, and on the 30th a convention was mutually signed, by which it was agreed, that the Prussian force, eighteen thousand strong, including the corps of Massenbach, with sixty pieces of cannon, should retire unmolested into their own dominions. Marshal Macdonald, whose force was, by the defection of General D'Yorck, reduced to six thousand men, was closely pursued by Wittgenstein; on the night of the 1st of January, 1813, his army was still further reduced by the loss of upwards of eight hundred men, and his whole corps must have been cut off, had not the attention of the Russians been arrested by the approach of the garrison from Dantzic. On the 4th Memel capitulated, with two Prussian battalions. At the same time the Austrians retired towards Warsaw, which place they shortly after evacuated, and withdrew into Austrian Galicia without molestation from the Russians. On the 5th Colonel Rudiger was engaged in making the requisite arrangements for investing Königsberg; and at two o'clock in the morning of the 6th, four regiments of Cossacks forced the gates of the city, and completely routed the enemy, making thirteen hundred prisoners. Macdonald had attempted the defence of this fortress with the remains of his corps, consisting of two thousand five hundred men, to whom were added fifteen hundred of the guards, and nearly two thousand refugees from the different corps; but this force being found inadequate, Königsberg was abandoned to its victorious assailants; and the French armies, consisting of small fragments of divisions, in a state of destitution and disorganization, thought only of reaching Dantzic, Marienberg, Marienwerder, Thorn, and other fortified places, which were still garrisoned by French troops.

At the close of the year 1812, the King of Naples arrived at Marienwerder, where he was engaged in collecting together all who remained of the 4th corps of the army. With great exer-

tions he so far succeeded as to muster eight hundred men, the unfortunate remains of forty-eight thousand warriors from Italy,* who were the victims, less of the arms of the enemy than of the fatal imprudence of a chief, who, not satisfied with having subjugated the larger portion of Europe, ventured to brave the elements, and to invade the deserts of Russia.

On the 12th of January Marienwerder was surprised by Admiral Tschikakoff, and carried by storm, when the Viceroy of Italy escaped only by the fleetness of his horse. On the following day the victorious Platoff took Marienberg, and with his Cossacks cleared the whole of the right bank of the Nogat. Such was the terror with which this "contemptible cavalry"† impressed the French fugitives, that at the mere cry of—"Cossacks," hundreds surrendered; and on the Dantzic road, upwards of eight thousand prisoners, many of them the mere phantoms of men, were taken.

It is extremely difficult to form an estimate of the loss of the French in this dreadful campaign; from the evacuation of Moscow to the abandonment of Königsberg, they left in the hands of the conquerors forty-six generals, upwards of fifteen hundred officers, and one hundred thousand soldiers; besides thirteen hundred and fifty pieces of cannon.‡ Of the number of slain, or of those who perished by famine and the rigours of the climate, no return has ever been published, but it is probable, that of nearly four hundred thousand troops, engaged in this frantic expedition, not fifty thousand, including the Prussian and the Austrian contingents, escaped out of Russia. The first general of the age, at the head of one of the finest and best appointed armies that ever took the field, placing in their leader the most unbounded confidence, was seen flying, beaten, disgraced, and bereft of men, baggage, cannon, horses, in a word of every thing.§ No war, ancient or modern, has exhibited such destruction and misery; more

* Labaume, himself an officer in the 4th corps.

† Twenty-ninth Bulletin.

‡ Russian Official Accounts.

§ Out of 100,000 horses scarcely one survived; and not one single piece of cannon was carried by the fugitives across the barrier stream.

ITINERARY

OF THE ADVANCE AND RETREAT OF THE FRENCH ARMY IN THE RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN.

ADVANCE.		Leagues.	RETREAT.		Leagues.
June 24, 1812,	crossed the Niemen.		Oct. 19, Left Moscow.		
25, —	advanced to Wilna.	26	23, retreated to Borovsk.		18
July 12, —	to Smorghoni.	18	24, —	to Malo-Jaroslavit.	14
20, —	to the Beresina.	34	31, —	to Ghia.	20
27, —	to Vitepsk.	32	Nov. 5, —	to Viasma.	15
29, —	to Sourai.	10	15, —	to Smolensk.	44
Aug. 19, —	to Smolensk.	32	16, —	to Krasnoi.	12
27, —	to Dorogoboui.	28	27, —	to the Beresina.	45
Sep. 1, —	to Viasma.	25	Dec. 2, —	to Molodetschino.	23
5, —	to Borodino.	50	9, —	to Wilna.	29
14, —	to Moscow.	28	12, —	to Kowno.	26

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Constituting a route of 518 French leagues; or, 1,400 English miles.

indeed have fallen in the course of a campaign, but no army ever perished with such lingering and varied misery. Intoxicated by past successes, Napoleon expected that he had only on this, as on former occasions, to strike deeply into the heart of the invaded country, and that victory would hover round the wings of his eagles. But the constancy of the Russian government, the devoted patriotism of the people, the valour of the Russian army, and above all, the rigours of the season, consummated the ruin of the legions of an ambitious chief, who, like Sesostris, the oldest conqueror on record, had thus sacrificed in one expedition, of friends and foes, soldiers and peaceable inhabitants, nearly one million of his species. For events at all analogous to these, we must go back to the days of Xerxes, or to the page of sacred history. The presumptuous prophecy of the conqueror of Austerlitz and Friedland was accomplished; with this difference only, that it was not Alexander, but Napoleon, who was "hurried away by a fatality," and whose "destinies were fulfilled."

The achievements of 1812 elevated the Russian arms to the highest degree of military renown, and the Emperor Alexander, penetrated by those feelings of admiration with which all Europe was impressed, thus addressed the gallant defenders of their country, at the close of the campaign:—

"SOLDIERS!—" That year is gone! That memorable and glorious year, in which you have levelled with the dust the pride of our insolent invader! That year is gone; but your heroic deeds remain. Time cannot efface their remembrance: they are present with ourselves—they will live in the memory of posterity.

"The deliverance of your country from a host of confederate powers, leagued against her very existence, has been purchased by your blood. You have acquired a right to the gratitude of Russia, and to the veneration of foreign realms. You have proved to mankind, by your fidelity, your valour, and your perseverance, that against hearts filled with love to God, and loyalty to their sovereign, the efforts of the most formidable enemy are but as the furious waves of the sea breaking upon an immoveable rock: after all the tumults, they leave but the confused sound of their own overthrow.

"Soldiers! eager to distinguish by some peculiar mark all who have participated in these immortal exploits, we have caused silver medals to be struck, and to receive the benediction of our Holy Church. They bear the date of the memorable year 1812! Suspended to a blue ribbon, they will decorate those manly breasts which have been the bucklers of their country. Each individual of the Russian army is worthy to wear these honourable testimonies, the reward of valour and of constancy.

"You have all shared the same hardships and the same dangers. You have all had but one soul. This ennobling conviction should make you proud of these equal military honours. They will every where proclaim you—faithful sons of Russia! Sons, upon whom God the Father bestows his paternal blessing.

"May your enemies ever tremble, when they behold these insignia! May they know that beneath this medal glows an imperishable valour! Imperishable, because it is not founded upon ambition or impiety, but on the immutable bases of patriotism and religion!

(Signed)

"ALEXANDER."

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CHAPTER XX.

BRITISH HISTORY: *Observations on the declining Power of France—Meeting of Parliament—Parliamentary Pledge to support the Government in the War with America—Sir Samuel Romilly's continued Exertions to ameliorate the Criminal Code—Motion of Sir Francis Burdett to provide against any Interruption in the Exercise of the Royal Functions—Case of the Princess of Wales stated—Her Appeal to the House of Commons through the Medium of the Speaker—Complete Justification of her Honour and Character, followed by Expressions of National Sympathy towards her Royal Highness—The Views of the Friends of Catholic Emancipation developed in a Bill brought into Parliament by Mr. Grattan—Failure of that Measure—The Benefits of the Toleration Act extended to Unitarians—New Measure of Finance—Taxes—Stipendiary Curates' Bill—Important Appeal Cause regarding Scottish Marriages—Renewal of the East India Company's Charter with certain Modifications.*

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1813

AMONG the striking examples of vicissitude in human affairs presented by history, it would be difficult to produce any one more extraordinary in its circumstances, or more important in its effects, than that exhibited in the year 1813. The preceding year, indeed, which witnessed the discomfiture of a mighty attempt to ruin one empire by the accumulated force of another, followed by prodigious loss to the assailing power, closed with a prospect of great changes in the relative state of Europe; but the extent to which these changes actually proceeded could scarcely have been contemplated by the most sagacious or sanguine political speculators. That the wide and unlimited schemes of ambition by which the French Emperor was urged to annex remote provinces to his overgrown dominions, and to trample upon the rights of other states, must, at no remote period, be crushed by their own vastness, might have been predicted from the undeviating course of events in the records of mankind: but that the wheel of fortune should revolve with so much rapidity, was a thing not to have been foreseen. In 1812, France led against Russia, along with her native and associated troops, the contingents of her allies, Austria, Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, and the Rhenish confederates. In 1813, all these powers, Saxony alone excepted, were leagued against her, and, in conjunction with Russia, displayed hostile banners upon French ground on one frontier, while another frontier, protected by the strong barrier of the Pyrenees, was forced by the combined army of England and her peninsular allies. Well might the astonished author of these reverses, in the frankness of emotion, exclaim: "All Europe was with us a year ago: all Europe is now against us." He did not, however, yield to the adverse storm, without ex-

ertions worthy of his former fame. He fell indeed, but it was the fall of a giant. The annihilation of one mighty host, was speedily followed by the creation of another, equal apparently in strength and appointment; and the tide of war had its flux and reflux, subordinate to the grand movement which swept away the colossal superstructure.

The domestic history of the year exhibits a remarkable state of tranquillity: partly from the improved prospects with regard to trade and manufacture, and partly from the cheering influence of a bountiful harvest. In parliament, the great events on the continent holding every one in a state of expectation, and inducing almost an universal acquiescence in the expediency of the vigorous prosecution of the war; opposition became dormant; and unprecedented sums of money were voted for subsidies and other military purposes, with scarcely a dissentient voice. The ministry, strengthened only by the influence of prosperity, remained firm in their seats. Public credit stood high, and heavy loans were negotiated without difficulty. Peace, at all times desirable, was little insisted upon, it being the general impression that it must be conquered to be enjoyed.

The new parliament assembled on Tuesday, the 24th of November, 1812; and the Right Honourable Charles Abbot, who, during four successive parliaments, had presided over the proceedings of the house of commons, with distinguished dignity and undeviating impartiality, was again called to the chair of that assembly by unanimous consent. On the 30th, the session of parliament was opened in form, on which day, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, attended by the great officers of state, repaired to the house of peers, and having ascended the throne, commenced his speech by expressing

the deepest concern at the continuance of his majesty's lamented indisposition, and the diminished hopes of his ultimate recovery. His royal highness next adverted to the successes in the peninsula under Lord Wellington, and expressed his confident reliance on the determination of parliament to continue to afford every aid that might be necessary in support of the important contest, which had given to Europe the example of persevering and successful resistance to the power of France. The restoration of peace and friendship between this country and the courts of St. Petersburg and Stockholm was next announced by his royal highness, who spoke in the highest terms of admiration of the resistance made by Russia to the arms of her invaders. His royal highness then informed parliament that a supplementary treaty had been entered into with his Sicilian Majesty, and new measures concerted for the active co-operation of that island in the common cause. With regard to the declaration of war by the United States of America, he observed, that it was made under circumstances which might have afforded a reasonable expectation, that the amicable relations between the two countries would not be long interrupted, but the conduct and pretensions of the American government had hitherto prevented the conclusion of any pacific arrangement. In conclusion, the speech recommended an early consideration of a provision for the effectual government of the provinces of India, in consequence of the approaching expiration of the Charter of the East India Company; it adverted to the success of the means employed for suppressing the spirit of outrage and insubordination which had appeared in some parts of this country, and expressed a hope that atrocities so repugnant to the British character would never recur; and closed with the usual declaration of confidence in the wisdom of parliament, and in the loyalty of the people.

The usual complimentary address on the speech from the throne was moved in the house of peers by Lord Longford, seconded by Lord Rolle; and in the commons by Lord Clive, seconded by Mr. Hart Davis, and carried in both houses without a division.

One of the first acts of the new parliament was to grant a sum not exceeding two hundred thousand pounds, for the relief of such parts of the inhabitants of the empire of Russia as had suffered "in their persons and property, in consequence of the unprovoked and atrocious invasion of that country by the Ruler of France."*

On the meeting of parliament after the

Christmas recess, the papers relative to the discussions with America, together with the declaration of the prince regent relative to the causes and origin of the war with that country,† were produced by his majesty's ministers; these documents, which gave rise to very animated debates, called from both houses addresses to his royal highness the prince regent, assuring him, "that while parliament deeply regretted the failure of his royal highness to preserve the relations of peace and amity between this country and the United States, they entirely approved of the resistance which had been opposed to the unjustifiable pretensions of the American government; that, impressed with these sentiments, and fully convinced of the justice of the war in which his majesty's government had been compelled to engage, his royal highness might rely upon their most zealous and cordial support in every measure necessary for prosecuting the war with vigour, and for bringing the contest to a safe and honourable termination" This address, which was moved in the house of commons by Lord Castlereagh, and in the lords by Earl Bathurst, was carried in both those assemblies without a division.

Sir Samuel Romilly, with that perseverance in his endeavours to ameliorate the criminal law of the country, which has conferred upon this enlightened statesman so much honour, introduced into the house of commons, on the 17th of February, a bill, which had twice passed that assembly, but which had on both occasions been rejected by the upper house of parliament. This was a bill for the purpose of repealing the act of the 10th and 11th of King William, which made it a capital offence to steal property to the amount of five shillings, privately, in a dwelling-house, shop, or warehouse. The principle upon which he founded this bill was, he said, precisely the same as that which he had before stated—namely, the inexpediency of suffering penal laws to exist which are not intended to be executed. A demonstration of which was to be found in the returns of the criminal court of London and Middlesex during the years 1805, 6, 7, 8, and 9; from which it appeared that the number of persons committed for offences of this nature amounted to one hundred and eighty-eight, of whom only eighteen had been convicted, and not one executed. This was a pretty strong proof that the law had become obsolete, and that there was no intention to enforce its execution. The consequence was, that where some punishment was deserved, none was inflicted, and owing to the

* Message of the Prince Regent, presented to Parliament December 17, 1812.

† See Vol. II. Chap. XVII. Page 214.

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The next bill which he proposed to introduce related to a part of the punishment for the crime of high treason, which was not at present carried into execution. The sentence for that crime, as the law now stood, was, that the criminal should be dragged upon a hurdle to the place of execution; that he should be hanged by the neck, but cut down before he was dead; and that his bowels should then be taken out and burned before his face.† As to that part of the sentence which related to embowelling, it was never executed now; but this omission was owing to accident, or to the mercy of the executioner, not to the discretion of the judge.

These bills, with a third, to take away the corruption of blood as a consequence of attainder of high treason or felony, were allowed to be brought in, and the first passed through the house of commons, but was thrown out by the peers. The other two bills were both lost in the lower house of parliament.

On the 23d of February, a subject was brought forward in the house of commons by Sir Francis Burdett, which, if not of present political importance, touched upon a curious and interesting point of the constitution, and appears to have made a more serious impression than was at first expected. The hon. baronet, in his introductory speech, said, that it appeared to him that violent incroachments had been made on the true principles of the constitution, by those measures which had been adopted in consequence of the unfortunate malady of his majesty. The first of these was in 1788, when it had been determined that the heir apparent to the crown had no more right to the government of the nation than any other subject. The steps taken at this period were justified on the plea of necessity; but in his opinion there were two principles which governed the whole of this question: 1st, That the powers and prerogatives annexed by the common law to the crown descend by hereditary succession, and not by election: 2d, That its powers are never suspended;‡ for if the functions of royalty were for any time to cease, one of the three branches of the constitution would be abrogated, and a

dissolution of legal government would ensue. Both these principles, he thought, were unnecessarily and unwarrantably departed from at the period referred to. In 1810, this mischievous precedent was followed; the usurpation was renewed, and a fiction was resorted to, creating a phantom of royalty, in order to elect and appoint an executive magistrate. As a further usurpation of power, restrictions were placed upon the person selected to possess some of the prerogatives of the crown, all of which were bestowed by the law for the benefit of the people. His object was, to prevent on future occasions this lawless assumption of authority, and to destroy that pretence of necessity, which in fact never existed, because many legal remedies remained. He did not mean to tie down the house to any distinct proposition, but simply to provide against any interruption in the exercise of the royal authority in the event of the death of the prince regent during the continuance of his majesty's malady; he, however, did not hesitate to state, that in his view, it would be right to give to the regent powers as uncontrolled as those belonging to the king himself. Further, he should propose that the powers now exercised by the prince regent, should, in case of the death or disability of his royal highness, be exercised by the heir to the crown, the Princess Charlotte of Wales. He concluded with moving, "that leave be given to bring in a bill to provide against any interruption of the exercise of the royal authority, in the event of the death of his royal highness the prince regent, during the continuance of his majesty's malady."

It was contended, in opposition to this motion, that the consideration of such a topic was at present unnecessary, and that it might safely be left to the two houses of parliament to provide for such cases when they should occur. As to the right in the heir of the crown to exercise the royal authority in the event of an interruption of the regal functions, that was a question which might now be considered as at rest, since no doubts had been raised concerning it during the progress of the last regency bill.§ It appeared, that the honourable baronet's object was to destroy the discretionary power of parliament

* On this subject Mr. Burke has well observed—"The question is, whether, in a well constituted commonwealth, it is wise to retain laws not put in force? A penal law not ordinarily executed, must be deficient in justice or wisdom, or both. But we are told that we must trust to the operation of manners to relax the law; on the contrary, the law ought to be always in unison with the manners, and corroborative of them, otherwise the effect of both will be lessened. Our passions ought not to be right, and our reason, of which law is the organ, wrong."

† Harrison, one of the regicides, executed in the reign of Charles II. held a conversation with his executioner after his bowels were taken out.

‡ On the principle of "The king is dead—long live the king."

§ Mr. Bathurst.

upon the subject, and that he preferred the determination of the question on the hereditary principle. Whichever way it was determined, there was a balance of inconveniences: but the reason why it was better that it should rest in the discretion of parliament was, that this body felt it to be its first duty to take care that the royal power should be returned undiminished into the hands of its legitimate possessor, as soon as the incapacity of exercising it was removed; whereas, upon the hereditary principle, the royal power being immediately and fully transferred to the regent, there was not the same security for its resumption.* In reply to these objections it was urged, that there was only one life between us and the recurrence of former difficulties, and that the most proper time for a parliamentary arrangement on a great constitutional subject of this nature, was such a time as the present, when party heats were so much allayed, and when there was no danger of reviving the animosities to which former discussions had given birth.† On a division of the house there appeared for the motion seventy-three, against it two hundred and thirty-eight voices.

During the present year no subject of a domestic nature fixed upon the public mind with so much force as the discords and alienation which had for years subsisted between the prince regent and his illustrious consort. The original cause of these dissensions it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to trace, except to the vague and unsatisfactory source of incompatibility of inclinations; but that they originated at a period so early as the first year of the residence of the Princess of Wales in this country, and that they were of such a nature as almost to dissolve the marriage contract, is clear from a correspondence which took place between those illustrious personages in the year 1796. The marriage of the Prince and Princess of Wales was solemnized on the 8th of April, 1795; the date of the birth of their only child was the 7th of January following; and in the month of April, in the same year, a message from the prince was conveyed to the Princess of Wales, through the medium of Lord Cholmondeley, informing her that the intercourse between herself and the prince was in future to be of the most restrictive nature—in fact, that a separation as to all conjugal relations was, from that time, and for ever, to take place. In this arrangement the princess expressed her acquiescence, but she considered the subject of too important a nature to rest merely on verbal communication, and in

compliance with her request, the pleasure of his royal highness was communicated to her in writing.‡

In the year 1805, while the Prince and Princess of Wales were living in a state of separation, the Duke of Sussex informed the prince, that Sir John Douglas had made known to him some circumstances respecting the behaviour of the Princess of Wales, which, in the opinion of the duke, it was of the highest importance the prince should hear, as they might, if true, not only affect the honour and peace of mind of his royal highness, but also the succession to the throne. Sir John and Lady Douglas, having made a formal declaration of the charges they thought proper to advance against the Princess of Wales, this declaration was submitted by the prince to Lord Thurlow, who gave it as his opinion that his royal highness had no alternative but to submit the matter to the king. In consequence of this opinion, and some further examinations which took place, the declarations of William and Sarah Lampert, servants to Sir John Douglas; William Cole, Robert and Sarah Bidgood, Frances Lloyd, and Sir John and Lady Douglas; were laid before his majesty; who thereupon issued a warrant, dated the 29th of May, 1806, directing and authorising Lord Erskine, as lord chancellor; Lord Grenville, as first lord of the treasury; Earl Spencer, as one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state; and Lord Ellenborough, as chief justice of the court of king's bench; to inquire "into the truth of the said allegations, and to report to him thereon."

The commissioners so appointed first examined on oath the principal informants, Sir John Douglas, and Charlotte his wife; who both positively swore, the former, to his having observed the fact of the pregnancy of her royal highness; and the latter, not only that she had observed it, but that her royal highness had made not the least scruple of talking about it with her, and describing the stratagems she meant to resort to in order to avoid detection. It was further deposed by Lady Douglas, that in the course of the year 1802, the princess was secretly delivered of a female child, which had been brought up in her own house, and under her own inspection! On this part of the inquiry, the commissioners, in their report to his majesty, declared, that there is no foundation whatever for believing that the child now living with the princess, is the child of her royal highness, or that she was delivered of any child in the year 1802; nor had any thing appeared to

* Lord Castlereagh.

† Mr. Brand and Mr. Whitbread.

‡ Letter of the Prince to the Princess of Wales, dated April 30, 1796.

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them that could warrant the belief that she was pregnant in that year, or at any other period within the compass of their inquiries. That child was, beyond all doubt, born in the Brownlow-Street Hospital, on the 11th day of July, 1802, of the body of Sophia Austin, and was first brought to the princess's house in the month of November following.

But the commissioners did not feel themselves at liberty to close their report here. Besides the allegation of the pregnancy and delivery of the princess, those declarations, on the whole of which his majesty had been pleased to command them to inquire and report, contained other particulars respecting the conduct of her royal highness, such as, must necessarily give occasion to very unfavourable impressions. From the various depositions and proofs annexed to this report, particularly from the examination of Robert Bidgood, William Cole, Frances Lloyd, and Mrs. Lisle,* "it would," the commissioners said, "be perceived, that several strong circumstances of this description, had been positively sworn to by witnesses, who could not, in their judgment, be suspected of any unfavourable bias, and whose veracity, in this respect, they had no ground to question; "it appears therefore," continued the commissioners, "that as on the one hand, the facts of pregnancy and delivery are, to our minds, satisfactorily disproved; so on the other we think, that the circumstances to which we now refer, particularly those stated to have passed between her royal highness and Captain Manby, must be credited, until they shall receive some decisive contradiction; and if true, are justly entitled to the most serious consideration."†

Immediately on the receipt of a copy of this report, the Princess of Wales addressed a letter to his majesty on the subject; in which, in the face of the Almighty, she assured his majesty, not only of her innocence as to the weightier parts of the charge preferred against her by her enemies, but of her freedom from all the indecours and improprieties which had been imputed to her by the lords commissioners, upon the evidence of persons who spoke as falsely as Sir John and Lady Douglas themselves.‡

On the 17th of August she again wrote to the king, having in the mean time consulted

with her legal advisers, requesting that she might have authenticated copies of the report, and of the declarations and depositions on which it proceeded, a request with which his majesty was graciously pleased to comply.

Having received these papers, the Princess of Wales submitted them to her legal advisers, the principal of whom were Lord Eldon, Mr. Perceval, and Sir Thomas Plomer, and on the 2d of October she transmitted to his majesty an elaborate letter, containing her observations on the charges against her, and the evidence on which they rested. This letter is drawn up with uncommon ability; and while it displays a considerable portion of acuteness and penetration, such as might have been expected from the legal experience and talents of her counsel, contains many passages distinguished by that dignified solemnity and pathetic tone of remonstrance and feeling, which could only have proceeded from the person most interested in the subject.

After stating that the extravagance of the malice of Sir John and Lady Douglas had defeated itself, she states that there still remained imputations "strongly sanctioned and countenanced by the report," respecting which she could not remain silent without incurring the most fatal consequences to her honour and character. Against the substance of the proceeding itself, and the manner in which it was conducted, she considered herself bound to protest. The report proceeded upon *ex parte* examination, without affording her an opportunity of explaining or defending her conduct, or without the lords commissioners even hearing one word which she could urge in her own defence. For more than two years, she had been informed, her conduct had been made the subject of investigation; but the cause of this she did not learn till the investigation had actually taken place, and then she found that the charge against her was high treason, committed in the infamous crime of adultery.

Her royal highness dwells with great force of argument on the extreme improbability of Lady Douglas's accusation respecting her pregnancy. But as the commissioners most unequivocally and decidedly acquaint her of that charge, she proceeds to examine the evidence of those

* In the depositions of Bidgood and Cole it was stated, that certain levities, of a nature unbecoming her rank and station, and incompatible with the character of a virtuous woman, had been practised by the Princess of Wales, in the years 1802-3; and that Sir Sidney Smith, Mr. Lawrence, the portrait painter, and Captain Manby, of the ship *Africaine*, had been admitted to her house on a footing that warranted suspicion of criminal intercourse. Frances Lloyd spoke less distinctly to the same fact; and Mrs. Lisle, a lady of the princess's household, whose evidence was principally relied upon, deposed, that the behaviour of the princess towards Captain Manby, who often visited at Montague-House, was a flirting conduct, and such as, in the witness's opinion, did not become a married woman.

† Report of the Lord Commissioners, dated July 14, 1806.

‡ Letter of the Princess of Wales to the King, dated August 12, 1806.

witnesses, who, in the opinion of the commissioners, were particularly deserving of credit, namely, W. Cole, R. Bidgood, F. Lloyd, and Mrs. Lisle. Having replied to the evidence of Cole, Bidgood, and Lloyd, who had lived with his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales before he married, and were appointed by him to stations about her royal highness, and shown, to the conviction of every unprejudiced mind, that their testimony was either false in fact, or erroneous in conclusion, she proceeds to observe upon the evidence of Mrs. Lisle. What is exactly meant by flirting conduct, "it is difficult," says the princess, "with any precision to ascertain. How many women are there, most virtuous, most truly modest, incapable of any thing impure, vicious, or immoral, in deed or thought, who, from greater vivacity of spirits, from less natural reserve, from the want of caution, which the very consciousness of innocence betrays into, conduct themselves in a manner which a woman of a graver character, of more reserved disposition, but not with one particle of superior virtue, thinks too incautious, too unreserved, too familiar; and which, if forced upon her oath to give her opinion upon it, she might feel herself, as an honest woman, bound to say, in that opinion, was flirting."

The other allegations of the different witnesses, are all then examined in their order, and rebutted with success; and the Princess of Wales, in concluding her letter to the king, thus expresses herself: "Oh! sire, to be unfortunate, and scarcely to feel at liberty to lament; to be cruelly used, and to feel it almost an offence and a duty to be silent—is a hard lot; but use has in some degree inured me to it. Before my spirit had been yet all lowered by my misfortunes, I should have been disposed to have met such a charge with the contempt, which, I trust, by this time, your majesty thinks due to it; I should have been disposed to defy my enemies to the utmost; and to have scorned to answer any thing but a legal charge, before a competent tribunal; but in my present misfortunes such force of mind is gone. I ought, perhaps, so far to be thankful to them for their wholesome lessons of humility. I have, therefore, entered into this long detail, to endeavour to remove, at the first possible opportunity, any unfavourable impressions; to rescue myself from the dangers which the continuance of these suspicions might occasion, and to preserve to me your majesty's good opinion, in whose kindness, hitherto, I have found infinite consolation, and to whose justice, under all circumstances, I can

confidently appeal. . . . At all events, I trust your majesty will restore me to the blessing of your gracious presence, and confirm to me, by your own gracious words, your satisfactory conviction of my innocence."

Nine weeks having elapsed after this letter was sent to his majesty without any reply, the princess again wrote, expressing her anxiety, and her wish to learn whether she might be admitted to the royal presence.* In reply to which her royal highness was informed, that her vindication had been referred to his majesty's confidential servants, who had given it as their opinion, "that it was no longer necessary for his majesty to decline receiving the princess into his royal presence;" but at the same time, "his majesty could not forbear to express, in the conclusion of the business, his desire and expectation, that such a conduct might be in future observed by the princess, as may fully justify those marks of paternal regard and affection, which the king always wishes to shew to every part of his royal family."†

The Princess of Wales no sooner received this communication, than she named a day, on which, if agreeable to his majesty, she would have the happiness to throw herself in filial duty and affection at his majesty's feet. The day, however, was at first postponed by his majesty, who afterwards informed the princess, that at the request of the Prince of Wales, he declined to see her until her vindication had been examined by the lawyers of the prince, and until the prince had been enabled to submit the statement which he proposed to make thereon.

The princess remonstrated in strong terms against the unparalleled injustice and cruelty of this interposition of the Prince of Wales, at such a time, and under such circumstances; and trusted that his majesty would recall his determination not to see her till the prince's answer respecting her vindication was received. She particularly dwelt on the circumstance, that the judgment of his majesty's confidential servants was appealed from by the prince, whom, from this time, she must consider as assuming the character of her accuser. If the prince was allowed to interfere once, he might interfere again, so as to prevent for ever the arrival of that hour which was to prove to the world the innocence of her royal highness. Reverting again to the nature of the evidence, her royal highness says—"There may have been circumstances, manifesting a degree of condescension and familiarity in my behaviour and conduct, which, in the opinion of many, may be considered as not sufficiently

* Letter to the King, dated Montague-House, December 8, 1806.

† Letter of the King to the Princess of Wales, dated January 28, 1807.

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guarded, dignified, and reserved. Circumstances, however, which my foreign education, and foreign habits, misled me to think, in the humble and retired situation in which it was my fate to live, and where I had no relation, no equal, no friend to advise me, were wholly free from offence. But when they have been dragged forward from the scenes of private life, in a grave proceeding, on a charge of high treason and adultery, they seem to derive a colour and character from the nature of the charge which they are brought forward to support. And I cannot but believe that they have been used for no other purpose than to afford a cover to screen from view the injustice of that charge; that they have been taken advantage of, to let down my accusers more gently, and to deprive me of that full acquittal on the report of the four lords, which my innocence of all offence most justly intitled me to receive. Whatever opinion, however, may be formed of any part of my conduct, it must, in justice, be formed with reference to the situation in which I am placed; if I am judged of as Princess of Wales, with reference to the high rank of that station, I must be judged as Princess of Wales, banished from the prince, unprotected by the support and the countenance which belong that station; and if I am judged of in my private character, as a married woman, I must be judged of as a wife banished from her husband, and living in a widowed seclusion from him and retirement from the world.”*

After a lapse of three weeks, during which time it does not appear that any reply, either private or official, was made to the letter of the princess, her royal highness informed his majesty, that having received no command to wait upon his majesty, and no intimation of his pleasure, she was reduced to the necessity, in vindication of her character, to resort to the publication of the proceedings upon the inquiry into her conduct, and that the publication alluded to would not be withheld beyond the following Monday.† To avoid coming to this painful extremity, she had taken every step in her power except that which would be abandoning her character to utter infamy, and her station in life to no uncertain danger, and possibly to no very distant destruction.

This letter was dated the 5th of March, within two days of which time a resolution was taken to call Mr. Perceval and his friends to his

majesty's councils. As soon as the ministerial arrangements could be completed, a minute of council was made, dated April 22, 1807, wherein it was humbly submitted to his majesty, “that it was essentially necessary, in justice to her royal highness the Princess of Wales, and for the honour and interest of his majesty's illustrious family, that her royal highness should be admitted, with as little delay as possible, into his majesty's presence; and that she should be received in a manner due to her rank and station, in his majesty's court and family.”

Notwithstanding this advice, it does not appear that the Princess of Wales was ever restored to complete favour either at court or in the royal family; and to aggravate the difficulty and embarrassment of her situation, her intercourse with her daughter became subject to great restraint. Nothing, however, occurred, that is publicly and officially known, till the month of January, 1813. At this time the princess was so much debarred from the society of her daughter, that she determined to write to the prince regent on the subject; but to her surprise, though her former friends now held the office of ministers, she found great difficulty in getting her letter conveyed to the prince, and though it was transmitted to ministers on the 14th, it was not till the 23d that it was read to his royal highness. In this letter she dwelt with great force upon the injustice of widening the separation between mother and daughter, which she considered as not only cutting her off from one of the few domestic enjoyments which she still retained, but as giving countenance to those calumnious reports which had been proved to be totally unfounded. “That her love for her mother, with whom, by his majesty's wise and gracious arrangements, she passed the years of her infancy and childhood, never can be extinguished, I well know,” says the princess, “and the knowledge of it forms the greatest blessing of my existence. But let me implore to your royal highness to reflect, how inevitably all attempts to abate her attachment by forcibly separating us, if they succeed, must injure my child's principles—if they fail, must destroy her happiness.

In consequence of this letter, which, soon after it was sent, appeared in one of the daily journals, the prince regent thought proper to direct, that the letter of the Princess of Wales,

* Letter to the King dated from Montague-House, Feb. 16, 1807.

† All the principal documents connected with this subject, comprehending the report of the lords commissioners, the letters of the Princess of Wales to his Majesty, and the depositions both criminatory and exculpatory, had already been printed under the superintendence of Mr. Perceval, in a volume quaintly styled “The Book.” This instrument, dexterously wielded, contributed to place Mr. Perceval and his friends in the cabinet, and was generally supposed to have had its influence in enabling them to retain their situations after the appointment of the regency government.

and the whole of the documents relating to the investigation of 1806, (inappropriately called the 'delicate investigation') should be referred to the members of his majesty's privy council, for their consideration, and that they should report to his royal highness their "opinion, whether, under all the circumstances of the case, it was fit and proper that the intercourse between the Princess of Wales and her daughter, the Princess Charlotte, should continue to be subject to regulations and restrictions." In virtue of this appointment, the members of the privy council assembled on the 23d of February, when they reported to the prince regent, that, in their opinion, "it was highly fit and proper, that the intercourse between her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, and her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte, should continue to be subject to regulation and restraint."

The Princess of Wales now felt herself imperiously called upon to take some public and decisive step for the protection of her own honour and character. Accordingly, on the 1st of March, her royal highness addressed a letter to the speaker of the house of commons, in which she complains that the tendency of this report, a copy of which had been transmitted to her by Lord Sidmouth, was to cast aspersions upon her honour and character. Thus assailed by a secret tribunal, before which she could not be heard in her own defence, she was compelled to throw herself upon the house and upon the justice of parliament, and to require that the fullest investigation might be instituted into the whole of her conduct during her residence in this country. "The Princess of Wales," adds the letter to the speaker, "fears no scrutiny, however strict, provided she is tried by impartial judges, known to the constitution, and in the fair and open manner the law of the land requires. Her only desire is, that she may be either declared to be innocent, or proved to be guilty."

On the 5th of March, Mr. C. Johnstone, after avowing that he had had no concert with, or authority from the Princess of Wales, submitted to the house of commons a motion for an address to the prince regent, requesting him to order that a copy of a report made to his majesty on the 14th of July, 1806, by the Lord Chancellor Erskine, Lord Grenville, and Lord Ellenborough, touching the conduct of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, be laid before the house, with a view to an inquiry, now, while the witnesses on both sides were still living, into all the allegations, facts, and circumstances, appertaining to that investigation; a proceeding, which, in his opinion, was due to the honour of

her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, the safety of the throne, and the tranquillity of the country.

Lord Castlereagh, in opposing the motion, said, the house could not suppose that the papers called for by the honourable mover, were at all necessary to remove any apprehension as to the successor to the throne of these kingdoms. The innocence of the Princess of Wales of the charge brought against her by Lady Douglas had been completely established on the report of the members of two successive administrations; and if a prosecution had not been instituted against her accusers, it did not arise from any doubt in the minds of the law officers, as to the punishment that would be brought down upon the degraded and guilty heads of Sir John and Lady Douglas, but from a wish to avoid bringing such subjects before the public.

It was asserted on the other hand, that if the motion went off, and nothing was said on the subject of the letter of the Princess of Wales to the speaker, the house would not do justice towards her royal highness. All that had been said by the honourable mover of this measure, and much more had been said by Lord Eldon, Mr. Perceval, and Sir Thomas Plumer, who were in fact the authors of the letter written by the Princess of Wales to the king, in 1806; and yet the members of the present cabinet, Lord Castlereagh and Lord Eldon being of the number, bring forward this very proceeding of 1806, which had been so strongly condemned, and so completely exploded, by themselves and their friends, and upon such a ground proceed to an investigation in 1818. It was due to the memory of Mr. Perceval to state, that to his dying day, he always publicly proclaimed the innocence of the princess; but as to her surviving friends of 1806-7, they were now the prince regent's ministers, and they were now mute—mute of malice. Was her royal highness not entitled to the common courtesy belonging to her sex? Had she attempted more than had been done in the brutal reign of Henry VIII. by the unfortunate Anne Bullen, who, like the princess, asked to be declared innocent, or proved guilty.* The report of 1807 not only acquitted her royal highness, but went further, and advised his majesty to receive her, with as little delay as possible, in a manner due to her rank and station, in his majesty's court and in his family. With such a document in existence, why was it necessary now to ransack the evidence of 1806, and to rake together the documents of that period, to found a report upon what regulations were necessary to govern the intercourse between the princess and her daughter? All proceedings

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* Mr. Whitbread.

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like these contributed to pull down royalty. The regent ought not to lay the flattering unction to his soul, and think his conduct would bear him harmless through all these transactions; no man could have a sister in the situation the princess was placed in, without saying she was extremely ill treated.* The most complete defiance on the part of the Princess of Wales had been thrown out, in the presence of those persons who had the fullest opportunity of inquiry, and whose duty it was to inquire into every part of her conduct—who have the means of searching her very heart. So completely did she now appear acquitted of all possible imputation or blame, even by the persons from whom the aspersions were, by the world, supposed, in the last report, to have been thrown upon her, that it was now unnecessary to press the matter to a division. Her innocence was acknowledged entire—complete. To such restrictions as the prince regent, in his capacity of father of the Princess Charlotte, or by the advice of his ministers, might think proper to impose upon her intercourse with her daughter, she must submit. It was her lot. But she had the satisfaction of knowing that her reputation henceforward was, by the confession of all, without imputation or reproach.† The words and meaning of the cabinet report in 1807, conveyed a complete, satisfactory, and unlimited acquittal.‡

This subject, which was terminated in the house of commons in a manner so favourable to the honour and character of the Princess of Wales, was calculated to excite a deep and general interest; and perhaps there scarcely ever was a subject on which the nation was so nearly agreed. Even those who believed that the conduct of her royal highness had not been perfectly free from blame, were decidedly of opinion that she had been most unfairly and harshly treated, not only in the original report, but in almost all the subsequent stages of the proceedings; while the great majority, who had not a doubt of her complete innocence, was disposed to consider her as the intended victim of a flagitious and profligate conspiracy. In a very short time nothing was talked of but the hardships of her case; and as the British nation is never slow to commiserate the cause of the afflicted, and to support the persecuted, the Princess of Wales, more particularly as a female—a deserted wife—and the mother of the future sovereign of these realms, obtained a liberal portion of British sympathy and support. As soon as her innocence was proclaimed, even by the ministers of the prince regent, to be completely established, addresses of congratulation poured in upon her from all quarters of the kingdom, and if popu-

lar favour could have supplied the place of domestic happiness, the wounds which had so long been inflicted upon her lacerated feelings would have been healed.

At the close of the parliamentary session in the summer of the last year, the house of commons, by a majority of more than two to one, had agreed to a resolution for taking into consideration the affairs of the catholics of Ireland early in the next session; while the house of lords had rejected a motion for a similar resolution by a majority of one voice only. From that period great activity had been displayed by both parties in promoting their respective views; and the tables of both houses of parliament were, soon after the commencement of the session, crowded with petitions on the subject. The tenor of the great majority of these petitions was unfavourable to the catholic claims; and it soon became manifest that the friends to emancipation would have to encounter a formidable resistance.

After some preliminary proceedings, Mr. Grattan, on the 30th of April, presented to the house his bill “to provide for the removal of the civil and military disqualifications under which his majesty’s roman catholic subjects now labour,” and the second reading of the bill was fixed for the 11th of May. This bill was of considerable length, but its most important provisions are contained in the following abridgment:—

After a preamble, declaring the inviolable establishment of the protestant succession to the crown, and the protestant national churches of England, Ireland, and Scotland, and the expediency of communicating to his majesty’s roman catholic subjects the blessings of our free constitution, in order to put an end to all religious jealousies, and unite all the inhabitants of these islands in defence of their common liberties and government, the bill provides, that it shall be lawful for persons professing the roman catholic religion to sit and vote in either house of parliament, upon taking a declaration and oath instead of the oaths of allegiance, abjuration, and supremacy, and the declarations against transubstantiation and the invocation of saints. The oath, which is of great length, contains a promise of allegiance to the king; of supporting the protestant succession to the crown; a renunciation of belief in the temporal jurisdiction of the pope, or any foreign potentate in these kingdoms, and of the validity of excommunication by the pope, or council, to depose princes; a declaration that no act in itself immoral can be justified on pretence that it is for the good of the church, or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power; and that no sin can be forgiven at the will of the pope, or any priest, without sincere repentance; a declaration that the infallibility of the pope is not an article of the roman catholic church; a disavowal of any intention to subvert or disturb the present church establishment; and a promise to make known all conspiracies, &c. for such a purpose; and, finally, an attestation that this oath is taken in the plain sense of the words, with-

* Mr. Stuart Wortley.

† Mr. Whitbread.

‡ Mr. Canning.

out equivocation or reservation, and that no power or authority can dispense with or annul it.

It is further enacted, that on taking the above oath and declaration, it shall be lawful for roman catholics to vote for members of parliament when duly qualified; also to hold and exercise all civil and military offices, or places of trust or profit, with the following exceptions, namely, the offices of lord high chancellor, lord keeper or lord commissioner of the great seal of Great Britain, or lord-lieutenant, lord-deputy, or other chief governor or governors of Ireland; also to be a member of any lay body corporate, and to hold any civil office or place of trust therein. A proviso is subjoined, that nothing in this act shall extend to the repeal of any laws in force for establishing the uniformity of public worship in the episcopal church of England and Ireland; or to make any change in the ecclesiastical judicature of the realm; or to enable a roman catholic to present to any ecclesiastical benefice whatsoever; or to make it lawful for him to advise the crown as to the disposal of any preferment in the protestant churches of England, Ireland, or Scotland.

It is further enacted, that every person now exercising, or who shall hereafter exercise, any spiritual function belonging to the roman catholic religion, besides the oath and declaration above-mentioned, shall take a specified oath, the tenour of which is, that the person will never consent to the appointment of any bishop or vicar-apostolic but such as he shall deem to be of unimpeachable loyalty and peaceable conduct; that he will have no correspondence or communication with the Pope or See of Rome, or with any tribunal established by their authority, or with any person authorised by them, tending to disturb the established protestant churches of these kingdoms; or any correspondence at all with such persons or tribunals, on any matter not purely ecclesiastical. A further enactment prohibits any person born out of the united kingdom, except such as are born of British or Irish parents, from exercising any episcopal functions in it; and also requires a certain term of residence within the united kingdom before such functions can be exercised.

On the 13th of May the bill was read a second time and committed for the following day. This bill, as amended by the committee, contained a number of new clauses, the principal scope of which was to place a *refo* on the appointment of catholic bishops in the hands of the king, by the appointment of two separate commissions, one for Great Britain, and the other for Ireland, consisting of roman catholic ecclesiastics, exercising episcopal functions, lay roman catholic peers or commoners, and privy counsellors, the principal secretary of state being of the number, to which board of commissioners the name of every person of the roman catholic religion proposing to assume the functions of a bishop or dean should be notified, and the board should report to his majesty, or to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, whether they know or believe any thing which tends to impeach the loyalty or peaceable conduct of such person; after which it shall be lawful for his majesty, or the lord-lieutenant, to approve or disapprove of the said person; and any one exercising the above functions after disapprobation shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour. To the same board was also to be confided the in-

spection of all bulls and dispensations from the See of Rome. BOOK IV.

On the 24th of May a call of the house took place for the purpose of giving to this measure all the consideration demanded by its importance, on which occasion the speaker concluded an elaborate and eloquent speech by moving, that the first clause of the bill intended to confer upon roman catholics the privilege "to sit and vote in either house of parliament," should be omitted. This clause was, by both parties, regarded as of the most fundamental consequence; and while the dangers of its admission were exhibited in the most glowing colours by one party, the evils to be expected from leaving the catholics in a state of dissatisfaction, and of disappointing their ardent expectations, were as forcibly insisted upon by the other. At length the decisive trial of strength took place, and the division of the house proved that the opinions of its members were nearly balanced, there being for the clause two hundred and forty-seven voices, against it two hundred and fifty-one, leaving a majority of four against the catholics sitting in parliament. On the numbers being declared, Mr. Ponsonby said, that as the bill, without this clause, was neither worthy of the acceptance of the catholics, nor of the farther support of the friends of concession, he should move that the chairman do now leave the chair, which was carried without a division, and thus the bill was abandoned. But Mr. Grattan, undismayed by defeat, and resolved to persevere in a cause which, in the opinion of some of the first statesmen of this age and nation, involved the essential interests of the united kingdom, and the permanent tranquillity of the empire, gave notice that he should early in the next session move for leave to bring in a bill for the relief of his majesty's roman catholic subjects in Ireland.

In the discussion on the catholic emancipation bill, though several members had manifested an intention to support all those exclusions from place and power, which the existing laws have enjoined against separatists from the established church, yet the most extensive and liberal principles of toleration were generally professed. Hence, probably, the time was chosen for an attempt to relieve from the pains and penalties still legally impending over them, those christians who impugn the doctrine of the trinity, and to extend to them the benefits of the toleration act. Under these impressions, Mr. William Smith moved for leave to bring in a bill for this purpose. As the law stood, he said, persons who in conversation or writing denied the existence of any of the persons of the trinity, were disabled on conviction from holding any office, civil, ecclesiastical, or military; and if a second

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time convicted they were disabled to sue or prosecute in any action or information, or to be the guardian of any child, and were liable to imprisonment for three years. The object of the honourable gentleman was to bring in a bill for the repeal of these laws; and a bill was accordingly introduced, with the approbation of his majesty's ministers, and the general concurrence of the house, and passed through its respective stages in the commons. On the third reading of the bill in the lords, on the 30th of July, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Chester, each said a few words, not with any intention of opposing the progress of the measure, but merely to affirm that the bill had not been called for by any attempt to inflict penalties upon, or to impede the worship of the Unitarians. The bill was then read a third time, and having obtained the royal assent, became a part of the law of the land.

The prodigious increase of the public expenditure, and the diminution of the several sources of the revenue, in consequence of the rigorous measures taken by the enemy to shut out British commerce from the continent of Europe, combined with the loss of the American market, occasioned a general opinion that some new financial measure must be resorted to for the purpose of preventing the necessity of imposing fresh taxes. That taxation had nearly attained to the *ne plus ultra*, was admitted by the chancellor of the exchequer himself, who thought, that "to raise new taxes to the amount of nine millions, the sum now to be provided, would be felt as a heavy burthen in addition to the great exertions already made by the people." In submitting his new plan of finance to the consideration of the house of commons, Mr. Vansittart said, that further measures might be taken for promoting and facilitating the redemption of the land tax. For the completion of this part of his plans he chiefly relied upon the simplification of the mode of the redemption of the land tax, and on creating facilities for its purchase by freeing it from troublesome formalities. He should propose, that upon a simple notice given to the collector, by any person desirous of redeeming his land tax, the collector might be allowed to charge his tax double or treble, as might be agreed upon, for a certain number of years respectively, at the close of which the process of redemption should terminate; and that the produce of such tax should be annually applied to the redemption of the national debt. In the second place, he should propose, that on all loans hereafter to be contracted, there should be a provision made for discharging the debt. There was a third proposition to which he wished to call the attention of the house: it was his intention to submit a measure for the

repeal of part of the act of 1802, regarding the sinking fund. The sinking fund should be sacredly supported to a certain amount; but he believed it might be shown that its enormous increase, by throwing into the market immense sums of money at one time, would produce effects similar to those of a national bankruptcy. When the establishment of the sinking fund was proposed by Mr. Pitt, in 1786, the national debt amounted to nearly two hundred and forty millions—a sum of which few then living ever hoped to see the redemption, but which, by the steady perseverance of parliament, in this important measure, had already been redeemed; while, within the same period, two hundred millions of war taxes had been paid by the unexampled exertions of the country. Having entered into various other statements, he said, by the plan now proposed a gradual and equitable reduction of the debt might be provided for with great and immediate advantage to the public; it would only be necessary to enact, that the debt first contracted should be deemed first to be paid off, whether purchased by the sinking fund originally provided for its redemption, or not. In order, however, effectually to secure the means of redeeming all future loans within forty-five years, and to preserve a proper proportion between the sinking fund and the unredeemed debt, it would be expedient to enact, that whenever the sum borrowed in any year should exceed the sum to be paid off, a sinking fund should be provided for the excess of loan, equal to one half of its interest; and for the remainder of the loan, or for the whole, if not exceeding the amount to be redeemed within the year, a sinking fund of one per cent. conformable to the act of 1792. This arrangement involved the repeal of those provisions of the act of 1802, under which the whole sinking fund then existing was directed to accumulate at compound interest. Till the complete redemption of the debt which then remained unredeemed, it would be proper to make good to the sinking fund the annual sum of £870,000, which would have been appropriated to the different sums provided for in 1802, if that consolidation had not taken place, and if those sums had been accompanied by the usual redeeming fund of one per cent. If this plan were adopted, no fresh taxes would be required for four years, except about one million for the year 1818. After this development of the new plan of finance, the chancellor of the exchequer read the resolutions grounded upon it, which he proposed to submit to the committee, and which were ultimately passed without any essential alterations.

In submitting to the house the proposed ways and means for the year, in case his plan

with respect to the sinking fund should not be adopted, the chancellor of the exchequer stated, that the sum to be raised was £1,186,000, for which he meant to provide by an additional duty on tobacco, in lieu of the proposed auction duty of last year; additional duties on the consolidated customs, with some exceptions; an additional duty of thirteen-pence per bottle on French wines; an increased duty of two-thirds on goods imported from France and her dependencies; an increase generally of one half the present amount of the war duties on exports; and an additional duty of one penny per lb. on the export of foreign hides. These resolutions, which proposed taxes as little burthensome as possible, were agreed to with expressions of satisfaction.*

The non-residence of the parochial clergy, and the necessitous and degraded condition of numbers of those who were appointed to perform their duty, had long been a subject of scandal and regret to the friends of the establishment, and various plans had been proposed for removing these evils. That of augmenting the stipends of curates, and making them bear some proportion to the livings, was one of the most obvious; and a bill for this purpose was accordingly introduced into parliament this session by the Earl of Harrowby.†

To this bill it was objected, that it would operate oppressively by the generality of its enactments; that it would destroy the subordination of ranks, so necessary to the well-being of the ecclesiastical government; that the curate would be at variance with the incumbent, and that a collision between the inferior and the higher orders of the clergy would be perpetually occurring.‡ The non-residence of the clergy, it was said, was attributable to the want of houses, the poverty of the benefices, and pluralities; evils which would be augmented by this bill, which might be regarded as a bill of confiscation and forfeiture of the smaller livings; and which, by reducing their value, would make them subject to be purchased by a fund, which was busily employed in buying up livings, with a view of filling them with persons holding doctrines most injurious to the church and to sound christianity.§

The advocates of the bill did not consider the property of the church as private property belonging to individuals, but as belonging to the church as a whole. Much had been said about the poverty of the church, but it was rich enough, and the only defect was in the unequal distribution of its revenues. One of its indispensable duties was to provide a resident clergyman for every parish in the kingdom, which

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* FINANCES.

PUBLIC INCOME of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1813.

Branches of Revenue.	Gross Receipts.			Paid into the Excheq.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Customs	10,023,870	12	10	8,296,289	19	7
Excise	19,476,849	2	2½	17,800,248	5	1½
Stamps	5,428,811	10	6	5,313,986	0	7½
Land & Assessed Taxes	7,444,782	13	5	7,373,157	5	10½
Post-Office	1,820,761	1	4	1,534,608	1	0½
Miscel. Permanent Tax	87,406	8	1	90,604	2	10½
Hered. Revenue	83,815	19	2½	106,662	10	9½
Extraord. Resources.						
War Taxes { Customs	3,262,360	9	11½	2,948,330	4	1½
{ Excise	5,235,572	18	9	5,204,754	4	9½
{ Property Tax	13,140,232	16	0½	13,368,606	8	3½
Miscel. Income	4,431,216	0	0½	4,406,861	12	4½
Loans, including £4,350,000 for the service of Ireland...	29,268,586	16	8	29,268,586	16	8
Grand Total.—	£99,704,266	9	0½	£95,712,698	12	2½

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers,
24th of March, 1813.

(Signed)
RICH. WHARTON.

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1813.

Heads of Expenditure.	Sums.		
	£.	s.	d.
Interest	22,890,912	0	5½
Charge of Management	233,705	12	5½
Reduction of National Debt	13,510,865	10	11½
Interest on Exchequer Bills	1,835,369	2	3
Civil List	1,653,601	10	10
Civil Government of Scotland	112,748	2	7
Payments in anticipation, &c.	582,675	8	8½
Navy	20,500,339	7	0
Ordnance	4,252,409	15	11
Army	15,382,049	15	4
Extraordinary Services	14,980,841	0	0
Ireland	2,888,500	0	0
Miscellaneous Services	1,779,089	3	9½
Deductions for Sums forming no part of the Expenditure of Great Britain.	100,525,106	10	3½
Grand Total.—	£97,549,731	7	2½

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers,
22d of March, 1813.

(Signed)
RICH. WHARTON.

† By the provisions of this bill, non-resident incumbents are required to have a resident curate, to whom the bishop is required to assign a salary proportioned to the gross value of the benefice, namely, the salary to be allowed by the incumbent to his curate in no case to be less than £80. per annum, or the whole value of the benefice if that be less than £90; nor less than £100, or the whole value of the benefice in parishes the population of which amounts to 300 persons; nor less than £120, or the whole value of the living, in parishes with a population of 500 persons; nor less than £150, or the whole amount in parishes with a population of 1,000 persons; and when the benefice exceeds £400 clear annual value, though the population be less than 300 persons, the bishop of the diocese has a power to appoint to the stipendiary curate a salary of £100 per annum.

‡ The Bishops of London and Worcester.

§ Lord Ellenborough.

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was the principle of the present bill, and its provisions were well calculated to produce that effect.*

This bill, which was warmly contested in all its stages, was at its third reading carried in the house of lords, on the 21st of May, by a majority of thirty-seven to twenty-two voices, and was in the course of the session passed into a law.

Two days previous to the third reading of the stipendiary curates' bill, an important appeal case regarding the Scottish law of marriages was heard in the house of lords, *M'Adam v. Adam*. Mr. M'Adam, a gentleman of very large fortune in Ayrshire, kept a mistress in his house for many years, and had children by her. One morning he called the servants into the room where he and his mistress were at breakfast, and taking her by the hand, declared, in their presence, that she was his wife. The same day he shot himself. The question therefore was, whether this was a valid marriage, and consequently the children legitimate? and upon the decision of this question depended the succession to a real estate of £10,000 per annum. The result was that the marriage was pronounced to be valid; by which decision it may be considered as finally established, that by the law of Scotland as it at present stands, a mere verbal declaration of marriage, by the parties themselves, deliberately made, in the presence of witnesses, constitutes a valid marriage, provable by the testimony of the witnesses, without any writing or any other ceremony civil or ecclesiastical.

The most momentous and permanently interesting question which came before parliament during the session of 1812, was that which related to the removal of the charter of the East India Company. This question, at all times important, from the magnitude and extension of the subject it embraced, became peculiarly so at the period when it was brought under discussion, both on account of the existing circumstances of the mother country, and the embarrassment of the affairs of the East India Company. The trade and commerce of Britain had suffered very considerably by the exclusion of our produce and manufactures from the continent of Europe, and from the United States of America. The capital of our merchants was consuming itself idly and unprofitably in immense stocks of goods, for which they could find no purchasers; the manufacturers were reduced to a state of great distress; and as a natural and unavoidable consequence, the national taxes had diminished in their produce, while the increased parish rates pressed heavily

even upon those who stood themselves in need of parochial relief. Under such circumstances it was not to be wondered at that the East India market was looked forward to with anxious expectation, and that the merchants and manufacturers became deeply interested in their opposition to the renewal of the exclusive charter of the East India Company. Nor were the circumstances of the company less calculated to give importance to the subject now to be brought under the consideration of parliament: for many years the public affairs of the company had gone on so ill, that they had contracted a debt of nearly thirty millions sterling, which was continually increasing, though the company were dividing annually an interest upon their capital of upwards of ten per cent. But there were other reasons of a more general nature which operated with some persons in their objections to the renewal of the charter. Monopolies they held must be injurious to the community, and probably not very profitable to those in whose favour they were granted, for it is the effect of monopoly, not only to injure those whom it excludes, but very frequently even to be prejudicial to those on whom it is bestowed.

All the out-ports, debarred from a participation in the East India trade, and many of the manufacturing districts, concurred in the resolution, of urging what they regarded as the just claims of all citizens, to share in the public advantages; while the company itself, and the bodies connected with it by a common interest, prepared to take measures against the menaced attack. This subject was brought before parliament as early as the session of 1811, but it was not till the present session that government was prepared to bring forward their final arrangements for the future government of India.

On the 22d of March, Lord Castlereagh rose in his place in the house of commons, to discharge a duty unprecedented in any other state. The house had to provide for the happiness, comfort, and government of a body of men, exceeding, in a three-fold amount, the population of the parent state. The term of the existing charter of the East India Company would expire in May, 1814, and in renewing the charter, his majesty's ministers had to consider three propositions—Whether the existing government in India should be allowed to continue in its present state—whether an entire change should take place in the system—or whether a middle course should be adopted.

With respect to the first, he was strongly impressed with the conviction, that the present system could not with propriety be persevered in by the legislature. There was no reason for tying

* Lord Redesdale.

up, during the period of another charter, the commerce of the country from half the habitable globe, by placing it under the administration of the company alone, and excluding all other persons except foreigners. The commercial sphere was become too extended for the limited powers of a chartered company, and it was the duty of parliament not to consign the private trade to the controul of their shipping system. The other alternative, of abolishing the present system, he was certainly not disposed to admit, unless all arrangements between the company and the public should appear impracticable. Dismissing then the two extremes of the question, he should proceed to state those modifications of the existing system which were to be subject to certain resolutions to be laid before the committee. After explaining the nature and purpose of these resolutions, they were handed to the chairman of the committee and read: They opened with a declaration,

That it is expedient that all the privileges, authorities, and immunities granted to the East India Company, shall continue and be in force for the further term of twenty years, except as far as the same may hereinafter be modified and repealed. The second resolution provides, that the present restraints on the commercial intercourse with China, and the company's exclusive trade in tea, shall be continued. The third and fourth contain a permission to any of his majesty's subjects to export to, and import from, all ports within the limits of the company's charter, China excepted, such goods, wares, &c. as are allowed by law. The fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth, provide that warehouses at the said ports be deemed safe for the purposes of the revenue; that the vessels in which goods are imported and exported, be of the burthen of at least three hundred and fifty tons; and that on approaching port they notify their arrival by a manifesto. The ninth contains regulations as to the importation and sale of silk and hair goods. The tenth regulates the application of the company's revenues: 1. To the payment of the troops and support of the forts. 2. To liquidate the debts on bills of exchange. 3. Other debts except bond debts. 4. To pay a dividend of ten per cent. and a contingent half per cent. 5. To liquidate the bond debts until they amount to ten millions in India and three millions in England. 6. The surplus profits to be divided in the ratio of five-sixths to government and one-sixth to the company, and a provision for paying the capital stock. The eleventh resolution regards the employment of India shipping; the twelfth makes provision for the support and return of Lascars brought to England in private vessels; the thirteenth grants pensions and gratuities by the company; the fourteenth regards the appointments to the different presidencies; and the fifteenth places the church establishment in the British territories in India, under the superintendence of a bishop and three archdeacons.

On a question of so much importance, it was deemed necessary to hear evidence at the bar; and on the 30th of March the examination of witnesses commenced at the bar of the house of commons, before a committee of the whole house. Warren Hastings, Esq. was the first witness called, and the mass of facts and opinions produced by the different witnesses,

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constituted a body of evidence sufficient to fill a volume. The individuals examined were principally those who had occupied high stations in India; and the general tendency of their evidence was certainly against opening the trade, and decidedly against allowing missionaries to repair to the east for the purpose of proselyting the natives to the christian faith. On the 31st of May, when the evidence had been gone through in the two houses of parliament, Lord Castlereagh moved his first resolution, which, after a long and animated debate, was agreed to without a division. The second and third resolutions were carried in the same way. The 11th resolution, regarding the employment of India built ships, was withdrawn at the request of Lord Castlereagh. The subject continued before the two houses of parliament till the 22d of June. The ardent zeal for religion, which is a prominent feature of the present time, had now displayed itself in a great number of petitions to parliament, from different places and various religious communities in the island, praying that, in the new arrangements for the government of India, provision should be made for the instruction of the natives in the principles of the christian faith: and so much attention had been paid to these applications, that an addition was made to the 18th resolution to the effect—"that such measures ought to be adopted as might tend to the introduction of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement, among the natives of the British dominions in India; and that, in furtherance of the above objects, sufficient facilities should be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to, and remaining in, India, for the purpose of accomplishing these benevolent designs."

Lord Castlereagh said, it was not intended to encourage an unrestrained resort of persons to India for religious purposes; but that a certain number of persons, under the cognizance of the court of directors, who were again controlled by the board of commissioners, were to be allowed to proceed to the British possessions as missionaries. A long debate ensued, in which Mr. Wilberforce particularly distinguished himself as the advocate of the resolution, and which terminated in a division of the house, when there appeared for the resolution eight-nine, and against it thirty-six voices. On the clause providing that twenty thousand troops should be maintained in India, being read, Lord Castlereagh said, that our territory in the east had trebled in extent since the year 1793, and that it was in consequence requisite to increase the military establishment. All the resolutions, with the alterations specified above, were ultimately passed, and a bill grounded upon them came to its

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third reading in the house of commons on the 13th of July. In the lords the progress of the bill was much more silent than in the commons ; few members seemed to interest themselves in its provisions after they had stated their opinions generally at its first introduction. At the close of the session this highly important measure passed into a law, and the path taken by government in forming the resolutions on which the bill was grounded, although, perhaps, not perfectly satisfactory to any party, was, on the whole, the course dictated by wisdom and enlightened policy.

When the question respecting the renewal of the charter was first agitated, the directors and proprietors of the East India Company assumed high ground, and seemed disposed not to accept of a new charter, unless it were granted them on their own terms ; but when they

witnessed the firmness of government, and perceived that the nation was against their exclusive pretensions, their tone changed, and they congratulated each other on the attainment of a charter, that in some instances had exceeded their most sanguine expectations.* Some years must necessarily elapse before the real and permanent effects of opening the trade to India, either in a political or commercial point of view, or as they will operate on the situation and character of the natives, can be clearly and accurately ascertained. In all great political and commercial changes, much confusion and partial evil must at first result ; it requires a considerable time to elapse before every thing adjusts itself to the new order of things ; and till this adjustment takes place, any judgment that is formed must be rash, premature, and unjust.

* Speech of Mr. R. Thornton, at a General Court held at the India House, July 21, 1813.



The Duke of Wellington



Litho. Published by John B. Baines Oct. 10 1815.

The word Wellington is a fine simile of the Duke's character.

the 1st and 5th divisions
and Bradford's brigades
brigades of cavalry under
Anson, moved forward
Vitoria, accompanied

CHAPTER XXI.

SPANISH CAMPAIGN: Plan of Operations—Relative Force of the contending Armies—Advance of the Allies—Madrid finally abandoned by the French—Battle of Vittoria—The Invading Army driven across the Spanish Frontier—Operations on the Eastern Coast of Spain—under General Sir John Murray—under Lord William Bentinck—Marshal Soult appointed Lieutenant-General of the French Army—Unsuccessful Effort to relieve the Fortresses of St Sebastian and Pampluna—Battle of the Pyrenees—Fall of St. Sebastian—of Pampluna—Invasion of France by the Army under Lord Wellington.

AT no period since the breaking out of the Spanish revolution in 1808, had the prospect of expelling the French from the peninsula assumed so bright an aspect as at the commencement of the campaign of 1813. Bonaparte, from the dreadful reverses he had sustained in Russia, and from the consequences of these reverses with which he was still threatened, had been compelled to withdraw from Spain, not merely a considerable portion of his best troops, but also some of his most able and experienced generals; and the corps which were left, knowing, though probably imperfectly, the reasons which had induced the emperor to diminish their numbers at so critical a period, could not take the field with that confidence which often secures the success it anticipates. These circumstances, so unfavourable to the enemy, operated greatly to the advantage of the allies. The army under Lord Wellington, fully acquainted with all the disasters suffered by the French in the northern campaign of 1812, and knowing that their own victories and achievements were cited in order to encourage the German and the Russian soldiers, felt themselves called upon by every sentiment of duty and honour to sustain the renown they had acquired.

Lord Wellington, whose active mind was never unoccupied, had spent the early months of the year in organizing his army; and in making such arrangements as would accelerate and secure the completion of a plan, which had for its ultimate object the expulsion of the enemy from the territory of Spain. With this view he divided his force into three parts: the centre, composed chiefly of light troops, he commanded in person; and his lordship soon proved that the vigour with which the campaign was meant to be prosecuted would compensate for the advanced season at which it was commenced. The command of the right was confided to Sir Rowland Hill, who was appointed to move in a parallel direction with the commander-in-chief,

on the left bank of the Douro; and these movements were to be made subservient to the advance of the main body of the army under Sir Thomas Graham. The objects and immediate end of the plan formed by Lord Wellington were, first to drive the enemy before him to the Pyrenees, and thence into France; secondly, by flank movements, to bring them to action; and thirdly, to destroy their depôts and magazines at Valladolid, Burgos, Vittoria, Tolosa, and Irun, and to clear the provinces of Biscay, Navarre, and Arragon.

Having disclosed the grand feature of the campaign, it may be proper to advert to the numerical strength of the hostile armies. The British army had received a strong reinforcement of twenty thousand men after the battle of Salamanca, and discipline had been restored by strict regulations, and enforced during the period of repose. The disposable troops, at the opening of the campaign, were estimated at about eighty thousand British and Portuguese, with upwards of forty thousand Spanish regulars, besides a considerable guerilla force, which was hourly increasing. On the left of the combined British and Portuguese force the Spanish Galician army was destined to manœuvre, and to act with Sir Thomas Graham, if circumstances should demand their co-operation; and on their right, the troops of Castanos, Don Carlos d'España, and other Spanish generals, were posted. Of the numerical strength which the enemy were at this time enabled to oppose to Lord Wellington it is difficult to form an estimate. From the cause already assigned, it is probable that their armies of the north, the centre, Portugal, and the south, which distinctive appellations they still very inappropriately retained, did not exceed sixty thousand men, of whom the relative numbers of cavalry and infantry were in about the same proportion as in the allied army. If, however, the French were much lower in numbers than the allies, and still

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more inferior to them in respect to general and moral feeling, they had greatly the advantage in point of position. In this respect the enemy was indeed formidable. He was supported by fortresses and fastnesses, all along the line of his retreat, beginning with Zamora and Toro, and thence extending through the vallies of the Pisuerga and Arlanzon, to Burgos, Pancorvo, and Miranda. From the strength of these positions, and the extreme activity which the French had displayed in repairing the fortifications of Burgos, it was expected that the progress of the allies at the beginning of the campaign would be slow, harassing, and difficult; but from some cause not explained, and certainly not easily conjectured, the enemy resolved to abandon all their strong positions.

On the 24th of May, the advanced-guard of the allies moved from Ciudad Rodrigo on Salamanca, and on the 26th that city was occupied by General Fane, who pursued the rear-guard of the French, and took two hundred prisoners, near Huerta. On the 27th and 28th, Lord Wellington assigned cantonments to General Hill's column between the Tormes and the Douro, and repaired in person to Miranda de Douro, where he arrived on the 29th with the column under the orders of General Graham. On the 1st of June the English hussars entered Zamora, and on the following day entered Toro.

The French force on the Douro being unable to arrest the rapid advance of the allies, their army at Madrid was placed in a very critical situation. To remain in the centre of the kingdom was to expose this portion of the army to the danger of being cut off from the high road leading to the French frontier; it was therefore determined to abandon the capital without a struggle, and on the 27th of May, all the French troops in Madrid and on the Tagus, began their retreat in the direction of the Douro, which river they crossed on the 3d of June.

On the 13th Lord Wellington arrived at Burgos, where the French, who were rapidly retreating before him, had blown up the inner walls of the castle with so much precipitancy, that thirty of the garrison perished by the explosion. From Burgos they continued their flight on the main road to the Ebro, with the intention of placing that river between themselves and the advancing army. Lord Wellington, aware of this intention, ordered Sir Thomas Graham to make a movement on the left, towards the upper part of the Ebro; and this operation was performed with so much celerity and success, that on the 15th he arrived at the bridge of Arrano, and on the following day the main army crossed that river at Quintana, in the neighbourhood of Frias.

The passage of the Ebro having been thus

fortunately accomplished, directed his march. The French had made their frontier provinces. Here, having Marshal Jourdan as his general, had taken up a position in front of the city. On the 20th the two armies were in presence of each other. The French had their left wing stationed on the heights between Arunez and Puebla d'Arlanzon, their centre on a height which commanded the valley of Zadora, and their right wing resting upon Vittoria. Lord Wellington, having determined to dislodge the enemy from these positions, commenced the attack on the following day by a successful movement made on the part of Sir Rowland Hill, who at the beginning of the action drove the enemy from the important heights of Puebla, and took possession of Subijana de Alava. The French generals soon became sensible of the importance of the position they had lost, and Joseph Bonaparte and Marshal Jourdan repaired in person to encourage the troops to regain the village of Subijana; but all their efforts proved unavailing, and after an arduous contest, Sir Rowland Hill remained master both of the village and the heights. During this conflict the Hon. Lieutenant-colonel Cadogan, an officer of distinguished zeal and tried gallantry, fell at the head of his regiment, and General Murillo was seriously wounded, but refused to quit the field.

The difficulties of the country retarded for some time the advance of the columns of the allies; and it was not till a late hour in the day that the commander-in-chief learned, that the column composed of the 3d and 7th divisions, under the command of the Earl of Dalhousie, had arrived at their station. The 4th and light divisions passed the Zadora immediately after Sir Rowland Hill had obtained possession of Subijana de Alava; the former at the bridge of Nauclaus, and the latter at the bridge of Tres Puentes; while the 3d division, under Sir Thos. Picton, crossed the bridge higher up the river, and was followed by the 7th, under the Earl of Dalhousie. These four divisions, forming the centre of the allied army, were destined to attack the heights on which the right of the enemy's centre was placed; while Sir Rowland Hill should move forward from Subijana to the attack of the left. The enemy, having weakened his line to strengthen his detachment on the hills, abandoned his position in the valley, and commenced his retreat in the direction of Vittoria, towards which city the allied troops continued to advance in good order notwithstanding the difficulty of the ground.

In the mean time, Sir Thomas Graham, who commanded the left of the army, consisting

of the 1st and 5th divisions, and Generals Pack and Bradford's brigades of infantry, with the brigades of cavalry under Generals Bock and Anson, moved forward from Margina towards Vittoria, accompanied by the Spanish division under Colonel Longa and General Giron. The enemy, with a division of infantry, and a body of cavalry, advanced on the great road from Vittoria to Bilboa, resting their right on the strong heights which cover the village of Gamarra Major, and occupying the *têtes de pont* to the bridges over the Zadora at Gamarra and Abechuchó. It now became necessary that the position of the enemy should be turned, and General Pack, with his Portuguese brigade, and Colonel Longa, with the Spanish division, were directed to turn and gain the heights, supported by Major-general Anson's brigade of light dragoons, and the 5th division of infantry, under the command of Major-general Oswald, to whom the command of all these troops was confided. In the execution of this service, which was performed with great gallantry and success, the whole of the Spanish and Portuguese force behaved most admirably; but the 4th and 8th caçadores particularly distinguished themselves. No sooner were the heights in possession of the allies, than the village of Gamarra Major was stormed and carried by the 5th brigade, under Brigadier-general Robinson; which advanced to the charge in columns of battalions, under a heavy fire of artillery and musketry, without firing a shot, and after storming the place, captured three pieces of cannon.

Sir Thomas Graham, supported by General Bradford's brigade of Portuguese infantry, now proceeded to attack the village of Abechuchó, with the first division, by forming a strong battery against it, consisting of Doubourdieu's brigade, and Captain Romsey's troop of horse artillery, under the cover of whose fire Colonel Walkett's brigade advanced to the attack of the village, which was carried at the point of the bayonet, the light battalion having charged and taken three guns and a howitzer on the bridge. During the operations at Abechuchó, the enemy made the most vigorous efforts to re-possession themselves of the village of Gamarra Major, but they were gallantly repulsed by the troops of the 5th division, under the command of General Oswald, and at length, finding all their endeavours unavailing, they desisted from the attack. The enemy had still two divisions of infantry in reserve on the heights to the left of the Zadora, and it was found impossible for the allies to cross the bridges until the troops which had moved upon his centre and left had driven this reserved corps through Vittoria. This service having been admirably performed, the enemy gave way in every direction, and the

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whole of the allied army was brought into communication, and co-operated in the pursuit.

The movements of the troops under Sir Thomas Graham having, by the occupation of Gamarra and Abechuchó, intercepted the enemy's retreat by the high road to France, the vanquished army was obliged to turn to the road towards Pampluna; but even in this direction the fugitives were unable to hold any position for a sufficient length of time to allow their baggage and artillery to be drawn off, and so complete was their rout and dismay, that they were enabled to carry off only one solitary gun, and one howitzer. The trophies of this decisive victory were numerous and splendid: one hundred and fifty-one pieces of cannon, and four hundred and fifteen ammunition waggons, were captured. The costly and sumptuous appendages of the fugitive king's household, the baton or staff of Marshal Jourdan, and, in a word, the whole *materiel* of the discomfited army, fell into the hands of the victors. The total loss sustained by the allied armies on this memorable day was seven hundred and forty killed, and four thousand one hundred and seventy wounded. The loss of the enemy is not stated in Lord Wellington's dispatches, but the number of killed and wounded has been estimated at from six to ten thousand. The prisoners were few; night favoured the escape of the vanquished, and the rich booty, which every where presented itself on the field of glory, induced the victors, like so many Atalantas, to stop in their way to gather the golden harvest.

The joy and congratulation with which the intelligence of the victory of Vittoria was received in England cannot be described. Every man was sensible that this victory bore, on its very front, more decisive marks of usefulness, as well as of glory, than any of the former victories which Lord Wellington had gained. Many of his former triumphs had been obtained at a great cost of blood, without any permanent advantage; but the victory of Vittoria presented a happy and glorious contrast to some of the barren victories of former campaigns; the rout of the enemy was complete, extensive, and signal; each successive day proved its magnitude and importance; the enemy had lost all his artillery, which, with a French army, is of a value, inestimable; but above all, the moral effect of this achievement transcended all Lord Wellington's previous victories. The British government and people displayed their sense of his high deserts in the most marked and gratifying manner; the marshal's staff captured on the occasion had been sent over to the prince regent, who in return created Lord Wellington a field-marshal; and the Spanish government, as a proof of their sense of obligation for his

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The victory of Vittoria was followed up with that promptitude and decision which marks the character of the British general. Little time was lost in pursuing the fugitive army, and investing the strong fortresses, which now formed the last hold of the enemy in Spain. General Clausel, ignorant of the defeat of his countrymen, had approached Vittoria with part of the army of the north; but no sooner had he ascertained the result of the action of the 21st of June, than he retired precipitately towards Logrono, and remained in the neighbourhood of that place till the afternoon of the 25th: Lord Wellington, having sent a division of light troops towards Roncesvalles, in pursuit of the army under Joseph Bonaparte, moved a large force towards Logrono and Tudela, in hopes of intercepting the retreat of General Clausel. The French general, having crossed the Ebro in front of Tudela, marched towards Saragossa, and after leaving a detachment of troops under General Paris, passed by a circuitous route through Jaca across the Pyrenees. Mina, the guerilla chief, followed General Paris, with his usual activity, and took from him two pieces of cannon, and three hundred prisoners, while Sir Rowland Hill moved through the mountains to the head of the Bidassoa, over which river the enemy had retired into France.

While these events took place on the right of the allied army, General Graham, with the left wing, composed chiefly of Spaniards and Portuguese, was not inactive. The French now found it necessary to evacuate all their stations in Biscay, except Santona and St. Sebastian, and uniting their garrisons to the division of the army of the north, stationed at Bilboa, they assembled a force more considerable than had at first been expected. The first effort of this force was made at the junction of the road from Pampluna to Bayonne, where they posted themselves on a hill commanding the two roads, with a determination to maintain that position. A vigorous attack, commanded by Colonel Williams,

however, quickly dislodged them from the eminence, and obliged them to retreat into Tolosa. The last stand made by the enemy was on the Bidassoa, which river, rising in the Pyrenean mountains, and falling into the Bay of Biscay at Fontarabia, forms the line of demarkation between France and Spain; but a brigade of the Spanish army of Galicia, under the command of General Castanos, forced him over the bridge, and obliged him to abandon the peninsula in this quarter.

Though the right and left wings of the French army were now withdrawn into France, three divisions of the centre, under General Gazan, remained in the fertile valley of Bastan, where, under cover of the strong positions with which they were surrounded, they hoped still to maintain a footing in Spain. But here again their expectations were disappointed; on the 4th, 5th, and 7th of July, they were dislodged from all their posts by two brigades of British, and two of Portuguese infantry, under Sir Rowland Hill, and compelled, after an arduous contest, to cross the Spanish frontier.

The plan formed by Lord Wellington for the operations of the peninsular campaign of 1813, was not merely confined to the movements of the main army in the north of Spain, but embraced the operations of the "expeditionary army" in the east, under Sir John Murray, which had been so long cooped up in Alicante, but which was now free, and destined to act against Suchet in Catalonia. In the general plan of the campaign, the army of Sir John Murray was to act with the Spanish army, for the purpose of keeping Marshal Suchet in check, and to make an assault, and if possible, to possess itself of Tarragona. The troops in the east remained in a state of inactivity till the middle of April, when the Anglo-Sicilian army, under Sir John Murray, left Alicante and advanced to Castella, while General Elio took post at Yesla and Villena. Suchet, who soon discovered that the different corps to which he was opposed were not in a state of proper combination, collected his whole disposable force, and on the 11th of

* LETTER FROM THE PRINCE REGENT TO LORD WELLINGTON.

" Carlton-House, July 3, 1813.

" MY DEAR LORD,—Your glorious conduct is beyond all human praise, and far above my reward; I know no language the world affords worthy to express it. I feel I have nothing left to say, but devoutly to offer up my prayers of gratitude to Providence, that it has, in its omnipotent bounty, blessed my country and myself with such a general. You have sent me, among the trophies of your unrivalled fame, the staff of a French marshal, and I send you in return that of England. The British army will hail it with enthusiasm, while the whole universe will acknowledge those valorous efforts which have so imperiously called for it. That uninterrupted health, and still increasing laurels, may continue to crown you through a glorious and long career of life, are the never ceasing and most ardent wishes of

" My dear Lord,

" Your most sincere and faithful friend,

" *The Marquis of Wellington.*"

" G. P. R."

April attacked Villena with so much success, that the garrison, consisting of one thousand men, were obliged to surrender at discretion. Having thus succeeded against the Spaniards, he proceeded to the attack of the British positions, and on the 12th, at noon, assailed their advanced posts at Biar. The resistance made to the assailants was vigorously maintained for five hours against superior force, and the British troops at length fell back upon the main body only in compliance with the orders of their general. Suchet, undismayed by this reception, proceeded, on the following day, to attack the position at Castella, where the British were concentrated. After having displayed all his cavalry, he advanced a corps of two thousand infantry, with a view of forcing the left of the line, which was covered by the van-guard of General Whittingham; but the troops whom he encountered at this point, received the attack with so much steadiness that they allowed the enemy to approach to the very point of their bayonets, when they charged the French column, and killed, wounded, or made prisoners, a large portion of the assailants. The result of this attempt upon the English lines obliged Suchet to change his plan of operations into a series of movements, and finally to retreat for his camp at St. Phelipe. Sir John Murray immediately ordered nine battalions of infantry and one thousand cavalry, with ten pieces of artillery, to pursue the fugitives, and the loss inflicted upon the enemy's retreating columns was very severe. In this action Suchet made his first experiment on the valour of British troops, and the result served to convince him that he had no longer to contend with those depositories of panic to which he had hitherto been so frequently opposed.

Soon after the battle of Castella, Lord Wellington transmitted instructions to Sir John Murray, dated the 14th of April, directing him to embark his troops at Alicante, and to effect a landing in Catalonia, for the purpose of undertaking the siege of Tarragona, in concert with a British squadron stationed off this part of the coast of Spain, under the command of Admiral Hollowell, a most active and enterprising officer. On the 2d of June the fleet destined for this expedition anchored to the eastward of the Point of Salon; on the 3d, soon after sun-rise, the debarkation of the troops commenced; and in the course of that day the whole of the infantry, with some field pieces, were landed. Tarragona was immediately reconnoitred and invested, the point of attack was decided upon, and a place fixed upon for the dépôt of artillery stores. Between the 4th and the 11th five batteries were constructed, and the fire was kept up with great spirit. During the latter day, Major

Thackeray, the chief officer of engineers, having reported that he was now perfectly prepared to push the siege with vigour, the fire on the Fuerte Reale was increased, and it was decided to storm that work during the night. The intelligence, however, which General Murray received late in the evening, of the approach of Marshal Suchet, and of the march of a French column from Barcelona, prevented him from carrying his intention into execution, and determined him to raise the siege and re-embark his troops.

General Murray, in defence of his conduct for raising the siege, stated, that very large French armies were advancing to the relief of the place, and that Marshal Suchet, after leaving twenty thousand men to garrison the cities of Valencia and Catalonia, had still under his command a disposable force of twenty-four thousand veteran troops. To oppose this army the British general stated that he had about thirteen thousand men under his immediate command, exclusive of the force under General Copons, which amounted to eight thousand five hundred men, without pay, without discipline, without a single piece of cannon, without the means of subsistence, and totally incapable of acting in the field. The allied army therefore consisted of twenty-one thousand five hundred men, of whom four thousand five hundred only were British and German troops, and the remainder Sicilians, Calabrese, and Spaniards, the armies of the allies being moreover greatly inferior in point of cavalry to the enemy.

The embarkation of the troops, which was completed on the 17th was made with so much precipitation, that the guns in the most advanced batteries of the allies were abandoned, and the conduct of Sir John Murray became exposed to severe animadversion. But after a most ample investigation of the conduct of this officer before a court of military inquiry, he was acquitted of all the charges brought against him, except that by which he was accused of having "unnecessarily abandoned a considerable quantity of artillery and stores, which he might have embarked in safety." This part of his conduct was, however, ascribed merely to "an error of judgment;" and nothing followed upon the decision, as the case did not appear to the prince regent to call for the admonition pointed out by the court.

Lord William Bentinck, on whom the command of the Anglo-Sicilian army now devolved, did not attempt, in the first instance, to renew the expedition against Tarragona; but, joining himself to the Spanish armies under the Duc del Parque, Elio, and Villacampa, proceeded, in concert with them, to attack the French forces in Valencia. What resistance Suchet might have

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made under more favourable circumstances, it is impossible to say, but the triumphant passage of the Ebro by Lord Wellington left him no alternative but retreat. On the 5th of July he evacuated Valencia, and retired towards the Ebro, leaving garrisons in Peniscola, Murviedro, and Denia. The French having retired upon Barcelona, the allies blockaded Tortosa, and prepared to renew the siege of Tarragona. Suchet, having formed a determination to make an effort to relieve this city, united to his army all the troops which could be spared from Barcelona, and the neighbouring garrisons, and by this means assembled a force of nearly twenty-five thousand men. With these troops he forced his way into Tarragona; but instead of attempting to preserve the place, he addressed himself with great diligence to the destruction of the works, and having accomplished that duty, he withdrew the garrison, and again retired towards Barcelona.

Early in the month of September, the allied army undertook a forward movement, encouraged by the belief that a very considerable part of the French forces in the principality of Catalonia had been recently withdrawn. Under this persuasion, Lord William Bentinck established his army on the road to Barcelona extending to the Lobregat mountains. The advance, under General Sarsfield, was placed in the pass of Ordal, a post of great strength, that commanded the communication between Barcelona and Tarragona. At this juncture intelligence arrived that Suchet was collecting his army, and that twelve thousand men had already united at Molino del Rey. At midnight, on the 22d of September, the French made their threatened attack upon the pass of Ordal, with numbers so greatly superior, that the Spanish corps was driven from all its positions, surrounded, and forced to save itself by dispersion among the mountains, leaving a considerable number of prisoners and four pieces of cannon in the hands of the enemy. The British army, finding themselves unequal to withstand the victorious force of the enemy, immediately broke up, and set out in full retreat, closely pursued by the enemy, towards Tarragona. The cavalry, however, though far inferior in numbers, covered the retiring army with so much gallantry, that Lord William Bentinck arrived in front of Tarragona without sustaining any considerable loss. It being now judged expedient that the great effort against France should be made on the side of the western Pyrenees, the third Spanish army was dispatched to co-operate with Lord Wellington, and the remainder of the allied troops; in the east of the peninsula, continued to act merely on the defensive.

The grand operations in the north of Spain

were still prosecuted with the most brilliant success, under the eye of Lord Wellington. Bonaparte, while occupied with the great contest which he was about to wage on the banks of the Elbe, had in some measure neglected the operations of which the peninsula of Spain and Portugal was the theatre. He had recalled thence many of his generals, and even Marshal Soult, who had so long held a distinguished command in Spain, was employed in the German campaign. But now, when, in one short month, the grand army of the invader had been driven across the frontier barrier, and when the finest provinces of France were laid open to invasion, alarm seized the French Emperor, and he perceived that this was a contest, which, even under the most urgent pressure of other wars, could not be disregarded. Of the immense levies which were at this time raising in France, a portion was destined to fill up the exhausted ranks of the army stationed at the foot of the Pyrenean mountains, within the French frontier; and Marshal Soult, whose talents appeared equal to such an exigency, hastened from Germany to resume the chief command, under the flattering title of "*Lieutenant de l'Empereur*." This general, in all his campaigns, especially in the south-west of Spain, had evinced more talents than any other of Bonaparte's generals; he was not only more active and energetic, but his activity and energy were accompanied and directed by more method and order; resting on more clear and comprehensive views; and rising in exact proportion to the dangers and difficulties with which he was surrounded. Such an officer might have preserved Spain if it could have been preserved; but he was called to the office when things had become desperate; and destined to command troops dispirited and weakened by repeated defeats, against an army animated by victory, and led on by a general who had never known defeat.

Before the British army could be safely employed in more decisive operations against the enemy, it became necessary to reduce the fortresses of St. Sebastian and Pampluna. These places were rendered strong both by art and nature, especially St. Sebastian, which, from the skill and labour expended upon its fortifications, was not inferior in strength to any place in the peninsula, with the single exception of Gibraltar. Lord Wellington was at this moment by no means free from difficulties: he had to maintain and cover two sieges, conducted at a considerable distance from each other, and in the prosecution of which his army necessarily became divided. The Pyrenees, though affording strong positions, were unfavourable in several respects to the present arrangement of the allied force; and the long and deep valleys,

divided by lofty parallel chains of mountains, separated the troops, and cut off their communication with each other. The enemy, on the contrary, choosing the line of his advance, could throw his whole force in that direction, and push before him the division by which the pass might be guarded, while the other corps, separated by almost impassable barriers, could lend no prompt and efficient assistance. Upon this position of the allies Soult formed his plan of operations, hoping, by a separate attack upon one of the covering armies, to open a communication with the blockaded fortresses, and to drive the allies behind the Ebro.

The British troops were now about to be engaged, almost for the first time, in that system of mountain warfare, in which the French had hitherto stood unrivalled. The whole range of movements was comparatively small, and the columns were placed among mountains where cavalry could not act, and where cannon could with difficulty be conveyed. In the operations that had taken place subsequent to the battle of Vittoria, the allies had possessed themselves of the principal passes of the western Pyrenees. In front of Soult, at St. Jean Pied de Port, was General Byng's brigade; Morillo's corps was at the pass of Roncesvalles; behind, was Sir Lowry Cole, with the 4th division; General Picton's division being in reserve at Olaque. The valley of Bastan was occupied by General Hill, with the 2d division; and by the Conde d'Amarante's Spanish corps. On one flank were the light and 7th divisions, at Pera, Port d'Echelar, and on the heights of Barbura; the 6th division was in reserve at St. Estevan, on the Bidassoa; while General Longa extended the line of communication from the Bidassoa to the Urumea—from a division posted at St. Echelar to Sir Thomas Graham's division, employed before St. Sebastian.

The object of Lord Wellington was to reduce St. Sebastian as speedily as possible; to blockade and ultimately to reduce Pampluna; and while he was carrying on these two operations, to watch and defeat the movements of Soult. The French marshal had one great object in view in the first instance, and to effect this purpose he made two movements, the one real and the other a feint. From St. Jean Pied de Port, he led on a force of thirty-five thousand men in person, and bursting through the pass of Roncesvalles, hoped to confound his enemy, and reach Pampluna. The other part of his army moved upon the valley of Bastan, to force the British position at Port de Maya.

On the 24th of July, Soult attacked in great force the position occupied by General Hill; and at the same time, an attack on a much larger scale, with between thirty and forty thou-

sand men, was made upon General Byng's position, with so much vigour, that the allies were overpowered at both points, and compelled to give way. These corps having lost their direct communication with Lord Wellington, were left, unsupported to defend the blockade of Pampluna against the overwhelming force pouring in to its relief. On the 27th Soult arrived in sight of the walls of Pampluna, but not having yet brought up all his troops, he contented himself with attacking a column placed upon a hill, which formed an important part of the British position. On the 28th, the 6th British division arrived; and the enemy, also reinforced, began a contest of the most furious character. His main effort was directed against the 4th division, under General Picton; but the French were every where repulsed, except at one point, where they obtained possession of a height on which the left of the 4th division was posted; but their success was only momentary, for they were soon attacked by the 7th caçadores, supported by Major-General Ross, at the head of his brigade of the 4th division, and driven from the heights with immense loss. The battle had now become general along the whole front of the heights, and the operations were every where favourable to the allied arms, except where one battalion of the 16th Portuguese regiment was posted. Against this position the enemy advanced, with such overwhelming numbers, that the Portuguese were compelled to give way, and in their retreat exposed the right of General Ross's brigade, who in his turn was compelled to withdraw from his post. No sooner did Lord Wellington perceive this partial defeat, than he ordered the 27th and 48th regiments, first, to charge that portion of the enemy's troops which had succeeded in establishing themselves on the heights, and afterwards those to the left of that position. These orders were instantly carried into execution, in the most gallant style, and with the most distinguished success. British soldiers know that the bayonet is, in a most marked and peculiar sense, their weapon; and the enemy are equally sensible, that when British troops employ this instrument they are invincible. The enemy, by these charges, were driven from the heights with great loss, and in the utmost confusion, and victory was again restored to the allies in the only place where it seemed wavering. On the 29th and 30th, these two great armies continued to view each other, neither daring to attack the formidable heights on which its antagonist was posted. During this suspension in the work of death, the enemy silently withdrew a considerable body of troops from the front, where the former actions had taken place, and moved them to the right, with a view of attacking the British left, under Sir

BOOK IV. Rowland Hill. On the 30th General Hill was accordingly attacked, and obliged to fall back from the range of mountains which he occupied to the one immediately behind. But Lord Wellington, seeing the enemy's line weakened, instantly detached the Earl of Dalhousie and General Picton to drive him from the formidable heights on which his right and left rested; and the operation having been rapidly accomplished, the centre advanced to join in the attack. These efforts were crowned with the most brilliant success, and the enemy, driven from a position "the strongest and most difficult of access ever occupied by troops," were soon in full march towards their own frontier. To cover their retreat, they placed a strong rear-guard in the pass of Donna Maria, from which it was dislodged by the Earl of Dalhousie. The retreat now became a flight; many prisoners were brought in, and a large convoy with baggage was taken at the town of Elizonda. The French endeavoured once more to make a stand at the Puerto d'Echalar, immediately within the Spanish frontier; but two of their divisions were driven from these heights by a British corps, and compelled to pursue the route of the retreating army.

The loss of the enemy in the battle of the Pyrenees, by which name this succession of engagements was designated, was about fifteen thousand, four thousand of whom were made prisoners; while the loss of the allies did not exceed three thousand killed and wounded. Candour demands the acknowledgment, that the enemy, though defeated, did his duty in the field. Soult himself was personally conspicuous, and narrowly escaped being taken; his officers also distinguished themselves most honourably; many were seen, with standards in their hands, heading their regiments, and leading them on in a style of gallantry not often surpassed; while others, with drums beating, at the head of their troops animated them to the conflict; and if such was the conduct of the vanquished, it is unnecessary to say what was the behaviour of the victors. That the result of the battle of the Pyrenees inflicted the most poignant disappointment upon the *Lieutenant de l'Empereur*, may be inferred from his proclamation to the army on taking the command: in this address he states, that he has been sent by the emperor to the command of his armies in Spain, and that, in obedience with his imperial majesty's instructions, it was his intention to drive the British across the Ebro, and to celebrate the emperor's birth-day in the town of Vittoria.

The efforts of the enemy in the field had proved unavailing to avert the impending fate of their fortresses. At St. Sebastian, however, the French Governor, Rey, had displayed more than usual courage and dexterity in fortifying

and defending that place. Ever since the beginning of July, General Graham had been occupied in the siege, and on the 17th he took possession of the convent of St. Bartholomew. From this post he was enabled to establish batteries against the ramparts; and these batteries were so well served, that the breach was soon judged practicable. On the 22d an English officer was sent to summon the governor to surrender, but being refused admission, an assault was ordered to take place at day-break on the 25th. The storming party, which consisted of about two thousand men, assembled in the trenches, and the explosion of the mine was the appointed signal for advance. The uncovered approach from the trenches to the breach was about three hundred yards in length, before an extensive front of works, and over ground consisting of sea weed and intermediate pools of water. The fire of the place was yet entire, and the breach was flanked by two towers, which, though considerably injured, were still occupied. At five in the morning, the mine was sprung, and destroyed much of the counter scarp and glacis. The enemy, astonished by the suddenness of the explosion, abandoned the works for a moment, and the advance of the storming party reached the breach without any formidable resistance. But the moment they attempted to ascend, the enemy opened a destructive fire, and threw down a profusion of shells from the towers on the flanks, and from the summit of the breach. Notwithstanding the distinguished gallantry of the troops employed, the attack did not succeed, and the assaulting party returned into the trenches with the loss of nearly a hundred men killed and four hundred wounded. The advanced-guard, with Lieutenant Jones at their head, were made prisoners on the breach, and Lieutenant-colonel Sir R. Fletcher was at the same time mortally wounded in the trenches. The troops did their duty; but it was beyond the power of gallantry to overcome the difficulties by which they were opposed.

The breach having thus proved impracticable, all the operations of the siege were to be recommenced. After this repulse, the first object of the allies was to cut off the communication, which had hitherto been maintained by sea, between the fortress and the coast of France; and with this view, Sir George Collier, with a party of marines, stormed the island of Santa Clara, at the mouth of the harbour, and took the garrison prisoners. On the 26th of August the batteries were again opened against the fort of St. Sebastian, and the fire was directed principally against the towers which flanked the curtain on the eastern face. On the 30th the breach was deemed practicable; and on the following day, the columns destined for the attack, consisting

of the 2d brigade of the 5th division, under the command of Colonel the Hon. Charles Greville, was ordered to advance, under the immediate direction and superintendence of Sir J. Leith. The moment the column filed out of the right of the trenches, the assailants became exposed to a dreadful fire of shells and grape-shot, and at the same moment the enemy exploded a mine, which did considerable execution, but which neither damped the ardour, nor checked the progress, of the heroic band against which these efforts were directed.

The storming parties had now advanced to the breach; file succeeded file; and many desperate efforts were made to gain the summit without effect. "Never was any thing," says Sir Thomas Graham, "so fallacious as the external appearance of the breach. Notwithstanding its great extent, there was but one point where it was possible to enter, and there by single files. All the inside of the wall to the right of the curtain, formed a perpendicular scarp of at least twenty feet to the level of the streets, so that the narrow ridge of the curtain itself, formed by the breaching of its end and front, was the only accessible point. During the suspension of the operations of the siege, from want of ammunition, the enemy had prepared every means of defence which art could devise, so that great numbers of men were covered by intrenchments and traverses in the horn work, on the ramparts of the curtain—and within the town, opposite to the breach, and ready to pour a most destructive fire of musketry on both flanks of the approach to the top of the narrow ridge of the curtain. Every thing that the most determined bravery could attempt, was repeatedly tried in vain by the troops, who were brought forward from the trenches in succession. No man outlived the attempt to gain the ridge; yet a secure lodgment could never have been obtained without occupying a part of the curtain."

The breach was now covered with troops remaining in the most unfavourable situation, and unable to gain the summit; upwards of two hours of continued and severe exertion had elapsed, when Sir Thomas Graham adopted a new expedient, and ordered his guns to be turned against the curtain. It was manifest that unless this could be done with almost unexampled precision, the assailants must have suffered more severely than their enemies—for the fire, to be effectual, must be elevated only a few feet above the heads of the allied troops in the breach. Never, perhaps, were the steadiness, coolness, and valour of British troops put to a more arduous trial than on this occasion; never were the skill and presence of mind of British officers more requisite; but they ulti-

mately triumphed; the French began to waver; the assailants made fresh efforts; the ravelin and left branch of the horn work were abandoned; the intrenchment within the breach was soon deserted by the enemy, and the assailants, mounting over the ruins, gained the curtain, and entered the fortress.

The troops, being now assembled in great numbers, pushed into the town, and the garrison, dispirited by its severe loss, and intimidated by the perseverance and bravery of the besiegers, was quickly driven from all its intrenchments, and compelled to seek refuge in the castle. During this sanguinary day, upwards of five hundred of the assailants were killed, and fifteen hundred wounded. General Graham had no sooner gained possession of the town of St. Sebastian, than he directed his efforts against the castle, and his fire was so effectual and destructive, that on the 8th of September a flag of truce was hoisted by the enemy. After some discussion, the terms of surrender were agreed upon; when the French troops in the town and fortress, amounting to two thousand six hundred men, became prisoners of war, and were sent to England.

On the morning of the 31st of August, the day on which St. Sebastian was stormed, Soult made another unsuccessful effort to relieve that city. With this view, he crossed the Bidassoa in great force, and attacked the Spanish troops, posted on the heights of San Marcial, on the left of that river. Never, during the peninsular war, had the Spaniards behaved with such gallantry. The attack, though extending along the whole front of the position of the Spanish troops, was resisted with cool and determined bravery; and every renewed effort to dislodge them from their position only served to convince Soult that the nearer the Spanish forces approached to the frontiers of their country, the more resolution and valour did they display. Lord Wellington, who had not hitherto placed full confidence in the Spanish armies, had posted a British division on each of their flanks; but the valour of the native troops was found equal to the occasion, and no auxiliary aid was necessary to secure their success.

Every thing now indicated the intention of the British commander to cross the Pyrenees, and to carry the war into the heart of France; and this measure was only delayed until the rear of the allied army should be secured by the fall of Pampluna. In the mean time, it appeared expedient to Lord Wellington to cross the Bidassoa, and to drive the enemy from the posts which he was fortifying behind that river. On the 7th of October, the allied army, following up this intention, crossed the Bidassoa in front of Andaye, and near to the Montagne Verte.

BOOK IV. The British and Portuguese troops, in performing these operations, took seven pieces of cannon, and the Spaniards, who now began to occupy a distinguished part in the hostile movements against the enemy, crossed the fords above the bridge, and added another piece of ordnance to the trophies of the day. At the same time, Major general Baron Alten made a successful attack on the light division of the enemy at Puerto de Fera, while Don Pegiron attacked and carried the French intrenchments on the mountain of La Riuna. On the morning of the 8th the attack was renewed on the right of the enemy's position, by the same troops, and all his posts were carried in the most gallant manner.

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The ulterior object of the campaign was now accomplished; France was entered, and that country, which, for twenty years had never been trodden by a hostile hoof, saw a mighty invading army established within its frontier. A new epoch in the war was thus celebrated—a victory had been gained by a British general within the French territories. How many reflections crowded at once upon the mind! Not ten years had passed since Great Britain was arming her whole population to resist a French invasion, and now her troops were invading France. In 1803 no man doubted but that a descent upon the British shores would be attempted; and the legislature was occupied almost exclusively in devising means to repel the menaced danger. In 1818, almost the first proceeding of the legislature, on the assembling of parliament in the winter of that year, was to vote thanks to the brave troops who had defeated the enemy upon his own territories, and established a British army on the fields of France. History does not furnish an instance of greater crime, or an example of deeper perfidy, than was exhibited in the invasion of Spain; but mark the result! The unburied bones of half a million of Frenchmen whitened the vallies and mountains of the invaded country. Spain and Portugal were saved, and France, the invader and oppressor, was now herself defeated and invaded.

Lord Wellington, with a delicate and laudable attention to national feeling, had delegated to the Spanish general, Don Carlos d'Espana, the command of the blockade of Pampluna, and authority to conclude a capitulation. For four months this city resisted all the efforts of the besiegers; but finding at length that all prospects of relief or reinforcement had vanished, the governor, on the 26th of October, proposed to capitulate, on the condition that the garrison should be permitted to march into France with six pieces of cannon. These terms, as might have been foreseen, were peremptorily refused;

and on the 31st of that month the fortress surrendered, and the troops were marched to the port of Passages as prisoners of war.

All the impediments which had hitherto stood in the way of the advance of the allies into France were now removed; and the enemy, who had so lately aimed at the entire subjugation of the peninsula, sought only to defend the approaches to his own territories. For this purpose, he established two successive lines of defence—the one along the river Nivelle, the other immediately in the front of Bayonne. These lines, ever since the battle of Vittoria, he had been diligently employed in fortifying, and until he was driven from them, the British troops would endeavour in vain to advance into the interior of the empire. The better to provide for defence, a decree had been recently issued by the government at Paris, by which a new levy of thirty thousand conscripts was to be drawn, from the provinces immediately bordering upon the Pyrenees, and the reinforcements derived from this source had already begun to assemble.

Lord Wellington's advance was delayed for a few days by the heavy rains and the bad state of the roads; but on the 10th of November the whole army was brought forward, and enabled to commence its attack upon the French intrenched position along the Nivelle. After a desperate resistance, the heights on the Nivelle were carried, and the enemy being driven from all his strong and fortified positions in the centre, Lord Wellington directed his troops to advance upon the rear of the right wing of the French army; but before this movement had been completed night intervened, and arrested the progress of the allies. The enemy, availing himself of this opportunity, quitted his positions, and retired upon Bedart, leaving the ground which he had occupied in possession of the allies. As the affairs of this sanguinary day consisted wholly in the storming of intrenched positions, and lasted for nearly twelve hours, the loss was necessarily considerable, and amounted to two thousand five hundred British and Portuguese killed and wounded, exclusive of Spaniards, of whose loss no regular return was made.

The enemy now retired into his last line of defence, which was formed by the intrenched camp in front of Bayonne. The left occupied the peninsula formed by the confluence of the Adour and the Nive, where it communicated with the army of Catalonia; the right and centre extended from the left bank of the Nive to the Adour below Bayonne; and the front was here defended by an impassable morass. Lord Wellington, on surveying a position thus defended by nature and art, judged it impregnable

against any direct attack. A movement to the right, to threaten the rear of the enemy, and his communication with France, seemed therefore to afford the only chance of success. Operations were again delayed by the condition of the roads; but, on the 8th of December, Generals Hill and Beresford were, in conformity with Lord Wellington's plans, directed to cross the Nive with two divisions. On the 9th and 10th, these movements were performed to the entire satisfaction of the commander-in-chief; and Soult now became aware that unless some vigorous measures were taken to arrest the progress of the allies, his position must soon become untenable. Under this persuasion, he instantly determined to attack, with his whole force, that part of the allied army which had not passed the Nive, and thus to induce the British general to recall his advanced divisions. The efforts of the French general, though made with a degree of energy and decision amounting almost to desperation, failed at every point; and the termination of this action was marked by the defection of the Dutch and German regiments of Nassau and Franefort, which went over to the allies. On the 12th, the enemy again attempted to drive the British right from its positions, and the conflict continued without intermission for several hours; but being again repulsed, he retired within his intrenched camp, and abandoned all thoughts of making any impression in this quarter.

On the 13th, Soult resolved to make an

entire change in his operations. Having shown so much pertinacity in his attacks on the British right; and having, by so many efforts, produced, as he thought, a firm persuasion in the mind of Lord Wellington that his whole attention would still be directed to this quarter, he determined to move his whole force suddenly through Bayonne, and fall upon the division of General Sir Rowland Hill. This determination reflects credit on the skill of the French marshal; but in this instance, as on many former occasions, he found he had to contend with a general, who anticipates the movements of his antagonists, dives into their plans, and provides for every exigency. Lord Wellington, having foreseen this attack, had reinforced Sir Rowland Hill; it appears, however, that even if his lordship had not taken this precaution, Soult would have failed in his attempt, for Sir Rowland Hill's troops alone defeated the enemy with immense loss. Such was the issue of these conflicts, which continued for five days. The loss on both sides was considerable, but the success of the allies was complete, and by the result of these engagements, they became firmly established between the Nive and the Adour, while the enemy, driven to the necessity of quitting his intrenched camp before Bayonne, was compelled to retreat farther into France, and found only in the state of the weather and the wretched situation of the roads, a temporary respite from the disasters that still awaited his crest-fallen legions.

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CHAPTER XXII.

CAMPAIGN IN GERMANY: *Gigantic Preparations made by France—Reconciliation between Napoleon and Pope Pius VII—The Empress appointed Regent—Advance of the Russians from the Vistula—Invitation held out by the Emperor Alexander to the King of Prussia—Singular Situation of Prussia at this Moment—Offer made by Frederick William to mediate between the Belligerents—Rejected—Prussia declares against France—The Allies enter Saxony—Prussian Preparations—Political Relations between France and Sweden—Re-establishment of Peace between Sweden and Great Britain—Treaty of Alliance formed by those Powers—Situation of Denmark—Hamburg entered by the Russians—Re-occupied by the French—Napoleon takes the Field—Approximation of the Grand Armies—Battle of Lützen—Retreat of the Allies—Entry of the French into Dresden—Battle of Bautzen—Advance of the French—Armistice under the Mediation of Austria—Terms of Peace proposed by the Emperor Francis—Rejected by Napoleon—Denunciation of the Armistice.*

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THE tide of Russian victory had rolled on from Moscow to the Niemen; and while the armies of France had sunk under its overwhelming influence, the Emperor Napoleon had repaired to Paris to create new armies, with the determination to try once more the fortune of war. This extraordinary man was now to be seen in a new character. He, who had always hitherto detailed victories the most splendid, and who had, in no ambiguous language, held himself out as superior to all the casualties of war, was, for the first time, obliged to confess, in the face of his legislative body, that the charm of invincibility was dissolved; that a heavy calamity had fallen upon his army; that he had experienced great losses—losses so terrible that they would have broken his heart, if, in these great circumstances, he could have been accessible to any other sentiments than those of the interest, the glory, and the future prosperity of his people. The frowns of fortune had altered his situation, but they had not changed his language. He still spoke of peace, but he prepared for war. Peace was his desire; it was necessary to the world; but he would never make any but an honourable peace, and one conformable to the interests and grandeur of his empire. The misfortunes produced by the hoar frosts had indeed manifested themselves in all their extent; but the solidity of an empire, founded upon the efforts and love of fifty millions of citizens, and upon the territorial resources of one of the finest countries in the world, was not to be shaken by them. The magnitude of those resources it was the business of his minister of the interior to develope; and in the annual *exposé*, presented by that officer in the month of February, it was stated, that since the commencement of the revolution the

population of Old France had increased from twenty-six to forty-two millions of souls; that the annual value of the agricultural produce of France amounted to 5,031,000,000 livres; that their manufactures of silk, wool, metal, glass, porcelain, &c. had swelled to 1,500,000,000 livres; and that their exports were estimated at 883,000,000, and their imports at 257,000,000, livres. By this commerce, France was enabled to keep nine hundred thousand men under arms; to maintain one hundred thousand sailors; to keep one hundred ships of the line, and as many frigates, complete or building; and to expend every year from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty millions in public works.

What effect the speech of Napoleon and the exposition of his minister had in rallying the drooping spirits of the French people it is difficult to ascertain; for such were the restrictions of the press, that public feelings and sentiments were never permitted to transpire, except when they were flattering or favourable to the plans and views of the government. Here lies the wide distinction between a free and a despotic government—under both the people can offer the tribute of adulation on the altar of power; but the privilege of freely canvassing, and even of publicly censuring, the conduct of governors, exists only in free states, and every infringement of that invaluable right is a step towards arbitrary sway. That the military resources of France were still formidable, may be collected from the fact, that by a *senatus consultum*, promulgated on the 11th of January, a levy of fresh troops, to the amount of three hundred and fifty thousand, was placed at the disposal of the minister of war; and so potent was the operation of the laws of conscription, that a few weeks only were necessary to carry into effect this

sweeping edict. The conscripts, which consisted of a larger proportion than usual of boys, and included numbers of men beyond the appointed age of military service, were marched off in succession to Germany, to join, or rather to constitute the grand French army. The active energies of the French government were kept, in the early months of the present year, in the most vigorous exercise, and by the unremitting assiduity of every branch of the public service, a large numerical force was collected in the beginning of April on the banks of the Elbe; though that force was of a very different description from the veteran army that Bonaparte had, about the same period in the last year, marched against Russia. His cavalry and artillery in particular were extremely inferior; and it was, on these two branches, especially on the artillery, that he had been accustomed to depend for his victories.

Before Bonaparte left Paris, to place himself at the head of his army, he effected a reconciliation with Pope Pius VII. who was now at Fontainebleau, and the distractions of the Gallican church were healed by a concordat, signed between his holiness and the emperor, on the 25th of January. The manner in which the pope had been treated had produced a strong sensation in France, and though Bonaparte might disregard these feelings during the full tide of victory, he now felt that they were no longer to be treated with contempt; he therefore proposed to restore to the pope the territories of the church, and to reinstate him in his former dignity. These proposals were accepted; and "the holy Father, in consideration of the actual state of the church, and the confidence with which the emperor had inspired him," agreed to abrogate the decree of excommunication fulminated against Napoleon, to legalize his marriage with the Austrian Archduchess, and to give the canonical investiture to the persons appointed to the French bishoprics.

The formation of a provisional government was the next object that engaged the attention of the French Emperor previously to his departure for Germany. The empress was accordingly declared regent during his absence; and the King of Rome was nominated, in a more solemn manner than hitherto, successor to the Napoleon throne. Having thus taken what he conceived to be all due precautions, and sent on before him an immense body of troops, Bonaparte closed the session of the legislative body in a speech full of his usual confidence, and in which the French nation were led to cherish the hope, that the laurels which had been blighted by the inhospitable climate of the Beresina, would

revive, and put forth their wonted luxuriance, on the genial banks of the Elbe.

While the note of preparation thus resounded through all the departments of France, the Russian government, determined to complete the work so auspiciously begun, called forth new and extensive levies, and invited the other powers of Europe to rally round the standard of national independence. In conformity with this policy, it was ordered that a general levy should take place throughout the empire, of eight men for every five hundred, and that the levy should commence in each government within two weeks, and end within a month from the publication of the order. The arm of the giant, said the Emperor Alexander, is broken, but his destructive strength must be prevented from reviving; and his power over the nations who serve him out of terror, taken away. Russia, extensive, rich, and pacific, sought no conquests—wished not to dispossess of thrones. She desired tranquillity for herself, and for all. Peace and independence were her objects. These his majesty offered, together with assistance to every people, who, being at present obliged to oppose him, should abandon the cause of Napoleon, in order to pursue their real interests. Ages might elapse before an opportunity equally favourable would again present itself; and it would be an abuse of the goodness of providence, not to take advantage of this crisis to accomplish the great work of the equilibrium of Europe, and thereby to insure public tranquillity, and individual happiness. To Prussia in particular this invitation to take advantage of the fortunate opening which the Russian arms had produced was addressed. It was the wish of his imperial majesty to put an end to her calamities—to demonstrate to her king the friendship which he preserves for him—and to restore the monarchy of Frederick to its glory and extent. Under the hope that his Prussian Majesty would be animated by the sentiments which this frank declaration ought to produce, positive orders were given to the Russian armies, on their entrance into the Prussian provinces, to avoid every thing that could betray a spirit of hostility, and to endeavour to soften, as far as a state of war would permit, the evils which, for a short time, must result from their occupation.

Such were the invitations held out by Russia to induce the states of Europe to declare against France; and these invitations were not unavailing. It has been seen that the Prussian General D'Yorck, at the conclusion of the last campaign, withdrew his whole force from the French army under Marshal Macdonald, and concluded a convention with the Russians,* by

* See Vol. II. Chap. XIX. p. 264.

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which the Prussian troops engaged to remain neutral in Eastern Prussia. The Prussians every where received the Russian troops as deliverers, and supplied them willingly with provisions; and in return for this hospitable conduct, the most rigorous discipline was observed by the advancing army.

Prussia, at this period, stood in a peculiar situation. The capital was in the hands of a French garrison; but the inhabitants favoured the Russians, and flattered themselves that the king, with the troops he was collecting in Silesia, would declare against the French. What were the real intentions of the king, or whether he had come to a decision, it was difficult to discover. Now, as on former occasions, he seemed to be balancing between conflicting opinions, feeling, no doubt, a strong bias towards Russia, but fearing again to commit himself with a power whose vengeance experience had taught him how to estimate. Throughout the month of January, Berlin exhibited daily scenes of tumult and disorder; and to such a height was the popular fervour against the French carried, that the inhabitants rose against them, and actually confined them to their barracks. A regency had been established in the name of the king at Königsberg, of which the discarded minister Stein, who had been an object of French persecution, was the president; and this temporary government had issued a proclamation, calling on the loyal and patriotic inhabitants of Prussia to step forward and rescue their king and country from thralldom. This call was not made in vain; the young men ran eagerly to arms, and joined their brethren under the command of General D'Yorck, who had been nominated by the regency commander of the patriotic army.

In this state of things, the King of Prussia, who had suddenly removed from Potsdam to Breslau, offered himself as a mediator between the belligerents. On the 15th of February his majesty proposed a truce, on the conditions that the Russians should retire behind the Vistula and the French behind the Elbe, leaving Prussia and all her fortresses free from foreign occupation. These terms, which seemed sufficiently favourable to France, Bonaparte thought proper to reject, while the Emperor Alexander, without coming to any very explicit explanation, evinced such sentiments of liberality towards the Prussian monarch and nation, as did not fail to insure their attachment. This was the moment seized upon by the patriots of Prussia to surround their sovereign at Breslau, and to fix his wavering purpose. The time, they said, had at length arrived to shake off the degrading yoke, to which, in common with all Germany, their nation had been so long subjected. These remonstrances prevailed. On the 22d of Feb-

ruary, a treaty of peace and alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded between the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, and a system of combined military operations was one of the first acts of the confederated sovereigns.

In rendering an account of the motives for the war which was now commenced, and in calling forth the energy and zeal of his subjects, the King of Prussia declared, that his country was bowed down under the superior power of France. That peace which deprived him of half his subjects, procured no blessings, but was on the contrary more injurious than war itself. That the country was impoverished; the fortresses occupied by the enemy; agriculture neglected; industry paralyzed; and by the new system, the liberty of trade annihilated. "Prussians," exclaimed the king, "you know what you have suffered during the last seven years. You know what a miserable fate awaits you if we do not honourably finish the war which is now commenced. We are engaged in the last decisive contest, for our existence as an independent people. There is no medium between an honourable peace and inglorious ruin."

Very different from the conduct of the King of Prussia was the determination of the sovereign of Saxony. The irruption of the allied armies into his dominions, which now took place, determined him to quit Dresden, and to identify his interests with the interests of France. On abandoning his capital he issued a proclamation, recommending to his subjects a peaceable demeanour; and reminded them, that the political system to which he had for the last six years attached himself, was that to which the state had been indebted for its preservation amid the most imminent dangers. General Blücher, however, who had signalized himself after the battle of Jena, and on whom a leading and extensive command was now conferred, took a different view of the interests of Saxony; and in calling upon the people of that country to raise the standard of insurrection against the French, his language was singular and characteristic: "In the north of Europe," said he, "the Lord of Hosts has held a dreadful court of justice, and the angel of death has cut off three hundred thousand of those strangers by the sword, famine, and cold, from that earth, which they, in the insolence of their prosperity, would have brought under the yoke. We march wherever the finger of the Lord directs us, to fight for the security of the ancient thrones and our national independence. With us comes a valiant people, who have boldly driven back oppression, and, with a high feeling, have promised liberty to the subjugated nations. We announce to you the morning of a new day. Saxons! rise, join

us; raise the standard of insurrection against foreign oppressors, and be free. Your sovereign is in the power of foreigners, deprived of the freedom of determination, deploring the steps which a treacherous policy forced him to take. We shall no more attribute them to him, than we shall cause you to suffer for them. The friend of German independence will by us be considered as our brother; the weak minded wanderer we will lead with tenderness into the right road; but the dishonourable, despicable tool of foreign tyranny, we will pursue to the utmost rigour, as an enemy to our common country."

Prussia now became a camp; the friends of French politics were banished from the cabinet, and the generals distinguished by their resolute opposition to French influence, were invested with new and effectual powers. The whole country between the Elbe and the Oder was divided into four military districts, under the command of L'Estocq, Tauenzien, Massenbach, and Gotzen; the militia was called out; the *landsturm*, or *levy-en-masse*, was ordered; volunteers enrolled themselves on all sides, and the national enthusiasm was universally directed to one object. Commerce, like politics, underwent an entire change in Prussia; on the 20th of March, the continental system was abolished, a new tariff was promulgated for the importation of goods into Prussia, and all French merchandise was prohibited. The French troops having quitted Berlin, the Russian General Czernicheff arrived in that city; and on the 11th of March Count Wittgenstein made his public entry into the capital, where he was hailed with enthusiasm.

The accession of Prussia, the treaty formed between Great Britain and Sweden, and the great armaments now preparing in the north of Germany, swelled the power of Russia into a formidable confederacy. The fidelity of all the foreign troops in the French service became suspected by Bonaparte; and with a much lower proportion of sagacity than he possessed, it might already be perceived that they would avail themselves of the first favourable opportunity to desert his standard. In these circumstances it was judged necessary to make an addition even to the immense preparations which he had already contemplated. Ninety thousand men of the conscription of 1814, who had been originally destined for the reserve, were now rendered disposable, and ninety thousand more were raised by a sort of retrospective conscription. The cities and municipalities were invited to

equip new corps of cavalry, to replace that part of the army which had entirely perished during the Russian campaign; and as these raw levies could not be led at once against the enemy, every resource which experience and ingenuity could suggest, was exhausted to confer on them that discipline in which they were deficient. Officers were procured, either by drafts from Spain, or by selecting the subalterns of the regiments which had escaped from Russia; and a large camp was formed upon the Maine, where the preparation of the young soldiers for the field could be carried on without danger of interruption from the approach of the enemy.

For two years the political relations between France and Sweden had been in a state bordering on hostility. So early as the month of October, 1810, Bonaparte had menaced Sweden with hostility. That country, he said, had engaged by treaty to break off all engagements and communications with England, while a Swedish minister was suffered to remain in London, and an English agent in Stockholm. The small islands of Sweden had served as magazines in the winter season for English merchandise, and the vessels of that nation had openly carried colonial produce into Germany. This, he said, was not to be endured. There were no longer any neutrals: England acknowledged none, nor could he acknowledge them any longer. A maritime peace must be had at any price. Sweden must now take her choice; cannon must be fired on the English which approached her coast; their merchandise in Sweden must be confiscated, or she must have open war with France. The decision must be immediate; and if, within five days from the official notification of this determination at the court of Stockholm, the king had not resolved to be at war with England, Sweden should have war with France and all her allies.*

In vain did the King of Sweden yield to this mandate by declaring war against England. France next demanded a considerable body of seamen for the purpose of manning her fleet at Brest—a corps of Swedish troops to be placed in the pay of France—a tariff of 50 per centum on colonial produce, and finally, the establishment of French douaniers at Gottenburg.† All these demands were rejected by the Swedish government, and the consequence was, that the measures of France towards Sweden soon assumed a character of decided hostility. In the mean time, the depredations made by the French on Swedish vessels were daily augmented, and the prize courts of Paris almost uniformly de-

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* Conference between the Emperor Napoleon and Baron de Lagerbjelke, at Paris.

† Report of M. D'Engestrom, Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs, dated January 7, 1813.
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cided in favour of the captors. These proceedings were soon after followed by the seizure of Swedish Pomerania and the Isle of Rugen by French troops, who did not hesitate to arrest the public functionaries, and after disarming two Swedish regiments, to send them as prisoners of war into France. Against these accumulated wrongs Sweden continued to remonstrate; but her complaints were disregarded; and at length, finding all her efforts to maintain a neutral attitude unavailing, the court of Stockholm concluded a peace with Great Britain on the 18th of July, 1812, which was ratified on the 16th of the following month. In the beginning of the year 1813, war between Sweden and France had become inevitable, and on the 3d of March, a treaty was entered into between the courts of London and Stockholm, by which Sweden bound herself to employ a corps of thirty thousand men, under the command of the crown prince, against the common enemy; to act with the troops which were to be furnished by Russia and Prussia; and to grant to Great Britain for twenty years the right of entrepôt in the ports of Gottenburg, Carlsham, and Stralsund. In return for which Great Britain acceded to the engagements already subsisting between Sweden and Russia, and bound herself not to oppose the annexation of Norway to Sweden, but to afford the necessary naval co-operation, should the King of Denmark refuse to accede to the grand alliance. The British government further agreed to grant Sweden a subsidy of one million sterling for the service of the campaign of the year, and to cede to her the possession of the island of Guadeloupe, in the West Indies. This treaty gave rise to much discussion in England, both in and out of parliament, and that feature of the treaty in particular which guaranteed to Sweden the kingdom of Norway, received, as it deserved, very general reprobation.

The situation of Denmark, when the affairs of Bonaparte began to assume an unfavourable appearance, was critical and perplexing. The attack of the English on Copenhagen, in the year 1807, still rankled in the heart of the Danish sovereign, and it is highly probable that in this feeling a large proportion of his subjects sympathised with him. But on the other hand, the misery they had suffered on account of the war with England, and the danger to which they now stood exposed, when France could no longer stretch out to them the hand of protection, induced the Danish government to dispatch Count Bernstorff to London, to propose terms of accommodation. Unhappily, the treaty with Sweden, so recently entered into, interposed a formidable obstacle to the re-establishment of the relations of peace, and the Danish minister

returned to Copenhagen without having effected the object of his mission.

Thus it will be perceived, that at the opening of the campaign in 1813, Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Sweden, were leagued against France. England indeed could afford little military aid in Germany; but she was fighting the cause of the allies in Spain; and, as usual, she was liberal in her pecuniary assistance. The Emperor Alexander, at the same time, put forth all his might; and all the resources of his extensive, but unwieldy, empire were cheerfully devoted by him to the cause in which he had so ardently embarked. Prussia, greatly exhausted by the exactions and contributions drawn from her by France, could not bring into the field very numerous armies; but her soldiers were animated by the best spirit; her generals were experienced, and not only incorruptible, but inflamed by a deep hatred against Bonaparte; while her peasantry were eager to rise in defence of their sovereign and their country. The crown prince had landed an army in Pomerania, composed of most excellent troops, brought into a high state of discipline under his own immediate inspection, feeling towards their commander the most profound respect, and reposing in him the most implicit confidence. The designs of Austria had not yet developed themselves. The family alliance seemed to forbid the expectation that Francis would take any decisive part against his son-in-law, though it was clear, from the faint and reluctant co-operation afforded by Austria in the Russian campaign, that the gigantic power of France, in the hands of its present ruler, was not viewed with perfect complacency at the court of Vienna. For some time it was doubtful whether Bonaparte, in the German campaign which he was about to commence, would have the assistance of Murat, and his Neapolitan troops; since it was well known, that the King of Naples, soon after Napoleon had left the shattered remnant of his army in Russia to his care, withdrew in disgust from its command, and freely censured the inordinate ambition to which so many lives had been sacrificed. Murat, however, probably perceiving that his own power and that of Bonaparte must stand and fall together, at length consented to repair to Germany, and to take the command of the cavalry force collected for that campaign.

The Russians, animated by the hope that they should be joined by the people of Germany, as soon as they were freed from the dread and presence of the French, conceived it to be their policy to spread themselves as much as possible over the northern parts of that empire; and in the early part of the year, their light troops

pushed down the banks of the Elbe towards Hamburg. On the approach of the force under General Tettenborne, the enemy quitted Hamburg in great haste, and the Russians were received amid the acclamations of the citizens. But the joy and tranquillity of the Hamburgers were of short duration. The Russians had spread themselves over a greater extent of country than they could retain; and the French, under Marshal Davoust, having rallied and collected their scattered forces, again advanced, on the 8th of May, to the city from which they had been so recently expelled. From the 8th to the 30th, Hamburg was defended by the military and the citizens with distinguished bravery; but at eight o'clock in the morning of the latter day, General Tettenborne, finding the place no longer tenable, withdrew his troops, and the people were again suffered to pass under the French yoke. Many other places in the north of Germany, of which the Russians had obtained temporary possession, soon fell again into the power of the enemy; and this part of the plan of the campaign, which seems to have been adopted on a too sanguine calculation of a general rising of the people, evinced little skill, policy, or information.

While the light troops of Russia advanced into the north of Germany, the fortresses on the Vistula were closely besieged by other corps of the Russian army. On the 16th of April, the garrison of Thorn, consisting of 400 Poles, 3,500 Bavarians, and a few French troops, surrendered to General Count Langeron. The trophies of this success were two hundred pieces of cannon; and nearly the whole of the Bavarian and Polish regiments enrolled themselves under the patriotic standard. On the 18th, Spandau, situated near Berlin, on the river Spree, capitulated to the Russians; and on the 4th of May, the fortress of Czentokaw opened its gates to Lieutenant-general Von Sacken.

On the 15th of April, at one o'clock in the morning, the Emperor Napoleon set out from Paris to put himself at the head of his army, and at midnight on the 16th he arrived at Mentz. The principal body of his old troops were placed under Beauharnois, in the neighbourhood of Magdeburg; but as soon as Bonaparte assumed the command of the new levies, the viceroy began to move towards the upper part of the Saale, with a view of forming a junction with the force under the emperor, in the vicinity of Jena.

On the 19th, a sharp affair took place near Weimar, between a body of Prussians and the advance of Marshal Ney's corps, under the command of General Souham; the Prussians, who behaved nobly, drove the enemy thrice through the town; but they were at length

obliged to yield to superior numbers, and to retreat behind Jena. Towards the end of the month, the advanced posts of the adverse armies were on the opposite banks of the Saale, and it now became evident that a general engagement was fast approaching.

On the advance of the Russian armies to the Elbe, the gallant veteran Prince Kutusoff, overcome by the mental and bodily exertion imposed upon him by his exalted situation, was taken ill at Buntzlau, and on the 16th of April died in that city. A fit successor of the lamented Kutusoff was found in General Wittgenstein, who was now invested with the chief command of the allied armies. The Russian force was at this period divided into three armies; the first, under Count Wittgenstein, the commander-in-chief; the second, under General Tschikakoff; and the third, under General Winzingerode. Wittgenstein's main force had crossed the Elbe, in order to drive the French back upon the Maine. Part of Tschikakoff's army was still in the vicinity of Thorn, while another division was employed under Platoff, in the siege of Dantzic. Winzingerode's army was divided at different stations on the Elbe, stretching from Lunenburg to Dresden; while large reinforcements were advancing from the Vistula, without suffering the fortresses in their rear to retard that advance. The Prussian force under General Blucher had removed from Silesia into Saxony, and General D'Yorck was at Berlin with the main army; while a Swedish force was at the same time at Stralsund, under the crown prince. The whole Russian force with which it was stated the campaign would open, was estimated, most erroneously, at two hundred and twenty thousand; the Prussians at seventy thousand, and the Swedes at fifty thousand; making an aggregate of three hundred and forty thousand men. These magnificent prospects however were never realised. The Russian army which crossed the Vistula, and arrived on the Elbe, never exceeded one hundred thousand men, and the Prussian and Swedish force united could not, by a fair estimate, be taken at a higher number.

The French forces at this time assembled on the scene of action were estimated at one hundred and seventy thousand men; and on the 25th of April the Emperor Napoleon arrived at Erfurt, from whence he ordered all the divisions of his army to move in the direction of Leipzig. A sharp battle took place on the 1st of May, on the plains between Weissenfels and Lutzen, in which the French claimed the advantage; "but, by one of those fatalities of which the history of war is full, the first cannon ball which was fired on this day, struck the wrist of Marshal Bessières, the Duke of Istria, pierced

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his groin, and killed him instantly." On the morning of the 2d Napoleon advanced at the head of his army into the plain of Lutzen, with the view of reaching Leipzig, and throwing himself upon the rear of the allied armies.* To defeat the object of this movement, the whole of the allied forces suddenly crossed the Elster, and commenced a grand attack upon the enemy. The contest that ensued was one of the most sanguinary description. The Russians and Prussians fought under the command of General Wittgenstein, in the presence of the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, and the French under Bonaparte. The left of the French army formed by the viceroy, having under his command the 5th and 11th corps, leaned upon the Elster. The centre was commanded by Marshal Ney, in the village of Kaja. The emperor, with the young and old guard, was at Lutzen; and Marshal Marmont, who commanded the right, was placed at the defile of Poserna. In the order of battle formed by the allies, General Blucher formed the first line; the corps formerly belonging to Count Wittgenstein, the second; and the corps of General Winzingerode, together with the Russian guards and grenadiers, the reserve. The position occupied by the French was remarkable for its strength; behind them was a rising ground, and a succession of villages; in front there was a hollow way, through which ran a stream of considerable depth; and thus supported in front and rear, they awaited the attack of the allies. These advantages were much increased by an immense quantity of ordnance, which was distributed through the line, and in the vallies; besides batteries in the open country, supported by masses of infantry in solid squares. The allies had the advantage in cavalry, but the superiority of numbers was on the side of the French. Bonaparte, aware of these circumstances, exclaimed at the beginning of the battle:—"It is a battle like those in Egypt: a good infantry, supported by artillery, should be sufficient to secure victory."

The villages of Gross-Gorschen, Klein-Gorschen, Rahno, Kaja, and Starrsiedel, occupied by the French, are in the vicinity of each other, and form a kind of irregular square; and the

plan of the allies was, by directing the principal weight of their attack against the right wing of the enemy, to take these villages and to occupy them with an advanced-guard. With this concentration of force it was their intention to throw back the right wing of Napoleon from the direct road to the Saale, and with their numerous mass of cavalry, to turn this wing by a furious charge on his flank and rear, and thus to decide the fortune of the day. The battle commenced at noon, by the attack of the village of Gross-Gorschen. From three to four batteries were erected within eight hundred yards, and the village was heavily cannonaded. The enemy's battalions, which were drawn up before the village, supported the fire with distinguished firmness, but the Prussian brigade advanced with so much steadiness and impetuosity, that the French were at length driven from their position. From this moment, all the corps came successively into action, and the battle became general. The village of Gross Gorschen was disputed with unexampled obstinacy; six times it was taken and re-taken by the bayonet, and at last remained in the hands of the allies. For several hours the conflict was dubious; and the discharges of musketry raged with such indescribable destruction, that the number of killed and wounded in this part of the field was immense. The artillery was gradually brought forward by the hostile armies, on a field of about fifteen hundred yards square, intersected by villages, hamlets, meadows, and ditches, and slaughter in all its horrors reigned triumphant.

The enemy, determined, if possible, to regain possession of the captured villages, brought up continually numerous bodies of fresh troops, and at last obtained a superiority of numbers so decided, as to oblige the weakened battalions of the allies to evacuate Klein-Gorschen. This success was only temporary; the Prussians, again led on and inspired by their generals, profited by some fortunate changes in the French cavalry, and Napoleon was once more deprived of his precarious advantage.

Obstinate as was the contest on the wings, the great efforts of infantry, cavalry, and artillery took place in the centre. The village of Caja, which formed the pivot of the French

* OFFICIAL STATEMENT OF THE FRENCH ARMY PREVIOUS TO THE BATTLE OF LUTZEN.

Six battalions of old guards, and sixteen of young guards, under Marshal Mortier,.....	16,000
Third corps, under Marshal Ney, consisting of five divisions,	45,000
Sixth corps, under Marshal Marmont, consisting of three divisions,	25,000
Fourth corps, under Count Bertrand, consisting of three divisions,	25,000
Twelfth corps, under Marshal Oudinot, consisting of three divisions,	25,000
Fifth corps, under Count Lauriston, consisting of two divisions,	15,000
Eleventh corps, under Marshal Macdonald, consisting of two divisions,	15,000
Cavalry of the guards, under Marshal Bessières,.....	4,000
Total.....	170,000

position, was taken and re-taken several times. In the afternoon of this sanguinary day the viceroy came up with his corps, and entered the French lines at the moment when Marshal MacDonald was attacking the Russian reserve. The allies now redoubled their efforts; the French centre gave way (*flechet*) some of their battalions fled in disorder, and the village of Kaja was again taken. Napoleon, judging that the critical moment which decides the fate of battles had now arrived, ordered the Marshal Mortier to march with sixteen battalions of the young guards to the disputed village of Kaja, which, after an ardent contest, was again carried, and passed into the hands of the French.

Night now approached, and the villages which formed the grand object of the contest, remained, some of them in the hands of the allies, and others in possession of the French. To maintain the conquered ground during the night, required the advance of a larger body of infantry than the allies had in reserve; it was therefore determined to attempt, in the obscurity of the night, to surprise the enemy by an unexpected charge of cavalry, which, if successful, might lead to very important results. In this nocturnal service nine squadrons of the Prussian reserve cavalry were employed, and the advanced troops of the enemy were charged with undaunted bravery, broken, and warmly pursued; but the enormous masses of the enemy's infantry in the rear, combined with the darkness of the night, and the hollow way which the cavalry was obliged to pass, defeated the object of this attempt, and served still further to weaken troops already reduced by a murderous cannonade of eight hours' duration.

The allied armies had now no other alternative but to make good their retreat, and with as little sacrifice as possible. On the 3d they marched to Borne and Altenburg; on the 4th to Rochlitz and Colditz; and on the 7th they crossed the Elbe, taking the road to Bautzen, where a battle, still more sanguinary than that which has just been recorded, was soon to be fought.

In consequence of this retreat, Bonaparte claimed the victory in the battle of Lutzen; but that it was by no means such a victory as he had been accustomed to achieve, was sufficiently evident. The vanquished were left to retreat in perfect order, and the victors had neither to boast of prisoners nor of trophies. The loss on both sides was extremely severe; but in this, as

in the estimate of the numbers engaged by the hostile armies, the accounts published in the Court Gazettes are so contradictory, that no certain information can be collected from them.* The loss of the allies was aggravated by the death of Major the Prince of Hesse-Homburg, who fell in this battle, along with an unusual proportion of officers of the leading families in Prussia. Generals Blücher and Kanovitz, with several other general officers in the Russian and Prussian service, were among the wounded; and General Gouril, the chief of Marshal Ney's staff, was numbered among the slain. The allies considered the battle of Lutzen as a momentous crisis, upon which the fate of nations seemed to depend; and the French Emperor, in communicating the details of the battle, informed her majesty the empress, queen, and regent, "that this action, like a clap of thunder, had pulverized the chimerical hopes, and all the calculations for the destruction of the empire; and that the cloudy train collected by the cabinet of St. James's during a whole winter, was thus in an instant destroyed, like the Gordian knot by the sword of Alexander." "Europe," continues Napoleon, "would at length be at peace, if the sovereigns, and the ministers who direct their cabinets, could have been present on the field of battle."

Bonaparte still followed up his original plan of pushing on to Leipzig, from whence he advanced to Dresden, and entered that city on the 8th of May. On the 12th the King of Saxony proceeded to his capital, escorted by a French guard, and the spectacle, according to the French bulletins, was extremely fine and imposing. The two sovereigns alighted from horseback, embraced each other, and then entered Dresden at the head of the guards, amidst the acclamations of an immense population.

About the middle of May, Count Bubna arrived at Dresden, with a letter from the Emperor of Austria to the French Emperor, containing, no doubt, proposals for an armistice, with a view to a general pacification; and it is worthy of remark, that the same papers which announced the arrival of the imperial ambassador at Dresden, gave an account of the departure of the viceroy for the north of Italy. Napoleon, with his usual foresight, began already to apprehend the hostile disposition of Austria, and the departure of Beauharnois for Italy was probably undertaken for the purpose of assembling an army on her southern frontier. At the same

* In the official account of the Russians it is said, "The loss of the Russian and Prussian troops is great, nor shall we over-rate it, if we estimate it at from 8 to 10,000 men in killed and wounded, but most of the latter only slightly; the loss of the enemy is to double or treble this amount." "Our loss," says the Tenth Bulletin of the French army, "amounts to 10,000 men killed and wounded; that of the enemy may be estimated at 25 or 30,000 men."

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time that the Count de Bubna was sent to Dresden, Count Stadion was dispatched by the Emperor Francis to the head-quarters of the allied sovereigns; and the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia professed their readiness to agree to an immediate suspension of hostilities; while Bonaparte held that, as a preliminary step, it was necessary to convene a congress, "at which there should assemble, on the side of France the plenipotentiaries of France, the United States of America, Denmark, the King of Spain, and all the allied princes; and on the opposite side, those of England, Russia, Prussia, the Spanish insurgents, and the other allies of that belligerent mass."* The Emperor of Austria, in order that his mediation might be the more efficient, gave orders to place his army on the full war establishment, and the principal command of his forces was confided to Prince Schwarzenberg. Hostilities in the mean time suffered no suspension.

While the French remained at Dresden, their army received considerable reinforcements, so as to form a mass little short of two hundred thousand men. The Prussian and Russian reinforcements, under Barclay de Tolly, Langeron, Sass, and Kleist, had also arrived in the mean time, and the total amount of the combined force was estimated at from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and eighty thousand men. The allies had taken up a position with the Spree in their front; their right extending to fortified eminences which defended the debouches from that river—Bautzen, which had been intrenched and covered by redoubts, forming their centre; and their left was supported by mountains covered with wood, and running parallel to the course of the Spree. Where the ground was open, particularly in the centre, strong works had been thrown up; and behind the first position, at the distance of six thousand yards, other works of equal strength had been constructed. The French force in this place consisted of the 4th, 6th, 11th, and 12th corps, amounting in all to eighty thousand men; besides twelve thousand guards, fourteen thousand cavalry, and a very numerous and powerful artillery. The right wing was formed of the 12th corps, under the command of Marshal Oudinot, leaning on the mountains to the left of the Spree; the 11th, under Marshal Macdonald, formed the centre; and the 6th, under Marshal Marmont, the left. Marshal Mortier had the command of the guards, which were stationed in reserve; and the cavalry was commanded by General Latour Maubourg. Count Bertrand was posted beyond the extremity of the left, for the purpose of threatening

the right of the allies, and also, if necessary, to communicate with the other great army, which Bonaparte had ordered to move up from a village about thirty miles to the north of Bautzen. This army consisted of about sixty thousand men, composed of the 3d, 5th, and 7th corps, under the command of Marshal Ney and Generals Lauriston and Regnier, and was directed to turn the right of the allies, while Bonaparte in person attacked them in front.

Napoleon, who had joined his army before Bautzen on the morning of the 19th of May, spent the whole of that day in reconnoitring the strength and position of the allies. Count Wittgenstein, having penetrated Bonaparte's intention in detaching Ney and Lauriston so far to the left, resolved to counteract the design by attacking them separately, before they were sufficiently advanced to co-operate with the main army. With this view, General Barclay de Tolly was ordered to advance on the 19th to Koningswarta, where he fell in with part of Lauriston's corps under General Pery, amounting to nine thousand men, and after a severe battle, forced the town at the point of the bayonet, took fifteen hundred prisoners, and seven pieces of cannon, and put the enemy totally to rout. At the same time, the troops under Marshal Ney were vigorously attacked by General D'York, who, with inferior numbers, made a gallant stand, and at the close of the day retired with General Barclay de Tolly to the positions which they were appointed to hold in the great battle that was now approaching.

On the 20th, at eight o'clock in the morning, the Emperor Napoleon appeared on the heights in the rear of Bautzen, and at noon the French columns under Marshals Oudinot, Macdonald, Marmont, and Soult, were ordered to advance and pass the Spree. At noon these corps advanced on Bautzen, and attacked, under the cover of a brisk cannonade, the advanced-guard of the allies, commanded by Generals Milloradowitch and Kleist. The determination of Kleist to defend the heights situated on the side of Bautzen, occasioned a desperate combat. He had to withstand a force, which, according to the Russian account, was four times as strong as his own; and yet he maintained his position till four o'clock in the afternoon, and did not give way till he had resisted the most vigorous attack, from these superior numbers, both on his right flank and on his front. The obstinacy with which the Russian Generals Rudiger and Roth, and Colonel Marcoff, defended these heights, excited also the admiration of the whole army. While the attack was made on this point,

* *Moniteur.*

another was made by the enemy on the centre and left of the allies; but here again he was vigorously received by Count Milloradowitch, and Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, and repeatedly repulsed. Notwithstanding this gallant resistance, the enemy gained ground, and after a desperate cannonade, of six hours continuance, the French General Compans entered Bautzen. Oudinot soon after gained possession of the heights, and at seven o'clock in the evening the allies were driven back to their second position; but Soult and Bertrand, who were sent to dispossess them of the heights on the right, failed in their object; and Ney, Lauriston, and Regnier, who were ordered to pass the Spree, and turn the right flank, were equally unsuccessful. At eight o'clock in the evening Bonaparte entered Bautzen, but the battle was continued till ten at night, and the advantages gained by the enemy in this day's engagement were purchased by the loss of at least six thousand men.

The night of the 20th was passed by both armies in preparation for one of the most bloody and obstinate conflicts recorded in military annals. At day-break on the 21st the allied army was attacked in their position in advance of Wurschen and Hochkirch, two small towns of Lusatia, on the eastern side of the Spree, between Bautzen and Goerlitz. This ground, selected by the allies to resist the enemy's approach on the great roads to Silesia and the Oder, was bounded on the left by a range of mountains, through which Marshal Daun marched in the year 1757 to the battle and victory of Hochkirch. The line of the allied army, which extended between three and four miles, was formed by the corps of Generals Kleist and D'Yorck in echelon on the right; General Blucher's, Count Wittgenstein's, and General Milloradowitch's, formed the left; while the guards and grenadiers, with all the Russian cavalry, were stationed in reserve in the centre. The enemy's first efforts were directed against the two principal points of the allied position, under Barclay de Tolly and General Blucher, and after these attacks had been opened by the sharpshooters and artillery, he gradually displayed his whole force down the entire extent of the line.

Bonaparte was now visible on a commanding spot, directing the battle: and from the eminences of the allied centre a full view was presented of the enemy's columns marching over the heights to the right and left of Bautzen. These masses of troops might be estimated at from thirty to forty thousand men, who were scarcely drawn up in order of battle, when pillars of smoke were seen rising from the high grounds to which they had advanced. This fire

was the signal of attack, for Marshal Ney and General Lauriston, who instantly pressed forward with about thirty thousand men, and threw themselves with great impetuosity on General Barclay de Tolly's position at Glein. A desperate engagement ensued, which raged with undiminished fury till ten o'clock in the morning, at which hour Marshal Ney, who had carried the position of Prulitz, was attacked by the allies, and driven back from that village.

The conflict in the mountains was at the same time carried on with redoubled animosity; but the inflexible spirit and steady fire of the allied battalions, under the direction of the Prince of Wirtemberg and General Milloradowitch, prevented the enemy from making any progress in this quarter, and cost him an inconceivable number of men. The enemy now seemed to menace an advance in the centre, and the cannonade in that quarter became tremendous. General Blucher, finding that the important position held by General Barclay de Tolly was again threatened, resolved to part with the only reserve he had at his command, and ordered this brigade to march to the village of Krekwitz. These dispositions were scarcely made, when the enemy attacked General Blucher himself in the whole extent of his position; and the action at this time had taken a very unfavourable turn. Two Russian batteries, the one by Krekwitz, the other by Nieder Gurke, that formed the principal defence of the centre, had expended all their ammunition; and the enemy, by superior numbers, had made himself master of the heights behind Nieder Gurke, from which it was found impossible to dislodge him. In this situation General Blucher demanded reinforcements, and General D'Yorck was ordered up to secure the execution of his dispositions; but the required succour came too late, and the two brigades of General Blucher's front gradually withdrew themselves out of their centre position to the high grounds above Krekwitz. But here not a single tenable position could be found, and as it was already perceived that the commander-in-chief began to despair of any favourable issue to the contest, General Blucher ordered his reserve cavalry to draw back across the defile, that the retrograde movement which he now contemplated might not meet with any impediment.

It was now an hour after noon, and the centre of the allied army was yet untouched, but the enemy had begun to make demonstrations, and had opened a brisk cannonade in that quarter. Napoleon, seizing this crisis of the battle, marched with the guards, General Latour Maubourg's four divisions, and a great quantity of artillery, upon the right flank of the position

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of the allies, and the division of Morand and Wittenberg carried the ground which formed their point *d'appui*.* At three o'clock in the afternoon, and while the event of the battle still seemed dubious, a heavy firing was heard along a line of three leagues, which served to announce that the allies had begun their retreat, and that victory had once more ranged herself under the French eagles. At seven o'clock in the evening Marshal Ney and General Lauriston arrived at Wurtzchen, and Marshal Marmont, after occupying all the intrenched villages and redoubts which the allies had evacuated; advanced in the direction of Hochkirch, and thus took the whole of the left of the retreating army in flank.

Ever since the opening of the campaign, the policy of the allies had been rather to break off a battle before it was ended, if its tendency was obviously unfavourable, than to risk every thing by exposing themselves to the chance of a total defeat; and as the whole contest in the battle of the 21st, which may be considered as a continuation of the battle of Bautzen, had actually taken an unfavourable turn, they availed themselves of their undisputed superiority in cavalry to secure their retreat. This movement was made in the face of day, with the most perfect order and regularity, in two columns. The Russian troops of the centre and left took the direction of Hochkirch; the Prussians that of Wurtzchen; and General Barclay de Tolly, and General Kleist, with the reserves of Prussian cavalry, drew up in line of battle on the heights of Goerlitz, for the purpose of keeping in check Marshal Ney and General Lauriston.

In the stupendous battles of the 20th and 21st, the loss of the French in killed and wounded, as stated in their own bulletins, amounted to from eleven to twelve thousand men; and it is on the same authority asserted, that the loss of the allies exceeded, in killed, wounded, and

prisoners, thirty thousand men. In the details published by the allies a very different statement is given; and it may be observed, once for all, that whatever confidence may be reposed in official accounts as to the movements and operations of armies, no reliance whatever can be placed on the published returns of numbers, as far at least as the statement made by one party regards the loss of the opposing army. And it is probably from the difficulty of attaining accurate information on this point, that the dispatches of the Duke of Wellington, which are always written with great candour and fairness, seldom hazard even a conjecture of the loss of the enemy.

The neighbourhood of Bautzen, which on the 19th exhibited the most luxuriant crops, was on the 21st blasted by the deadly blight of war—the affrighted inhabitants driven to the woods, and the face of the country transformed into a wilderness. On the 22d the allied armies continued their retreat, and were pursued by the French to the heights in the rear of Ruckeback, where the combat was renewed, chiefly between the cavalry of the two armies. In the early part of the day the pursuers were repulsed, but, to the astonishment of the allies, the French were enabled to bring up more than fifteen thousand cavalry, and thus to turn the fortune of the day in their favour. At seven o'clock in the evening, Marshal Duroc, the Duke of Friuli, and the Grand Chamberlain of France, being on a small eminence, in the neighbourhood of Goerlitz, along with Marshal Mortier and General Kirgener, one of the last balls fired by the allies struck the ground close to Marshal Mortier, dreadfully lacerated the lower extremities of Marshal Duroc, and killed General Kirgener on the spot. Duroc felt that he was mortally wounded; in less than twelve hours he expired.†

On the 23d, at nine o'clock in the morn-

* At this moment a shell thrown from one of the enemy's mortars fell within ten yards of the spot where the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, who were personally present in the battle, were conversing. A Prussian veteran of artillery no sooner saw the shell take ground, than, with an intrepid presence of mind, he ran up to the spot, and extinguished the fusee before the combustibles exploded. The King of Prussia, who witnessed this action, instantly called the gallant veteran, and demanded his name and his length of service, adding—"You shall be rewarded, my brave fellow; and here on the spot I promote you to the rank of an officer." "Ah! your majesty," exclaimed the man, "I humbly thank you for this gracious mark of your favour, but I cannot accept it; I might have been a corporal years ago, but—I could not read. Your majesty however, I hope, will not be displeased if I mention that the pay of an officer would make my family and myself happy for life." The king understood him; his boon was granted, and the order of the Iron Cross was added by his sovereign, and the order of St. George by the Emperor of Russia.—*Life and Campaigns of Field-Marshal Blucher, by General Count Gneisenau.*

† The following particulars of the last interview between the Emperor Napoleon and Marshal Duroc, his personal friend and constant companion in arms, are given in the twenty-second bulletin of the French army: "As soon as the posts were placed, and the army had taken its bivouacques, the emperor went to see the Duke of Friuli. He found him perfectly master of himself, and shewing the greatest *sang froid*. The duke offered his hand to the emperor, who pressed it to his lips. "My whole life," said he to him, "has been consecrated to your service, nor do I regret its loss but for the use it might have been of to you!" "Duroc!" cried the

ing, General Regnier entered Goerlitz; and while one part of the French army advanced into Silesia, another took the route towards Berlin. On the 24th, Ney, Lauriston, and Regnier, forced the passage of the Neiss, and on the 25th that of the Queiss. The allied armies in their retreat seem to have deviated from the direct line towards the Oder, and to have moved upon Schweidnitz; this change in the direction of their retreat was probably occasioned by their desire to occupy the strong places of Silesia, and by a hope that Bonaparte would not dare to follow them so far into that country. In this, however, they were mistaken, for the pursuit was so rapid, that within ten days from the battle of Bautzen one division of the French army had advanced one hundred miles into Silesia; the blockade of Glogau, one of the important keys of the Oder, was raised; and the French had obtained possession of Breslau, the capital of Silesia.

The Austrian cabinet took a deep interest in passing events; nor was it a timid and inactive neutrality that this court was prepared to maintain. Armaments of extraordinary magnitude were completed in every part of the Austrian territories; and troops were poured into Bohemia, and placed in an attitude of observation. It appeared probable that the scale into which this power might throw herself would preponderate; the destinies of Europe were held in her hands; and to obtain her favour became the grand object of the belligerents. Bonaparte, before he left Dresden, had announced, through the medium of his official paper, that he had acceded to a proposition made by Austria, for assembling a congress at Prague; but Austria afterwards declared that no such proposition had been made to her, and an assertion, thus unauthorized, appeared singular and offensive.

This power, however, was not unwilling to interpose her exertions towards putting a stop to further hostilities; she viewed with disquietude the progress of the French arms, and saw her frontiers in danger of being again incircled by the legions of Napoleon. Under her mediation an armistice was accordingly concluded; hostilities between the contending armies ceased on the 1st of June, and the armistice was signed and ratified on the 4th. By the terms of

this convention, the line of demarcation for the allied armies extended from the frontiers of Bohemia to the Oder, through Bettlern and Althorf; the line of the French army extended from Bohemia to Lahn, and thence along the course of the river Katzbach to the Oder; the space between the respective lines of demarcation, including the city of Breslau, being declared neutral. According to this arrangement, nearly the whole of Prussia was left in the occupation of the allies; the whole of Saxony, and the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser, in the possession of the French; and the fortresses of Dantzic, Zamose, Modlin, Stettin, and Custrin, in which were French garrisons, besieged by the allies, were to be victualled every five days. Hostilities were not to be commenced till the 20th of July, or till six days after the denunciation of the armistice at the respective headquarters.

Preparations on an extensive scale were in the mean time carried on throughout all the provinces of the Prussian monarchy, as well as in such of the districts of northern Germany as had been liberated from French influence. Every private object gave place for the moment to the grand views of national safety. Levies for the augmentation of the regular army were made to a very great extent. A numerous and well disciplined militia, called landwehr, was raised, and the landsturm swelled the number, if it did not add to the efficiency of the national defenders. Austria was scarcely less indefatigable in completing her establishments. From the moment the Russian arms acquired the ascendancy, an extraordinary impulse was given to the councils of Austria. All the men of influence began to exclaim, that the time had arrived to retrieve her affairs, and to rescue herself from the state of humiliation into which she had sunk. Russia offered, now that she had delivered herself, to assist in the liberation of other nations; and from all the neighbouring states ample co-operation might with certainty be expected. Austria, however, after such a succession of disasters, and so many disappointments, shrunk from taking at once any decided step; and even employed a considerable share of dissimulation to conceal from the French the change which had taken place in her councils.

emperor, "there is a life to come; it is there you are going to wait for me, and where we shall one day meet again." "Yes, Sire, but that will not be these thirty years, when you will have triumphed over your enemies, and realized all the hopes of your country. I have lived an honest man—I have nothing to reproach myself with. I leave a daughter behind me—your majesty will fulfil the place of a father to her." The emperor again grasped the hand of the great marshal, and remained for a quarter of an hour with his head reclined on his right hand, in profound silence. The great marshal was the first who broke this silence: "Ah, Sire!" said he, "leave me; this sight gives you pain!" The emperor, supporting himself on the Duke of Dalmatia and the great master of the horse, quitted the Duke of Friuli, without being able to say more than "Farewell—my friend." His majesty then returned to his tent, nor would he receive any person the whole of that night."

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Napoleon lavished offers, intreaties, and protestations; half of the Prussian monarchy was to be the reward of the co-operation of Austria, which would restore to him all his former ascendancy. To these offers Austria turned a deaf ear; but her policy rendered her active in negotiating the armistice, and in forwarding the assemblage of a congress at Prague. The same policy determined her to support no terms of peace, which should not have for their basis the limitation of the French influence in Germany; and Bonaparte no sooner ascertained the character of her overtures, than he accounted Austria his enemy, and determined again to try the fate of arms.

Efforts were now made by the French Emperor to draw reinforcements from every quarter. Some veteran corps of the army of Spain, which had hitherto been left untouched, began their march for the Elbe. The viceroy, who, on the first intimation of an armistice from the Emperor of Austria, had repaired to Italy, assembled an army upon the Adige, with the view of menacing Austria on that side; and all Europe, from the Beresina to the Tagus, rang with the din of arms. Although the armistice was prolonged from the 20th of July to the 10th of August, still little prospect of the adjustment of the differences of the belligerents presented itself. Before the end of July most of the members of the congress were assembled at Prague; the Emperor Napoleon sent the Count de Narbonne, and the Duke of Vicenza; the Emperor of

Russia, his Privy Counsellor D'Ansett; the King of Prussia, Baron Humboldt; and the Emperor of Austria, Count Metternich; it was likewise said, that an accredited minister from England was present at the congress, but no notice of such an appointment was ever given, except in the French official paper. At this congress little seems to have been effected; and the Emperor Francis soon found, that neither of the belligerent parties were disposed to terminate hostilities on such conditions as would be acceded to by the other. The Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, as well as the Imperial Mediator himself, were naturally and laudably desirous of rescuing Germany from the French yoke, or at least of restoring to its independence that part of Germany which constituted the territories of the King of Prussia; and with these views it was proposed—that the duchy of Warsaw should be abolished; that the Prussian fortresses should be surrendered to their legitimate sovereign; that Austria should be put in possession of the Illyrian provinces; that Hamburg and Lubec should be restored to their independence; and that the confederation of the Rhine should be dissolved. These terms were positively rejected by Bonaparte; the armistice was denounced; and that event, which will be ever memorable in the annals of the world, and which involved the re-establishment of the long-lost balance of Europe, occurred on the 10th of August.

CHAPTER XXIII.

GERMAN CAMPAIGN (continued): Austrian Declaration of War against France—Opening of the Campaign—Victory of the Katzbach—Battle of Dresden—Death of General Moreau—Battle of Juterbock—War in Italy—Extraordinary Meeting of the French Senate—Napoleon quits Dresden—Battle of Leipzig—Retreat of the French Army to the Rhine—Battle of Hanau—Arrival of the Emperor in Paris—Dissolution of the Confederation of the Rhine—Emancipation of Holland—Exertions of Great Britain—Hanover liberated by the Crown Prince of Sweden—The Danes separate from the French—Capitulation of Dresden—Biographical Sketches of Prince Kutusoff, Marshal Duroc, Duke of Friuli, and General Moreau.

THE denunciation of the armistice was immediately followed by a declaration of war on the part of Austria against France. The manifesto issued by the Emperor Francis on this occasion took a retrospect of the wars in which France and Austria had been engaged, and dwelt particularly on those which had occurred since Napoleon obtained the supreme power.

This paper began by declaring his imperial majesty's love of peace, and by assuring the world, that he was ac-

tuated in the war he had now undertaken by no wish for conquest and aggrandizement, but merely by a wish to avert the danger to which the social system was exposed, of becoming the prey of a lawless and ambitious power. The emperor complained of the destructive system adopted by the enemy, by which commercial intercourse was suspended between nations. On every occasion the emperor had been anxious to remain at peace; he had even made sacrifices which no consideration but his hope of preserving the tranquillity of his own country, and of Europe, could have drawn from him; nothing, however, which he could do, or sacrifice, or abstain from doing, not even a ready

and full compliance with the demands, and an accordance with the views, of Napoleon, were of any avail. The lamentable conviction was impressed on his mind that the object of the French Emperor extended to the subjugation of Europe; and that, for the attainment of that object, the dignity and honour of the sovereigns, and the tranquillity and happiness of their subjects, must be considered as of no moment. Still the Emperor of Austria persevered in his attempts to remain at peace; and he resolved to submit to that sacrifice—which was the greatest he could make as a sovereign, and as a father—the sacrifice of his own daughter. The year 1810 was not yet closed, when, in an evil hour, Bonaparte resolved to seize a large portion of the north of Germany, and to rob the free cities of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck, first of their political, and then of their commercial, existence. This scheme was adopted upon the arbitrary pretext, that the war with England required it; and seemed to be the fore-runner of great usurpations, by which one half of Germany was to become a French province, and Bonaparte the absolute ruler of the continent. Alluding to the war against Russia, and the motives which influenced the policy of Austria in that war, it was remarked—“That the campaign of 1812 furnished a memorable example of the failure of an undertaking supported by gigantic power, and conducted by a captain of the first rank, when, in the confidence of great military talents, he despises the rules of prudence, and oversteps the bounds of nature.” Then was brought on an important revolution in all the political relations of Europe. The confederacy of Great Britain, Russia, and Sweden, presented a point of union to all neighbouring states. Prussia seized that favourable moment, and threw herself into the arms of the allies. The hatred of foreign dominion burst forth on all sides. The crisis was not neglected by the Emperor of Austria. In the beginning of December, 1812, steps had been taken to dispose Napoleon to a quiet and peaceful policy; but he declared he would hear of no proposition for peace that should violate the French empire, in the French sense of the word. At the same time, eventual conditions, with which this self-created boundary did not seem to have any relation, were spoken of, at one time with menacing indignation, and at another with bitter contempt, as if it had not been possible to declare in terms sufficiently distinct the resolution of the French Emperor, not to make to the repose of the world even one single nominal sacrifice.

In the month of April, 1813, Napoleon suggested the dissolution of the Prussian monarchy, as a natural consequence of the defection from France, and observed, that it depended upon Austria herself to add the most important and flourishing of the Prussian provinces to her own states. Austria, however, resisted these propositions to engage her in acts of spoliation, and felt that the restoration of the Prussian monarchy was essential to the independence of Europe. Towards the close of the month of June, the Austrian cabinet sent a minister to Dresden, and a convention was concluded, accepting the mediation of Austria in the negotiation of a general peace: or, if that could not be effected, of a preliminary continental peace. The congress was to be opened on the 5th of July; and the armistice was afterwards extended to the 10th of August. In the mean time Austria resolved once more to try the British government. The French Emperor received the proposal with apparent approbation, and offered a passage to the Austrian minister through France. But difficulties arose; the French passports were delayed from time to time, and at last they were entirely refused. During this interval, the Russian and Prussian plenipotentiaries were named, and arrived at Prague. France still procrastinated; a French minister arrived, but he had no orders to proceed to business until the appearance of a plenipotentiary, who did not join the congress till the 28th of July. Formal and minute discussions rendered all the

endeavours of the mediating power abortive. The powers of the French negotiator were unnecessarily circumscribed; and it was not till the 6th of August, that he gave in a new declaration, by which the negotiation was not brought one step nearer to a close. After an useless exchange of notes, the 10th of August arrived—the congress was at an end, and Austria had no remedy, no resource, but to take up arms. Such was the substance of this highly important exposition of the causes which determined Austria once more to appeal to arms.

The French army, at the conclusion of the armistice, equalled perhaps, in numerical amount, those of all the other powers united. At no former period, probably, had Napoleon been at the head of an army more numerous. The main body, under his own immediate command, may be estimated without exaggeration at three hundred thousand men. Availing himself of the nature of the country, he had established a strongly fortified line on the Bohemian frontier, beginning at Wittenburg, and passing through Torgau and Dresden, to his intrenched camp on the northern side of the Bohemian mountains. Between this line and the Silesian frontier his main army was stationed; in Upper and Lower Lusatia Marshal Mortier was stationed, with seventy thousand men, including a large force of cavalry on the Spree; and Marshal Ney, with about the same number, occupied Bautzen. The Saxons were at Goerlitz. On the Maine there was an army of reserve, under Augereau; and an army of Bavarians, about twenty-five thousand strong, was stationed near Munich. A considerable force, under Marshal Davoust, defended Holstein and Hamburg, and threatened Pomerania; and the communication of this corps with the army of Dresden, and the preponderance of the French on the middle Elbe, were imperfectly maintained by the garrison of Magdeburg.

The allies occupied a line much more extended. The accession of Austria, besides making a large addition to their force, brought with it also the advantage of turning the barrier of the Elbe, as that river flows for many miles through Bohemia, and could now be passed by the allies without opposition. In Bohemia, therefore, the grand army, consisting of the whole Austrian force, augmented by large Russian and Prussian detachments from Silesia, took its position. The head-quarters were at Toplitz, on the southern side of the Bohemian mountains, and at an equal distance between Dresden and Prague. Marshal Blucher commanded a very large force in Silesia, consisting partly of Russian and Prussian regulars, and partly of a large body of well-organized militia, the whole amounting to about one hundred thousand men. The Crown Prince of Sweden, who had his head-quarters at Berlin, commanded the army of the north of Germany. This force, which

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These positions of the allies, in a military point of view, do not appear advantageous. This whole force was divided into three corps, acting separately, at a distance from each other, and maintaining only a circuitous and imperfect communication. The French army, on the contrary, was in the centre, completely united, and ready to direct its entire force against any of the allied divisions. The allied generals understood and obviated the disadvantages of their position. They were always careful, when the enemy approached in superior force, to retire, and watch the favourable moment for attack when that force had withdrawn to another point. This plan, which depended for success upon accuracy of information, was greatly aided by their possessing, in the Cossacks, the best light cavalry in the world; and, by a happy combination of skill, caution, and valour, they were enabled to prevent the difficulties under which they laboured, from affecting the final issue of the campaign.

On the crisis now approaching the fate of Europe depended. Military talents of the highest order were to be exerted; armies formed on the most gigantic scale were to be put in motion; and operations were about to be undertaken, in comparison of which many of the most renowned battles which fill the pages of history are mere skirmishes. Great Britain, Russia, Austria, Prussia, Sweden, Spain, and Portugal, were ranged on one side; France, Holland, Denmark, Italy, Bavaria, Saxony, and the minor states of Germany, on the other; and whether the mind contemplates the vast tract of country over which the desolations of war were to sweep, the wide waste of human life, or the vast issue at stake, no preceding period, since the political formation of modern Europe, had borne interests so mighty, and occurrences so pregnant with curses or blessings, suspended in the uncertain balance of military fortune. The cause of the allies was now to have the assistance of a man distinguished as one of the greatest soldiers of modern times. General Moreau, having acceded to the wishes of the Emperor Alexander to lend his aid in this great struggle, had embarked and sailed from America on the 21st of June, and arrived at Gottenburg on the 26th of

July. On the 4th of August he again embarked at Ystad, in a Swedish brig, for Stralsund, where he was met by the Prince Royal of Sweden, his early friend and companion in arms, and where a plan of military operations for the approaching campaign was concerted.

The first movements of importance made by the French army, after the denunciation of the armistice, were in the direction of Berlin, the head-quarters of Marshal Bernadotte, the Crown Prince of Sweden. All the reports of the secret agents had announced, on the evening of the 21st of August, that the French were concentrating the corps of Marshals Oudinot and Victor, and of Generals Bertrand and Regnier, amounting to more than eighty thousand men, in the environs of Baruth, and every thing indicated a rapid march upon Berlin. On the 22d the army of the crown prince quitted Potsdam, for the purpose of arresting the progress of the enemy; and on the morning of the 23d, the hostile armies met in the village of Gross Beren. Here a smart action took place, and the French, after having sustained a severe loss, retired, without attempting to bring on a general engagement, and fell back in the direction of Dresden.

While the army of the north was thus employed, General Blucher, who commanded in Silesia, passed the Bober, the boundary of Lusatia, on the 19th of August, and drove in all the French corps by which that river was defended. On the arrival of a large reinforcement, headed by Napoleon in person, Blucher measured back his steps, and was pursued by the enemy to the banks of the Katzbach, a river rendered famous by a signal victory gained by Frederick the Great. On the 22d Napoleon received intelligence that the allies had made a rapid movement for the purpose of cutting him off from the line of the Elbe, by seizing Dresden. When this information was received the French Emperor was at a distance of one hundred and twenty miles from that city; but the crisis was urgent; he instantly commenced his march, accompanied by a strong body of troops; and though the weather, during the whole time, was most tempestuous, he reached Dresden on the 26th, a few hours before the allies appeared in sight of that place.

No operation of importance occurred in Silesia between the 23d and the 26th; but on the latter of these days, General Blucher, who, with his usual penetration, had perceived that Napoleon, the main spring of action, was no longer with his Silesian army, determined to advance from Jauer to the Katzbach, and to attack the enemy. In the afternoon of the 26th the battle began, amidst a tremendous and continued rain, which so much darkened the atmosphere, that

every movement was rendered difficult and embarrassing. To the left of the village of Eichholz, a commanding ground, which became the key of the Prussian position, was lined with artillery by General Sacken, while a battery of twelve five pounders poured its murderous discharges upon the enemy's columns, which were forced slowly and disadvantageously to deploy between Weinberg and Eichholz. This was the moment seized by General Blucher for a general attack. With a degree of impetuosity, and a heroic disregard of danger, that pervaded every part of the army, the whole line of battle now precipitated itself on the enemy. The incessant rain had rendered fire-arms useless; not a musket could be fired, when, with loud shouts and reiterated huzzas, a conflict with the bayonet took place, the most sanguinary, desperate, and destructive, that is to be met with in the history of battles. Whole columns of the enemy were overpowered by the physical strength of the allies, and suddenly transformed into frightful heaps of wounded, dead, and dying. No prisoners were made at this period of the battle—"Forwards! forwards!" was the watch word, and death stalked in hideous majesty before the impenetrable files of the Prussian and Russian columns. On the left wing, General Langeron had to sustain the most furious attacks; twice did General Lauriston succeed in carrying the heights of the Russian position, and twice was he driven from them at the point of the bayonet. French impetuosity here found itself resisted by the adamantine steadiness of Russian bravery and devotedness. Marshal Macdonald, who commanded the French army on this occasion, finding all his efforts vain, attempted, as a forlorn hope, a grand charge of cavalry, but this was repulsed with severe loss, and he was obliged to relinquish the field of battle, and to seek safety across the foaming streams of the Katzbach and the Neisse, which, swollen as they were by the torrents from the Bleyberg mountains, could only be passed with the most imminent danger. This sanguinary battle, by which the gigantic plans of Napoleon received a severe check, commenced at three o'clock in the afternoon, in the neighbourhood of Jauer, and was terminated at the close of the day on the banks of the Katzbach. The pursuit of the retreating army, which fled across the Bobr, was continued on the 27th and 28th, and on the 29th General Blucher addressed a proclamation to his soldiers, in which he exclaimed—"Silesia is delivered! Your bayonets, and the nervous strength of your arm, drove your enemies down the steep slopes of the raging Neisse and the Katzbach. One hundred and three pieces of cannon, two hundred and fifty tumbrils, the camp hospital of the enemy, his provisions, a

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general of division, two generals of brigade, a great number of colonels, staff and other officers, eighteen thousand prisoners, two eagles, and other trophies, have fallen into your hands. Let us sing praises to the Lord of Hosts, by whose help you have overthrown your enemies, and return thanks to him who has given us the victory!"

The period had now arrived when the grand plan of the allies, formed by General Moreau and the Prince Royal of Sweden, was to be put in execution. The different columns of the allied armies were to debouch from the mountains of Bohemia, and by rushing through the passes, to place the enemy in a situation of the most imminent danger. The effect of this operation was partly defeated by the ardent precipitancy of some of the troops, who pushed on with so much eagerness that the right division was brought into action before the other columns had gained their stations. When the Emperor Napoleon entered Dresden from Silesia, at eight o'clock in the morning of the 26th of August, the grand Russian, Prussian, and Austrian army, commanded by the sovereigns, were before that city. The allied army at that time crowned all the hills which surround Dresden, and had approached upon the left bank of the Elbe to the distance of a league from the French posts. At noon all was tranquil, but to an eye skilled in the affairs of war, this calm was the delusive precursor of an approaching storm. At four o'clock in the afternoon, six columns of the allied army, each preceded by fifty pieces of artillery, descended into the plain, and marched towards the French redoubts. In less than a quarter of an hour afterwards the fire became terrible, and one of the redoubts was silenced. At five o'clock a part of the French reserve was engaged, and several shells fell in the town. Roused to the greatest exertions by the urgency of the danger, Napoleon ordered the King of Naples to march with General Latour Maubourg's cavalry upon the right flank of the allies, and at the same moment, four divisions of the young guards debouched through the gates of Pirna and Plauen. The effect of these efforts was to force the allies back from the centre to the extremity of their position, and to cover the field with the dead.

On the 27th the weather was dreadful, and the rain fell in torrents. At nine o'clock in the morning the battle was renewed, and the allies determined if possible to drive the French from the city. But it was soon perceived that it would be impossible to effect a practicable breach in the walls, and at two o'clock in the afternoon, the allied army, finding themselves in danger of being surrounded and cut off from their communication with Bohemia, resolved upon a retreat.

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CHAP. XXIII.

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The French, having thus succeeded in repulsing the assailants, marched out of the city on the morning of the 28th, to harass them in their retreat. Napoleon, availing himself of the perilous situation in which he had placed his enemies, ordered an immense number of cannon to be brought out of the city, and the battle was renewed by a heavy cannonade on both sides, accompanied by charges of cavalry. After several hours, the French army, perceiving that they could make no impression, withdrew into Dresden; and the allies, having failed in their object of cutting off Napoleon from the line of the Elbe, retreated into the valley of Toplitz, in Bohemia. According to the French accounts, the loss of the allies, in this series of engagements, amounted to from twenty-five to thirty thousand prisoners, forty pairs of colours, and sixty pieces of cannon; while their own loss was estimated at only four thousand.* But one of the most disastrous events in these battles was the death of General Moreau, who received a mortal wound from a cannon fired by the French imperial guard on the 27th, while that general was in earnest conversation with the Emperor of Russia, and which, passing through his horse, carried off both his legs. This dreadful wound did not immediately prove mortal; he was removed from the field of battle on a litter, made of Cossacks' pikes, and after undergoing repeated operations, died on the 3d of September, at Laun, in Bohemia.

Bonaparte, who considered the rout and discomfiture of the allies as complete, and who represented the Austrian division of the army to be almost annihilated, dispatched General Vandamme with a force of thirty thousand men to cut off their retreat into Bohemia. With this force, the French general crossed the Elbe at Pirna, and had actually gained possession of the mountain passes, when the Russians, under the command of Count Osterman, forced their way through the hostile ranks with the bayonet. On two successive days, the 30th and the 31st, the enemy were attacked with great vigour, and being at length put to a general rout, they threw down their arms, abandoned their guns and standards, and retreated in all directions. Vandamme, and six other generals, were taken; and sixty pieces of cannon, six standards, and about ten thousand prisoners, rewarded the gallant exertions of the allies.

The north of Germany, where the crown prince commanded, now became the theatre of events of great importance. The allies having retired from before Dresden, Bonaparte found himself at liberty to dispatch a strong force towards Berlin, and Marshal Ney, at the head

of seventy thousand men, was marked service. After the repulse of the crown prince, 23d of August, the crown prince, he was not opposed by an equal force, determined to take advantage of his superior numbers, and moved towards the Elbe with intention to cross that river, and to march upon Leipzig. But on his arrival at Rabenstein his march was arrested by the intelligence that the enemy, under Marshal Ney, was in full march upon Juterbock, and that the Prussian army, under General Bulow, which did not exceed forty thousand men, was threatened with an immediate attack. On the receipt of this intelligence the crown prince changed his route, and arrived at Juterbock, by forced marches, on the 6th of September, at the moment when the Prussian army, after having sustained the unequal combat with distinguished gallantry for several hours, was nearly overpowered by numbers. For a moment the Russians and Swedes halted, for the purpose of forming in order of battle; and as soon as this was accomplished, seventy battalions, and ten thousand horse, supported by one hundred and fifty pieces of artillery, advanced in columns to the attack, preceded by four thousand Russian and Swedish cavalry, who had advanced at full speed, for the purpose of supporting some points against which the principal efforts of the enemy were directed. At the sight of this immense army coming up to the assistance of a foe against whom the enemy had scarcely made any impression, the French first wavered, and then fled with precipitation. In their retreat they were charged by the numerous cavalry of the allies with so much impetuosity that their ranks were broken, and the utmost disorder ensued. The result of the battle of Juterbock, or of Donnwitz, by which name it has been sometimes called, was five thousand prisoners, three standards, thirty pieces of cannon, and two hundred ammunition wagons, while six thousand French troops lay dead upon the field.† The enemy, after their defeat, attempted in vain to rally; and besides the prisoners taken in the battle, two thousand five hundred others were taken in the evening of the same day by General Wobeser, at Gahna, on their way to Dresden. The loss of the Prussians amounted, in killed and wounded, to five thousand men; "but the result of this day," says the crown prince, "ought to contribute to the consolation of every true patriot, who will find the triumph of the cause of his country insured by the death of these brave men. The heroic example shown on this occasion by the Prussian army is calculated to exist for ever in the annals of military fame, and to inspire all those who

* Thirty-fifth Bulletin of the French Army.

† Eleventh Swedish Bulletin.

every movement of independence of Germany." It barrassing him, as that the star of Napoleon's holz, a com- to turn pale, and General key of of the most devoted of his generals, artillery, apparently not to out-live the military glory of his country, remained a long time in the field exposed to the fire of the sharpshooters of the allies, in the situation of a man desirous of death.

The situation of Bonaparte was now becoming every day more critical. The allies, indeed, had been defeated in their attempt to take Dresden, but they still acted upon a plan of consummate skill, and performed all their operations with activity, decision, and promptitude. The leading feature of the plan upon which they now acted was to gather all their forces in the route between Dresden and Leipsic, so as completely to cut off Napoleon's retreat in that direction to France. In order to effect this purpose, it became necessary to distract the attention and the forces of the enemy, and while one part of the allied army advanced towards Dresden from the valley of Toplitz, on the side of Bohemia, the corps under General Blucher made similar demonstrations on the side of Silesia, advancing and retreating successively, till the troops of the enemy were completely exhausted. In the mean time the allies were receiving powerful reinforcements, and the Emperor of Russia in particular exerted his utmost energies to bring the campaign to a successful termination. In addition to large bodies of regular troops, the Cossacks were receiving continual reinforcements from the banks of the Don; and in the situation of the French army these light troops rendered the most essential service, by intercepting the communication with France, and cutting off the supplies. The plan of Napoleon was to attack the allies, to impede their advance, and by menaces to gain time, either to extricate himself from the dangerous predicament in which he was placed, or to manœuvre the armies to which he was opposed out of their position. The latter object he was not able to effect; for after repeated marches and counter-marches to and from the Bohemian frontier, the grand allied army remained on the spot to which it had retired after the battle of Dresden; so that in this quarter his repeated movements were unavailing, while time was afforded to the allied armies in other parts to press forwards and close in upon him. During all this time his numerical strength was daily decreasing. The sword had done much, sickness had scarcely done less, and repeated rencontres, with the accompanying privations, depressed the spirits and hopes of the whole army. In the month of September, while Napoleon yet clung to Dresden, upwards of five thousand

letters were seized, principally by the vigilance of the Cossacks, upon French couriers, and these letters, which gave the most gloomy details of the French army, were all written in a style of despondency.

Great, however, as were the advantages of the allies, yet in the present relative position of the armies there was little prospect that they would immediately inflict any fatal blow by the superior force which they had at their disposal. Napoleon, from his central situation, could still command a temporary superiority at any point which was seriously threatened. The grand army had appeared before Dresden, but had again retreated. General Blucher had repeatedly approached to the vicinity of the Elbe, but a hundred thousand men defended the passage of that river; and he beat in vain against this impregnable barrier. While these operations were taking place to the south and east of Dresden, the crown prince, who was stationed in the north, prepared to pass the Elbe at Rossau, and to interpose a considerable force between the Elbe and the Rhine, on the enemy's line of march.

At the same time an expedition was undertaken by the Russian General Czernicheff against Cassel, which was attended with the most brilliant success. Never were decision, talents, and valour, more eminently displayed than on this occasion. On the 24th of September General Czernicheff marched to the Elbe, and after making a lateral movement to avoid a Westphalian corps, under General Bastinellar, he arrived on the 27th on Cassel, and invested that city. The Cossacks, and the hussars of Izum, were now ordered to attack the enemy's battalions stationed at Bettenhausen, with six pieces of artillery, and such were the vigour and success of the charge, that, after capturing the guns, and making four hundred prisoners, the remainder of the enemy's force was dispersed, and the fugitives pursued to the gates of the city. Jerome Bonaparte, the intrusive King of Westphalia, alarmed by this unexpected visit, collected two battalions of guards, and a thousand horse, with which he fled from his capital by the road leading to Francfort; and on the 30th, General Czernicheff entered Cassel by capitulation, where the Russians were received by the inhabitants with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of joy. The Westphalian troops being now left at liberty to follow the bent of their own inclinations, a large proportion of them ranged themselves under the banners of the allies; and a fatal blow was thus struck against French influence in the kingdom of Westphalia.

Nor were the affairs of Bonaparte more prosperous in Italy: Beauharnois had, on his arrival in that country, succeeded in collecting a large army, but their efforts seemed to be

paralyzed; and when the Austrian General Nugent advanced, the viceroy found himself compelled to retire from the head of the Adriatic towards Venice.

These events, which in ordinary times would have been considered as important, in the present situation of the continent scarcely attracted the attention of the public; all thoughts and conjectures were fixed upon Dresden and its vicinity. About the middle of September, Prince Schwartzberg, to whom the command of the allied army in Bohemia was confided, had succeeded in forming a communication with General Blücher at Gobel, and by an extension of the Prussian line, a communication was also opened with the crown prince at Bautzen. On the advance of the allies to Gobel, Prince Poniatowski was posted at that place, but he was now compelled to retire to a station within fifteen miles of Dresden, while Marshal MacDonald was at the same time obliged to take up a position on the Spree, within thirty miles of the same city. Marshal Marmont, who had occupied the left bank of the Elbe with the 6th corps, was recalled, and sent with the cavalry, under the King of Naples, to Grossen Hayn, about twenty miles to the north of Dresden, to check the Swedes, who were advancing in that direction. Marshal Ney, after his defeat at Jüterbock, took shelter under the cannon of Torgau, from which station he had not removed at the period now under consideration. Such were the positions of the armies and the state of affairs about the middle of September. On the 14th, the grand allied army again advanced from the valley of Toplitz, driving back the 1st, 2d, and 14th corps of the French army, which, with the guards, were posted on the frontiers. Again was Bonaparte compelled to leave this city, in order to reinforce his advanced divisions; and the 15th and 16th were spent in forcing the allies back into Bohemia.

The French Emperor could now no longer conceal his situation from the people of France; he had in his bulletins spoken of success almost uninterrupted, and it was with extreme reluctance that he acknowledged his inability either to advance or to make head against the formidable confederacy by which he was assailed. But the truth could not be concealed; there was no possibility of escaping out of his perilous situation unless large reinforcements were sent to his rescue, and the exigencies of the case would not admit of a moment's delay. Accordingly, on the 4th of October an extraordinary meeting of the French senate was held, at which Cambacères, the Duke of Parma, after submitting to that assembly the long delayed report concerning the war with Austria and Sweden, distinctly avowed that the emperor's

means were not adequate to the emergency of his situation; and called on them for a fresh levy of two hundred and eighty thousand men. On this occasion the empress was brought forward to declare, that the enemies of France wished to destroy her allies, to punish them for their fidelity, and to carry the war into the bosom of France itself. Acquainted for four years with the most intimate thoughts of her august spouse, the empress knew with what sentiments he would be agitated, upon a degraded throne, and under a crown without glory—and in the name of the emperor and their national honour, she conjured all Frenchmen to rally round the standard of their country.

But this call was made too late: the allies, long before the *senatus consultum* of the 4th of October could be carried into effect, had executed their grand plan of operations. During the month of September, which was principally occupied in military movements, the allied forces had been augmented by the arrival of General Benningsen, at the head of a Russian corps of forty thousand men. The Hetman Platoff, the Cossack chief, who had been for some time absent from the great theatre of active operations, now re-appeared, and his warriors formed part of General Benningsen's corps, which joined the grand army in Bohemia. This seasonable reinforcement determined the leaders of that army to make a movement on the left, and, ascending from Bohemia, to interpose between Dresden and the communication with the Rhine. Platoff, with his Cossacks, led the advance, and vanquished a French corps, under General Lefebvre, which had been dispatched to clear the road from Dresden. The allied army, in quitting the Bohemian frontier, proceeded in three divisions towards Leipzig, the force of the Russians and Prussians amounting to ninety thousand, and the Austrians to a hundred thousand men. The armies of the crown prince and General Blücher, amounting together to one hundred and thirty thousand men, made a combined movement on the 5th of October in the direction of Leipzig, and by the 9th the whole of the combined armies formed a line in Bonaparte's rear, stretching from Dessau to the Bohemian mountains. Never perhaps was a military operation accomplished by so extensive and simultaneous a movement. The allies had now effected their great preliminary design, and it is impossible not to admire the skill, boldness, and energy, displayed upon this occasion.

An event now occurred of the most embarrassing nature to France. Bavaria had long been the ally of that state, but whether attached by fear or favour it is difficult to determine. The alliances of states, formed and nurtured under the sun-beams of prosperity, are seldom

found capable of withstanding the chilling blasts of adversity. Bonaparte had certainly been liberal to Bavaria; he had aggrandized that kingdom at the expense of Austria; and evidently wished to raise her up as a barrier to protect the French territory. But she had in the wars of France been treated as a vassal; she had been obliged to unite her forces to the French armies, and to send them to the extremities of Europe, to shed their blood in wars in which they could feel no interest. A superior Austrian corps, under Prince Reuss, had already entered the Bavarian territory; and the French army assembled on the Maine, and from which Bonaparte had promised assistance to Bavaria, had, in the exigency of his affairs, been ordered to repair to the Elbe. Maximilian Joseph, therefore, suddenly determined to dissolve all the ties which united him to France, and to afford to the cause of the allies his full and cordial co-operation. A treaty of alliance and concert between Austria and Bavaria was accordingly signed by Prince Reuss and General Wrede, on the 8th of October; and the Bavarian general, with thirty-five thousand Bavarian troops and twenty-five thousand Austrians under his command, immediately communicated with the combined armies.

In this most alarming state of affairs, Napoleon was reduced to the absolute necessity of commencing his retreat, and on the 7th of October he quitted Dresden, accompanied by the royal family of Saxony. It is impossible to assign any rational motive for the pertinacity with which the French Emperor clung to the Saxon capital, unless it be supposed that he was under the same infatuation which seized him during the Russian campaign, and led him to advance, at the approach of winter, into a hostile and barren country, and to continue at Moscow till retreat was almost impossible. To every man not blinded by passion or obstinacy, it must have been apparent, that by lingering at Dresden, his own forces were gradually reduced in number and strength, while those of his enemy were daily accumulating, and placing themselves in a situation to cut off his communication with France.

The march of the French army, on its departure from Dresden, was not directed upon Leipzig, but upon Wittenburg; Berlin seemed to be its ulterior object, and the utmost alarm seized that capital. The crown prince, and General Blucher, upon learning this new direction of the French army, although they could not anticipate from it any unfavourable issue to the contest, determined to follow close in the rear of Napoleon, to be ready to assail him at any point against which he might direct his operations. With this view, they re-crossed the

Saale and the Elster, and were preparing to gain the right bank of the Elbe, when they learned that a complete change was observable in the movements of the enemy. It now appeared, that the French division which had passed the Elbe, and threatened Berlin, had been recalled, and that all the different corps were moving in the direction of Leipzig, where the fate of Europe was soon to be decided. The reason assigned by Bonaparte for this sudden change in his plan of operations, was the intelligence just received, that Bavaria had not only dissolved the alliance which had so long united her to France, but had concluded with the allies a treaty of co-operation. But whatever might be the motives by which he was actuated, this instance of vacillation in the councils of the French commander was the source of irreparable injury to his affairs: by not marching at once from Dresden to Leipzig and the Saale, he suffered the allies to conduct their operations unmolested in his rear; and he was afterwards driven to retrace his steps, when it was too late to reap the benefits which might have been derived from more vigorous and decisive measures.

On the 15th of October Bonaparte arrived at Leipzig, and found that place still in the possession of his troops; but the city was surrounded by hostile armies. The united force of General Blucher and the crown prince extended on the north from the Mulda to the Saale; and the army of Silesia communicated along the Saale with the grand army, which extended to the south from that river to the Mulda. According to this disposition of the allied forces, the two armies touched each other at the extremities, and though they were separated at other points, yet even their opposite lines were so nearly in contact that they could communicate by signals, and hear distinctly the sound of each other's cannon.

The 16th of October, the day immediately following the arrival of Napoleon, was fixed upon by Prince Schwartzberg, the commander-in-chief of the allied armies, for a general attack on all the French positions round Leipzig; and on this occasion the following order of the day was issued:—

“Brave warriors! The most important epoch of this sacred struggle is arrived. The decisive hour is striking: prepare for the fight. That tie which binds powerful nations together for one and the same object, will be drawn closer on the field of battle. Russians, Austrians, Prussians, you combat for the same cause; you fight for the liberty of Europe, for the independence of your country, for the honour and immortality of your name. One for all! All for one! Let this be your rallying cry when rushing to battle. Be faithful to it in the decisive moment, and victory is yours.”

This energetic appeal to the army excited the most lively enthusiasm. On the north the

BOOK IV: French division under Marshal Ney, consisting of the 4th, 6th, and 7th corps, commanded by Count Bertrand, Marshal Marmont, and General Regnier, occupied a line about four miles in extent, stretching from Leipzig along the roads to Dessau and Magdeburg. The army of the Crown Prince of Sweden formed the left of the opposite line, reaching from Witten to Zarlug. On the right, nearer Leipzig, was General Blücher, with his head-quarters pushed to Gross Kirgall, and it was determined that on this side the grand effort should be made. At mid-day a furious onset was made by the Prussian cavalry, which dislodged the enemy from the advanced villages which they had occupied; but they tenaciously held the woody ground on their right, and maintained themselves in the villages of Mockern and Mokau, on the left of their position. In the former of these villages a bloody contest ensued. Five times it was taken and re-taken by General D'York, but at length the victorious Silesians carried all before them, and drove the French force beyond the banks of the Partha. The Russians, equally with their brave allies in arms, made the most gallant efforts in the villages of Great and Little Wetzertitz; and the loss of the French in this battle, as stated on the authority of the London Gazette, was forty pieces of cannon, twelve thousand killed, wounded, and prisoners, one eagle, and many caissons; while the loss of the allies did not exceed seven thousand men.

While this contest was raging to the north of Leipzig, a separate, and still more furious battle, was fought on the south, between Prince Schwarzenberg, who was advancing towards Leipzig by the road of Lutzen, and that portion of the French army which was commanded by Bonaparte in person. The attack was made by the allies at eight o'clock in the morning, and the principal operations took place on the side of Wachau and Liebertwolkwitz. At eleven o'clock Marshal MacDonald showed himself in advance before Holzhausen, and, in conjunction with General Lauriston, succeeded in forcing General Count Klenau to evacuate the position he had occupied near Gross Possna. Count Klenau, having obtained reinforcements, ordered a succession of attacks to be made on the enemy at Seyfartshayn and Gross Possna, and these posts were, in the course of the day, taken and re-taken several times. On the side of Wachau, the enemy, aided by fresh troops, pressed forward with so much vigour, that the Prince of Wirtemberg was obliged to make a retrograde movement; and Prince Schwarzenberg, being apprised that Napoleon was making his great effort in this quarter, immediately ordered up into line the whole of the Austrian reserves. At the moment that the Austrian reserved ca-

valry, under General Count Nostitz, was debouching in advance of Gröbern, the French dragoon-guards and Polish cavalry, under General Letort, had already penetrated to the vicinity of that village, and several of the battalions of infantry, drawn up in square masses, were following in close order. In this emergency General Nostitz charged the enemy's cavalry with the head of three regiments of Austrian cavalry, and the charge was made with so much effect that the cavalry was broken, and several of the French guards put completely to flight. Napoleon, finding all his attempts to gain the village of Reuditz frustrated, now determined to attack the village of Reuditz upon the Prince of York's position. The prompt purpose, the corps of General D'York, under Latour Maubourg, headed by the Prussian forces, was brought into action. In this and the the French infantry greatly outnumbered the Russians, and the allies had only ten squadrons of light cavalry on the spot. The enemy, favoured by the nature of the ground, advanced to the charge with impetuosity, and were actually on the point of breaking through the confederate army and cutting off the right wing, when the Emperor Alexander, perceiving the critical situation in which the army was placed, and fully aware of the disastrous consequences that would ensue, ordered, at this decisive moment, the reserve of the Cossack guards to charge the enemy. The charge was irresistible; the French horse were broken and dispersed; twenty-four pieces of captured cannon were retaken, and the disasters of the day were retrieved. According to the reports of those who witnessed this battle, the French stood as if rooted to the spot—the allies like rocks of granite; the former fought like men—the latter like lions. On the approach of night, both parties, inspired with mutual respect, desisted from hostilities. The battles of the 16th, which extended over a circle of many miles, and of which Leipzig may be considered as the centre, were not altogether so favourable to the allied arms as their numerical superiority, and the sanguine hopes of the friends of German independence, might have suggested: nor had Napoleon any reason for exultation, though all the bells of Leipzig were put in motion by French command to celebrate the victory. The momentary advantages acquired by the courage and constancy of his troops, were productive of no important consequences, and the rivers of blood shed on the 16th may be said to have flowed in vain.

The 17th was occupied by the French in replacing the eighty thousand cannon balls which had been fired on the preceding day, and by the allies in bringing up their reinforcements. On the advance of the allies from Bohemia, General

Benningesen, at the head of a large army, had been left to observe Dresden; but when Napoleon quitted that capital, and left it defended by General St. Cyr alone, with a garrison of sixteen thousand men, so large a force was no longer necessary for the purpose of observation. The Russian general was therefore directed to leave merely a detachment before the Saxon capital, and with the whole of his remaining force to push forward without delay to join the grand army. During the night some minor changes were made in the Russian army. On the north the troops were drawn behind the river Elbe. They retired from Wachau, where the battle had been fought, into the interior of Saxony; and on the same day they succeeded in making an opening through the allied line along the Saale, in the direction of Weissenfels, thus at once securing to themselves a retreat, and intercepting the free communication between the allied armies.

On the 18th Field-marshal Prince Schwartzberg, having brought up all his reinforcements, determined to execute the designs of the allied sovereigns, and to bring the fate of Europe to its final crisis. At two o'clock in the morning Napoleon was upon the field. He approached within two leagues of Leipzig, and stationed his army, the right at Connowitz, the centre at Probstheyda, and the left at Sletteritz, villages to the south-east of the city, placing himself in the mill of Ta. On his side, Marshal Ney ranged his troops opposite the Silesian army, under General Blücher, upon the Partha. The 6th corps was at Schoenfeld, and the 3d and the 7th along the Partha at Neutsch and Teekla. The Duke of Padua, with General Dombrowski, guarded the position and the suburb of Leipzig upon the Halle road; while General Bertrand marched upon Lutzen and Weissenfels, to keep open the communication with Erfurt.

The grand army of the allies, which was under arms by the dawn of day, was divided into three columns: the first, under the command of General Benningesen, received orders to proceed from Seyfartshayn in the direction of Holzhausen; the second, commanded by General Barclay de Tolly, was destined to advance against the heights of Wachau; and the third, under the Prince of Hesse-Homburg, formed the reserve. In the execution of this plan of combined operation, the army of Silesia, commanded by General Blücher, was appointed to advance upon the Partha; while the northern army, under the crown prince, had orders to advance direct upon Leipzig.

At eight o'clock in the morning the first column of the grand army advanced in three

divisions against the enemy, and after outflanking Marshal Macdonald, carried the villages of Holzhausen and Zuckelhausen. At ten, the second column, under General Barclay de Tolly, penetrated to Wachau, and having repulsed some detachments of the enemy, occupied that village by two brigades. The corps of Russians under Count Wittgenstein followed close upon the rear of General Kleist, who formed the advanced-guard, and the two corps drew up in battle array, in the vicinity of Probstheyda. At two o'clock in the afternoon the two brigades, headed by Prince Augustus of Prussia, and General Pirch, belonging to Kleist's corps, received orders to storm the village of Probstheyda. This village, which formed the centre of Napoleon's troops, and might be called the key of his position, was occupied by a large French force, consisting of the 2d corps, under Marshal Victor, and a part of the 5th corps, exclusive of the reinforcements from the guards, which were successively thrown in from the reserve. The place itself was defended by more than eight thousand infantry; and batteries on both sides of the village spread death and destruction through the advancing columns. The gallant Prussians, undismayed by the murderous fire of the enemy's batteries, stormed and carried the place at the point of the bayonet. This success however was only transient; the French division, supported by the reserve, returned to the charge, and the Prussians, in their turn, were forced to retreat to the extremity of the village. At this moment a corps of the enemy attempted to take the retreating army in flank, but a regiment of West Prussians fell upon the pursuers, and repulsed them with loss. This advantage enabled the Prussian brigades to storm and carry the village a second time; and a second time the enemy, by force of numerical strength, succeeded in depriving them of their conquest. A detachment from the corps of Count Wittgenstein was now ordered up to the assistance of Prince Augustus; but notwithstanding a heavy cannonade on the solid masses of the enemy's infantry, and a murderous fire of grape shot on his cavalry, he still retained possession of Probstheyda, and all the efforts made to dislodge him from that position proved unavailing.

Prodigious as were the efforts made on this day by the confederate army, to make an impression on Napoleon's line of positions, yet the conflict was marked by no particular feature, nor distinguished by any bold manœuvre, or striking vicissitude: physical force supplied the place of military skill, and a series of regular assaults, bloody and obstinate, seem to have formed the general characteristic of the battle of Leipzig. The theatre of these immense operations ex-

tended over a circle of many miles, within which death was dispersed at the same moment from the mouths of fifteen hundred pieces of cannon. On the field of battle were congregated three emperors, two sovereign princes, and the heir-apparent to a crown; more than half a million of warriors, drawn from every region of their widely extended dominions, formed the combatants; and the stake at issue was nothing less than the independence of Europe.

At eight o'clock in the morning, the northern army, under the crown prince, supported by the Silesian army, under General Blücher, quitted their position at Breitenfeld, and filed off towards Taucha, where they passed the river Partha, and formed a junction with General Benning's army. Marshal Ney was soon aware that his position behind the Partha was forced at all points by the northern army moving forwards from Taucha, and immediately changed his order of battle, by posting the three corps under his command in a line between Schoenfeld and Stuntz, while the 7th corps was drawn up in two lines near Paunsdorf. On this part of the field the engagement now became animated in the extreme; thrice, say the French, did the enemy succeed in placing himself upon the left bank of the Partha, and thrice did the Prince of Moskwa drive him from that position, and overthrow him at the point of the bayonet.

It was now three o'clock in the afternoon, and victory still hovered between the two armies, doubtful on which side to plant her standard; when a brigade of Saxon cavalry, the light artillery of the 7th corps, and a battalion of Saxon light infantry, along with a brigade of Wirtemberg cavalry, under General Normann, finding themselves on the point of being charged by the Russian cavalry, marched hastily forwards, the infantry shouldering their firelocks, and the cavalry sheathing their swords, and passed over to the allies! The Saxon corps posted in Paunsdorf no sooner heard of this event, than they took the same resolution; and although the Saxon General Zeschau exerted his utmost efforts to detain his troops in the French ranks, yet the whole of the 1st brigade, consisting of eleven battalions of infantry, three squadrons of cavalry, and three complete batteries of heavy artillery, followed the example of their brethren in arms, and made the cause of the confederates their own—proving to conquerors, that the terror which they inspire terminates with the power which has created it. This defection of the allies of Napoleon, at so critical a moment, not only caused an opening in the French lines, but gave up to the crown prince the important debouch confided to the

Saxon army, which carried its hostility to such a height as immediately to turn its forty pieces of cannon against General Duret's division. Disorder now prevailed in the French ranks; the allies established themselves on the left bank of the Partha, and soon advanced within half a league of Leipzig.

The French Emperor, astonished, but not dismayed, by the "treason"* of the Saxon troops, instantly dispatched General Nansouty, with twenty pieces of artillery, in order to take in flank the troops which were advancing along the Partha to attack Leipzig, while he himself was seen on the field ~~proceeding in haste~~ with a division of his guards to the village of Reudnitz, to oppose General Langeron. The promptitude of these movements re-established order in the French army; but the appearance of General Count Bubna at Molkau arrested the progress of Nansouty, and obliged him to forego his intention of outflanking the advanced column of the allies. From some unaccountable delay, the Swedish artillery had not arrived upon the field, but the crown prince found a substitute in the cannon of the Saxons, which, being supported by a battery of Congreve's rockets, mowed down the ranks of the enemy, and contributed materially to their repulse. Napoleon, from his post at Reudnitz, pushed forward a division of his guards to the support of Marshal Marmont, who now succeeded in forcing Count Langeron to retire from his position at Schonfeld. The crown prince, perceiving the inequality of numbers by which General Langeron was pressed and obliged to retreat, ordered the Swedish General Cardell to advance with twenty pieces of cannon; and thus reinforced, Langeron was enabled towards the close of the day to retake the village.

General Blücher, although he took no prominent part in the battle of Leipzig, contributed by his dispositions to promote the fortune of the day. Perceiving that the enemy was sending off troops in his rear on the road to Weissenfels, the veteran general, with his usual foresight and promptitude of action, detached General D'Yorck with his whole corps, on the evening of the 18th, towards Halle, in hopes that on the left bank of the Saale he might reach Weissenfels before the enemy.

The approach of night put a stop to the operations of the conflicting armies. The enemy, in the midst of all his disasters, had made a gallant stand, and it must be admitted that he was not absolutely beaten out of the field; but the allies, by bearing up from all sides at one and the same moment, had established their united force within a few miles of Leipzig, and

* French Bulletin of the 24th of October.

it had become obvious that further resistance on the part of the French must be unavailing. To add to the embarrassment of the Emperor Napoleon, Generals Sorbier and Dulauiy repaired to his bivouac at seven o'clock in the evening, to inform him, that in the course of the day ninety-five thousand cannon-balls had been fired; that the ammunition in reserve was exhausted; and that there remained only sixteen thousand cannon-balls, which would scarcely suffice for a cannonade of two hours, after which no ammunition would remain for ulterior events; that the army had in five days fired two hundred and twenty thousand cannon-balls, and that a further supply could only be obtained at Magdeburg or Erfurt. This state of things rendered an immediate retreat indispensable, and Napoleon determined to march upon Erfurt, for the same reason which induced him to march to Leipzig—to enable him to ascertain the defection of Bavaria.*

The passage along the road leading to Weissenfels, narrowed as it was at present, was attended with extreme difficulty. Five or six rivers running parallel, and near each other, and requiring bridges for each, formed a long and narrow defile, through which an encumbered army could make only tardy movements. The evening had scarcely closed when the French army began to defile, and the whole of the night of the 18th was occupied in the retreat. Napoleon, with the main body of his guards, remained in the vicinity of Leipzig till the morning of the 19th, when the victorious army of the confederates, headed by their gallant commanders, made every preparation to storm his last strong hold. At nine o'clock the bombardment commenced. The Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, had scarcely joined the army in front of Leipzig, when a Saxon officer with a flag of truce arrived, and, in the name of the magistracy, requested that hostilities might be suspended for the purpose of arranging a capitulation. The messenger was received by the Emperor Alexander in person, who announced to him that his request could not be granted; and the preparations for the assault were continued with undiminished alacrity; when a second flag of truce appeared from Marshal Marmont, with an offer to deliver up the remainder of the Saxon troops, if the French might be permitted to retire unmolested, and the city spared a bombardment. These proposals being made only to gain time were rejected, and the general attack had already begun. General Sacken, who had advanced to the north side of the city, carried the intrenchments in front of the Halle gate after a severe action;

but a galling fire of grape shot still retarded his advance, till General Langeron, by order of General Blucher, filed off a body of troops for his support through the meadows of the Partha, and after forcing the enemy to abandon the gate, entered the city as conquerors. The northern army commenced its operations towards the east; and the crown prince ordered General Bulow to attack and occupy Leipzig in that direction. The gates were defended with great bravery, but nothing could withstand the Prussian bayonet; the French gave way in all directions, and notwithstanding all their attempts to rally in the streets, the intrepid Prussians bore down all opposition, and became masters of the eastern division of the town. About the same time the advanced-guard of General Bennigsen's army entered the city, and after a severe engagement in some of the avenues, put the enemy completely to the rout. The immense quantity of baggage, artillery, and equipages of every description, relinquished by the French army in their precipitate retreat, had choked up every street, gate-way, and outlet; and the retreating army exhibited a chaos of confusion that cannot be described, while each individual sought in flight his personal safety.

Obstinately as the French defended themselves, they were unable to withstand the iron masses of the assailants. They were overthrown in every quarter, and finally driven out of the city. In Leipzig, which, including the suburbs, occupies an area of little less than six English miles, scarcely a house presented itself which did not exhibit evidence of the sanguinary conflict. The ground was strewed with dead bodies, and the carcasses of horses were particularly numerous. The Ranstadt causeway, where it is crossed by the Muhlgraben or mill-dam, exhibited a spectacle peculiarly horrid. Men and horses were every where to be seen; driven into the water they had there found a grave, and their remains were now projected in hideous groups upon the surface. Here the storming columns from all the gates, guided by the retiring foe, had united, and had found a sure mark for every shot in the closely compacted masses of the enemy. But the most dreadful sight of all was that which presented itself in the beautiful Richter's garden, once the ornament of the city, on that side where it joins the Elster; there the cavalry were engaged; and along the banks, heads, arms, and feet appeared above the water. Numbers, in attempting to ford that treacherous river, had perished in its stream. The smoking ruins of whole villages and towns consumed by fire, or of extensive tracts laid waste by inundations,

* French Bulletin of the 24th of October.

BOOK IV. exhibit a melancholy spectacle; but a field of battle is the most shocking sight that the eye can behold. Here all kinds of horrors are united; here death reaps his richest harvest, and revels amid a thousand different forms of human suffering.*

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Napoleon did not quit Leipzig till ten o'clock in the morning, and only a few minutes previously to the victorious entrance of the allies. Before his departure, he had ordered the engineers to form a mine under the grand bridge between Leipzig and Lindenau, with directions to blow up the bridge when the French troops had all marched over, and thus to retard the advance of their pursuers. This duty, by a strange neglect on the part of Colonel Montfort, was confided to a corporal and four sappers, who, ill comprehending the nature of the service, upon hearing the first shot discharged from the ramparts of the city, set fire to the mine, and blew up the bridge. When this explosion took place, the whole of the rear-guard of the French army, under Marshal Macdonald and Prince Poniatowski, were still on the Leipzig side of the river, with a park of eighty pieces of cannon, and several hundred waggons. A cry of dismay soon spread through the ranks on the approach of the troops to the river—"The enemy are close upon our rear, and the bridges are destroyed!" was heard on every side. The soldiers dispersed, and were all either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners; Marshal Macdonald swam across the river; but Prince Poniatowski, less fortunate, plunged into the Elster, and sunk never more to rise.†

The results of the battle of Leipzig were immense and decisive. The allied armies took fifteen general officers, and among them Generals Regnier and Lauriston, commanding corps d'armée. The body of General Dumoreastier was found in the river, and more than a thousand men perished in the stream. Two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, nine hundred caissons, and about fifteen thousand prisoners, including the King of Saxony and all his court, fell into the hands of the allies, besides several eagles and colours. The enemy abandoned

more than twenty-three thousand sick and wounded, and his total loss exceeded sixty thousand men. According to every calculation, the Emperor Napoleon was not able to save from the general disaster more than from seventy-five to eighty thousand troops.‡ "It is inconceivable," says the crown prince, in the bulletin from which we quote, "how a man who had commanded in thirty pitched battles, and who had exalted himself by military glory, in appropriating to himself that of all the old French generals, should have been capable of concentrating his army in so unfavourable a position as that in which he had placed it. The Elster and the Pleisse in his rear, a marshy ground to traverse, and only a single bridge for the passage of a hundred thousand men, and three thousand baggage waggons. Every one asks, 'Is this the great captain who has hitherto made Europe tremble!'"

The allied monarchs, proceeding from different quarters, at the head of their guards, made a solemn entry into Leipzig about mid-day on the 19th of October, and met in the great square of that city, where the deliverance of Germany from a foreign yoke, dissolution of the confederation of the Rhine, and the overthrow of the continental system, formed the animating topics of their mutual congratulations. Never in the ensanguined annals of Europe had any military operations been exhibited on so grand a scale as those which, for four days, took place in the neighbourhood of Leipzig. Famine and pestilence, which follow in the train of war, did their part, and co-operated with the sword in the work of death. The city of Leipzig became a hospital. Thousands of the inhabitants of that place and the adjacent villages and hamlets were deprived of their homes, stripped of their all, their habitations reduced to ashes, and their families left to perish by hunger. Their fields, which had gained everlasting celebrity from the most signal of victories, were, to the distance of ten or twelve miles, transformed into a desert. The industry of many years was annihilated in a few hours. All around was one wide waste. The miserable condition of these

* Narrative of the Battle of Leipzig by an Eye-witness.

† PRINCE JOSEPH PONIATOWSKI, nephew of Stanislaus Augustus, the last King of Poland. This gallant prince had long ranked among the most devoted of the French generals, and when he perceived that he was in danger of being captured he drew his sabre, and turning to the officers by whom he was surrounded, said—"Gentlemen, it is better to fall with honour than to live disgraced." He then rushed, at the head of a few Polish cuirassiers, upon the advancing columns of the allies, and cut his way through their ranks to the Elster, where he met his fate. His unshaken attachment to the Emperor Napoleon is attributed to a hope that he would one day restore the land of his nativity to that rank among nations from which she had been precipitated by the ambition and injustice of the courts of St. Petersburg, Vienna, and Berlin.

‡ Twenty-third Bulletin of the Crown Prince, dated Leipzig, October 21st, 1813.

deplorable victims of the thirst of conquest no language is able to pourtray.*

The retreat of Napoleon was such as might have been expected; a powerful army was behind, and clouds of Cossacks and other light troops were far advanced before him; his line of march from the Saale to Fulda was strewn with artillery, baggage, and every species of military wreck; and the more effectually to impede his movements, the Bavarian army, amounting to thirty-five thousand men, had placed themselves at Hanau, near the banks of the Main. On the arrival of Napoleon at Erfurt, on the 23d, he halted for two days, to re-organize and refresh his exhausted army. To the neighbourhood of this city he was pursued by Field-marshal Blücher,† who, by an unfortunate, but very natural, calculation, concluded that Bonaparte would endeavour to cross the Rhine at Coblenz, and advanced in the direction of that city. Relieved by this movement of the Silesian army from the apprehension of being placed between two fires, Napoleon advanced by rapid marches upon Hanau, where he turned the whole of his remaining force against the Bavarians. General Wrede, with the most gallant determination, resolved to sustain the unequal contest; but after a well contested battle, of eight hours duration, he was compelled to give way; and on the evening of the 31st the head-quarters of the French army were established at Francfort. On the 7th of November Napoleon crossed the Rhine at Mentz, with the remnant of his German army, leaving behind him all his conquests, and with them his towering hopes of universal dominion.

Two days after the passage of the Rhine the French Emperor arrived in Paris; when the senate was immediately convened, and three hundred thousand men placed, by a decree of that body, at the disposal of the minister of war. This measure was declared to be necessary in consequence of the unparalleled treachery of the allies of France at the battle of Leipzig; and the people, who were reminded of the fate of Poland, were asked what would be the situation of France, should the advancing enemy penetrate into her territory? Had not France been exhausted; had she, besides the requisite population to supply her new and great demand, still retained either that enthusiasm by which she was animated at the beginning of the revolution, or that stimulating and ambitious fondness for military glory, and that firm belief that Bona-

parte was destined to render her the mistress of Europe, with which she was so fully possessed not two years before, she might have succeeded in raising a numerous and powerful army. But the campaigns of Russia and of Germany had stripped her almost of her efficient military population; the fondness for glory had abated; and not all the arts of Napoleon could restore it, or revive that patriotic ardour which distinguished the French nation, when the sovereigns of Europe, leagued against the republic, invaded their country twenty years before.

In the mean time, the mighty edifice which Napoleon had erected on the ruins of the independence of the continent, was tottering to its fall. The victory of Leipzig, by freeing the minds of the people of Germany from all apprehensions of his power, completely dissolved the confederation of the Rhine, and deprived France of every efficient ally. The Kings of Denmark and Naples, indeed, still retained the character of the friends of Napoleon, but the former was too remote in situation, and too feeble in resources, to afford him any assistance, and the latter, before the close of the year, was employed in negotiating a treaty with the allied sovereigns for the preservation of his own dominions.

It is the happy impulse of tyranny to pursue the road to its own destruction; and in Holland, the grievous oppressions suffered from the law of conscription, and the rigid enforcement of the continental system, had inspired every heart with an earnest desire to throw off the French yoke. Under the pressure of severe and long continued sufferings, all the parties which once divided and agitated that unhappy country had undergone a salutary change. The remembrance of former evils and discontents had faded away, while the blessings which had once been enjoyed under the government of the house of Orange were borne in mind, with regret for the past, and hope for the future. The disasters experienced by the French army in the Russian campaign had revived the hopes of the friends of national independence; and towards the close of the year 1812, the chiefs of the Orange party at the Hague met frequently, in secret, to consult on the best measures for freeing their country from French controul, and effecting the restoration of the Prince of Orange.

During the spring and summer of the year 1813 Holland remained tranquil; and the French government seems to have been lulled by this tranquillity into a state of delusive confidence.

* Memorial of the City of Leipzig to the British Nation.

† At the close of the battle of Leipzig, the Prince of Schwartzberg, the commander-in-chief of the allied armies, was invested by his sovereign with the great cross of the order of Maria Theresa; and on the following day the King of Prussia promoted General Blücher to the rank of Field-Marshal.

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Troops were marched from all quarters of that country to join the army with which Bonaparte was about to attack the allied forces; and no serious apprehensions were entertained respecting the people of Holland. From this period to the month of October following no circumstance arose that was calculated materially to alarm the French authorities; but when the intelligence of the result of the battle of Leipzig began to transpire, the confederates at the Hague, amounting to one hundred in number, judged that the time had arrived to emancipate their country, and as one of the first steps towards effecting their object, they determined to enlarge their number by the addition of a respectable body of their fellow citizens. With this view, each of the confederates engaged to select from among his friends four individuals, who, without any mutual concert or knowledge of each other, should engage to be ready whenever called upon to obey the command of the friend by whom each was selected. Thus they formed a band of four hundred respectable adherents, selected chiefly from among the burgers of the town, and held together by the terms of friendship, patriotism, and mutual security. At the head of this band stood Count Styrum; and the services of the inhabitants of Schœveningen, a village on the coast, about a mile from the Hague, were secured by the influence of an inhabitant of that place, of the name of Pronck. No measures were taken to influence the people, for none were necessary, it being perfectly clear that their good will and co-operation might be depended upon the moment leaders were presented to them in whom they could confide. Count Styrum, whose zeal, courage, and activity, were remarkable, soon succeeded in gaining over the whole of the Dutch national-guard at the Hague, consisting of three hundred men, along with their colonel (Tulling), who conducted himself with so much circumspection as to retain, to the moment of the explosion, the confidence of the French prefect.

On the 15th of November, the populace being already in a state of great fermentation, a mob was collected at Amsterdam, which immediately proceeded to burn the wooden huts in which the douaniers, or excise officers, levied the duties, and to pillage the house of the receiver of the customs, who refused to take down the French arms. This tumult, which had the appearance of being purely accidental, succeeded in terrifying the French authorities, who on the next day quitted the town; and from this period, the corporation, and the more opulent part of the inhabitants, of Amsterdam, who had hitherto resisted the idea of a counter-revolution, attached themselves to the popular cause. On the next day a proclamation was issued, in which

four and twenty citizens were called on by name to assume the administration of affairs, and the government of the city passed into their hands. No sooner had the intelligence of the insurrection at Amsterdam reached the Hague than Count Styrum was immediately appointed governor by the confederates, in the name of the Prince of Orange. An instrument was also drawn up, summoning a meeting of those persons who had been members of the states of Holland in the years 1794-5, and this meeting was appointed to take place on the following day. A proclamation addressed to the Dutch people was at the same time issued by the provisional government, and this laconic and emphatic address sufficiently indicates the wisdom and moderation which regulated their councils:

ORANGE BOVEN!

Holland is free!—the allies advance upon Utrecht—the English are invited—the French fly on all sides—the sea is open—trade revives—party spirit has ceased—what has been suffered is forgiven and forgotten—men of consequence and consideration are called to the government—the government invites the prince to the sovereignty—we join the allies, and force the enemy to sue for peace—the people are to have a day of rejoicing at the public expense, without being allowed to plunder or commit any excess—every one renders thanks to God—old times are restored,—*Orange boven!*

This proclamation was received by the people with every demonstration of joy; an orange flag was hoisted on the tower of the Hague, and similar emblems were suspended from almost every window in the town.

It now became of great importance that the Prince of Orange should be informed of the events which had taken place on the 19th, and M. M. Perponcher and Fagel set sail from Schœveningen, with a favourable wind, for England, to offer the sovereignty to his most serene highness, and to invite him to repair to Holland, and assume the government. Messengers were also dispatched in different directions; some to the head-quarters of the allied sovereigns, which were now established at Francfort, to urge the immediate advance of the armies; and others to the English fleet, to solicit their co-operation.

On the 27th M. Fagel arrived from England, and was made the bearer of a letter from the Prince of Orange to M. Van Hogendorp, who, with M. Maasdam, had been appointed, on the 21st, to the general administration of affairs at the Hague. In this letter promises were made of the prompt arrival of succours, and the prince announced his intention to sail as soon as possible for Holland. On the 30th, the Prince of Orange, accompanied by Lord Clancarty, arrived off the Dutch coast, and in the course of the day effected a landing off Schœveningen, under a royal salute from a

small English fleet off that station. The day was remarkably fine, the beach was covered with spectators, and the cry of *Orange boven!* was heard in every direction, accompanied by demonstrations of joy approaching to phrenzy.

The Prince of Orange, convinced that unanimity in a nation is the only source of strength, lost no time in giving the Dutch people a pledge of the principles and conduct of his future government. Accordingly, on the 1st of December an address was distributed, in which it was stated, that after nineteen years of absence, the prince received with the greatest joy their unanimous invitation to return among them; and that he hoped, by the blessing of Providence, to be the instrument of restoring them to their former state of independence and prosperity. That this was his only object; and he had the satisfaction to assure them, that this was also the object of the combined powers; that it was particularly the wish of the Prince Regent of England, and of the British nation. In conclusion, he assured them that he had come among them determined to pardon and to forgive all that was past, and that the spirit of party should be for ever banished. While these events were passing at the Hague, a Russian force, consisting of two thousand four hundred men, under the command of General Benken-dorf, arrived at Amsterdam, and on the same day the important fortress of Brielle surrendered.

On the 3d of December, the Prince of Orange, accompanied by the English embassy, made his entrance into Amsterdam, where he was received with enthusiastic plaudits, and proclaimed by the title of William I. Sovereign Prince of the Netherlands. This proclamation was followed by the levy and organization of an army of twenty-five thousand men; and the rapid progress of the allied armies completed the triumph of Dutch independence; while the liberties of the people were secured by a constitution, combining many of the advantages of that admirable frame of government which seems destined to form, at no distant period, a model for all civilized nations.*

This revolution, though so sudden, was not disgraced by any excesses towards the civil and military authorities by which the nation had so long been oppressed. The Dutch shewed to the kingdoms of Europe how to distinguish between the instruments and the instigators of their misfortunes; and this magnanimous example of moderation and prudence contributed probably to save France, in the approaching crisis, from the prevalence of that sanguinary spirit which too often prompts the predominant party to wreak its vengeance upon the fallen.

The British ministry seconded, by every means in their power, the exertions of the Sovereign of the Netherlands to liberate his country from French vassalage. Parliament was assembled at an earlier period than usual, partly in consequence of the splendid prospects that were now opening on the continent, and partly in order to replenish the public treasury, which the immense expenditure of the war in the present year had tended so much to exhaust. Never perhaps did the parliament of England exhibit so much coincidence of opinion as during this short session. Members generally adverse to the existing administration, expressed in the most frank and noble manner their commendation of ministers for the line of conduct they had pursued; and especially for the pacific and moderate tone of the speech of the prince regent, wherein he had declared, that no disposition to require from France sacrifices of any description inconsistent with her honour or just pretensions, would ever be, on his own part, or on that of his majesty's allies, an obstacle to peace. Hopes were also expressed by the members of opposition, that every exertion would be made by his majesty's government to restore Holland to her former rank and dignity among the nations of Europe; and these expectations were amply realized. A bill was passed to enable the militia to enlist into the regiments of the line without limitation; and thus the government was enabled to send a strong reinforcement to Holland, under the command of Sir Thomas Graham. Nor was this the only measure by which ministers, during the short sitting of parliament before the recess, assisted the cause of national independence; a bill was passed into a law, authorising the issue of paper money, which was to be guaranteed by England, in conjunction with Russia and Austria, and to be employed on the continent for supplying the wants of the armies.

While the grand allied army, consisting of the Austrian, Bavarian, and part of the Russian and Prussian armies, directed its march towards the Rhine, and on the 5th of November established their head-quarters at Francfort, the crown prince, with the army of the north, liberated his majesty's Hanoverian dominions from the presence of the French armies. Although ten years had separated this country from its legitimate sovereign, the inhabitants displayed at Hanover, and other places of the electorate, proofs of the most unalterable affection and loyalty, and the re-establishment of the regency of Hanover, exercised in the name of the elector, gratified the wishes, and tranquillized the minds, of every class of the people.

On the 4th of December, the corps of the prince royal's army moved forwards towards the

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* Edinburgh Annual Register.

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Strechnitz; and on their arrival on the banks of that river, Marshal Davoust shut himself up in Hamburg, leaving the right wing of the Danes posted at Oldeslohe. The crown prince now marched upon Lubec, which city soon capitulated;* and from thence directed his operations against Danish Holstein. An attempt was made by the government to raise the militia in this province, but the inhabitants refused to arm against the allies, and the conquest of Holstein became inevitable. The fall of Gluckstadt speedily followed the invasion of Holstein; and Denmark, finding all further resistance unavailing, separated her interests from France, and negotiated a treaty of peace with Sweden and Great Britain. By this treaty Norway was surrendered to Sweden, in return for which Denmark was to receive Swedish Pomerania. Great Britain, on her part, agreed to restore to Denmark all the conquests made from that country, with the exception of Heligoland, in consideration of which the Danes were to join the allies with ten thousand troops on receiving a subsidy from this country of £400,000.

At the time when the negotiations were in progress between the allied powers and Denmark, the French Marshal Davoust, governor general and commander-in-chief in Hamburg, exercised the most tyrannical conduct towards the inhabitants of that city. Nothing was deemed sacred. The funds of the bank of Hamburg, with all the private property deposited in that institution by the citizens, were seized and confiscated; every species of oppression and injustice was practised towards the inhabitants, and thousands of them, of all ages and of both sexes, were expelled from the city, because it was not in their power to accumulate a stock of provisions on which they could subsist for six months. The Prince Royal of Sweden, previous to his departure to unite his forces with the allied armies on the Rhine,

penetrated with the distresses of these unfortunate fugitives, ordered the sum of forty thousand dollars to be dispersed to them from his military chest, and General Bennigsen, to whom the command of the besieging army before Hamburg was confided, contributed his best exertions to promote the beneficent designs of the crown prince.

The battle of Leipzig was soon after followed by the fate of Dresden, and General St. Cyr, with his garrison of sixteen thousand men, were made prisoners of war, and marched into Russia. Bonaparte now proposed to treat for the surrender of all the fortresses on the Elbe, the Oder, and the Vistula; but as the consequence of any arrangement of this nature would have been to restore an army of upwards of fifty thousand men to France, the proposal was deemed inadmissible, and rejected by the allied sovereigns. During the campaign a change of the most disastrous nature had taken place in the affairs of the French Emperor. He had on the Elbe, at one period, an army approaching to three hundred thousand men; but he had been driven across the Rhine with less than one-third of that number. While he remained on the Elbe, Hanover, Westphalia, Saxony, and Holland, were still his tributary states; now, that his army was upon the Rhine, Hanover, Westphalia, Holland, and all Germany, were against him. The people of the Netherlands were ready to throw off his authority; and the combined armies, in tremendous force, were preparing to pass the French frontier. The important fortresses of Breda, Wilhelmstadt, and Helvoetsluys, in Holland, he had caused to be evacuated without the slightest resistance. He fought no longer for conquest, but for safety. Fortresses were of comparatively little importance to him; his great object was to collect and to concentrate an army, to enable him to oppose a barrier to the torrent which

* The following letter on the capture of Lubec, addressed by the Prince Royal of Sweden to his son, breathes sentiments worthy of a prince:—

MY DEAR OSCAR,—The people of Lubec assisted Gustavus I. in restoring liberty to his country: I have just discharged this debt of the Swedes—Lubec is free. I had the happiness to gain possession of the city without bloodshed. This advantage is dearer to me than victory in a pitched battle, even though it might not cost me many men. How happy are we, my dear son, when we can prevent the shedding of tears! How sound and undisturbed is our sleep. If all men could be convinced of this truth, there would be no more conquerors, and nations would be governed only by just kings. I set off to-morrow for Oldeslohe, and the day after whither events may call me; I do all I can to make them conduce to the good cause, and the benefit of my country. The only recompense I desire is, that it may second you, my dear child, in every thing you will one day undertake for its prosperity and welfare.

“Your affectionate father,

[Signed.]

“Lubec, Dec. 7, 1813.”

Charles Jean

threatened to overwhelm him. The allies therefore did not pause in their career to besiege fortresses; but marched on against the enemy's main force, well aware that if they could destroy his grand army, the fortresses could not long survive its fate.

During "the campaign of the liberties of

Europe," by which name the military operations of 1813 have been dignified, a number of distinguished warriors closed their career of glory, and a short biographical sketch of some of the most eminent of their number may form an appropriate conclusion to the history of the great events which have just passed under review.*

* MICHEL, SON OF ILARION, PRINCE GOLENITSCHOFF, KUTUSOFF, of Smolensk, born in 1745, of a noble and ancient family; Knight of the Orders of St. Andrew—of St. Alexander-Newsky—of St. George—of St. Wladimir—of St. Anne—Commander of the Sovereign Order of St. John of Jerusalem—Grand Cross of the Order of Maria Theresa—and Knight of the Black Eagle, and of the Red Eagle of Prussia.

Field-marshal Kutusoff, although nobly allied, entered the Russian army as a simple cadet in the year 1760. In the campaign of 1769 against the Polish confederates, he gave the first presage of those distinguished talents which time served to develop, and which, in the progress of his military career, raised him to the summit of his profession. The following year he was employed in the army of Marshal Count Romiantzoff Zadounaiski, and in the Turkish war received from that great general those lessons which serve to impart skill to the hero. In the year 1774 he was sent into the Crimea, and gave fresh proofs of his valour in the intrenchments of Schouinna, where he was struck with a ball, which, entering his left temple, passed through his head, and deprived him of the sight of his right eye. At the commencement of the second war against the Turks, in 1788, Kutusoff, now become Major-general, served under Prince Potempkin at the siege of Otschacoff, and was again severely wounded by a musket shot, which entering his cheek, lodged in his neck. In September, in the same year, he served under General Suworow at the siege of Ismail, and that consummate judge of military merit soon recognized in Kutusoff talents which induced him to recommend him to the Empress Catherine as one of her most skilful generals. At the assault of Ismail, where every obstacle which art, numbers, and valour, could oppose, seemed united against the Russians, Kutusoff, at the head of the 5th column, scaled the walls, seized one of the bastions, and penetrated into the fortress. This service the commander-in-chief was proud to acknowledge. "Kutusoff," says Suworow, "by aiding my left wing, has been my right arm." The rank of Lieutenant-general, and commander of all the troops between the Pruth, the Dniester, and the Danube, rewarded his services on this sanguinary day, and procured for him the distinguished favour of his sovereign. During the whole of this war he continued to deserve the applauding smiles of his country, and he acquired a new title to its gratitude by the part which he took in restoring the peace which happily crowned his labours.

In 1792 the troubles in Poland re-called him to arms. Appointed to the command of the first division of the Ukraine, he passed the Dniester, and subdued Warsaw. The important services rendered to the state by his talents, not less than by his valour, pointed him out to the Empress Catharine as a fit person to represent the Russian court at Constantinople, and he was sent in June, 1793, in quality of ambassador to the Grand Seignior. On his return to St. Petersburg, in May, 1794, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the Russian troops and fortresses in Finland.

During the reign of the Emperor Paul he was charged with a private commission to Berlin, to Frederick William; and in 1799, after the unfortunate expedition of General Hermann, he was appointed to command the Russian troops in Holland; but on the recall of the army he returned to the Russian capital.

On the elevation of the Emperor Alexander to the throne of the Czars, General Kutusoff was appointed military governor of St. Petersburg. In 1806 he was named commander-in-chief of an army of 40,000 men, and marched to the succour of Austria; but the defeat of General Mack, and the fall of Ulm, forced him to retire. The success so faithfully attached to his steps when he advanced, did not abandon him in his retrograde movements, and a skilful retreat conferred upon Kutusoff the only kind of glory which he required to complete his military renown.

In 1806 he was appointed military governor of Kieff; and in 1809, being with the army of Moldavia, he was charged with the functions of governor-general in Lithuania, which office he filled till 1811. On the death of Count Kamenski he resumed the chief command of the army of the Danube, and, with 30,000 men, not only succeeded in protecting the conquered provinces, menaced by a formidable army under the command of the Grand Vizier, Nazir Pacha, but forced the Turks from their intrenched camp on Mount Balkan, in the face of the most determined opposition. Not less skilful in taking advantage of the victory, than in gaining it, he led the grand vizier into a snare on the Danube, near Slobodze; deprived him of all the resources he had prepared on this side the river, invaded Silistria and Tourtoukai, cut off entirely his retreat, and forced the enemy's army to submit to an unconditional surrender. To recompense such glorious labours, his imperial majesty presented him with his portrait enriched with diamonds, and conferred on him the title of count.

A deluge, which had overwhelmed two-thirds of Europe, vast from the immense wrecks which it swept along with it, now precipitated itself towards Russia. She had need of all her forces to compose a mound capable of resisting the impetuous torrent. In these critical circumstances, peace with the Turks became indispensable, and Russia was indebted to the diplomatic skill of Count Kutusoff for this blessing. On his return to the capital he was raised to the dignity of a Prince, and the body of the nobility named him, by acclamation, chief of the soldiers of the government. But Alexander and Russia soon called him to the highest destinies: he was charged to save his country: and soon afterwards appointed by his imperial majesty commander-in-chief of all the armies. On the

the 28th of August, 1812, he arrived at the camp of the allied armies, near Giatzk. Scarce had he made himself acquainted with the state of the troops, when he found it necessary to measure his strength with Napoleon the Emperor of France. On the 7th of September he was engaged in the memorable battle of Borodino.* Kutusoff, raised to the dignity of Field-Marshal for the battle of the 7th, might perhaps even now have arrested the progress of the invaders; but he knew what victory would cost him, and determined not to make the terrible sacrifice. The course he took inflicted a present evil, but it produced a permanent good. Moscow fell into the hands of the enemy; and Kutusoff, skilfully encouraging the flattering delusions which lulled the conqueror, left him to sleep in the delicious dream of a chimerical peace, which should rivet the fetters of Europe, and open to her master the gates of Asia. At length the period foreseen by this sagacious general arrived; Moscow, set free, beheld the flight of the enemy. The invincible resistance of the Russians at Malo-Jaroslavitz forced the enemy to retrace the route on which he had sown desolation and misery, and on which he could reap nothing but misery and desolation. His conqueror pursued him incessantly; every battle was a victory, every march was a triumph for the Russians. Whole armies fell beneath the rigours of a Russian winter, and the gallantry of Russian troops. Thus, these immense cohorts, which, by their numbers and formidable preparations, seemed destined to be marching to the conquest or ruin of the universe, marched only to captivity and death. On the 21st of December, the inhabitants of Wilna beheld their prince tenderly embracing the heroic author of these prodigies, decorating him with the grand cordon of St. George, and proclaiming him the saviour of his country. Already the Vistula and the Oder were free, and the order of the Black Eagle, and the portrait of the Prussian Monarch, enriched with brilliants, testified to the liberator of his country the gratitude of that prince. Soon the Russian eagle, lately come from the banks of the Moskwa, hovered over the banks of the Elbe, which now became crowded by the sons of the Don and the Volga. But the destiny of this great man was accomplished; he died, covered with glory, in the 68th year of his age, in the little town of Bunzlau, in Silesia, on the 16th of April, 1813.†

The tears of his companions in arms evinced how greatly he was venerated and esteemed by them; and the magnificent obsequies bestowed on his remains, demonstrated how highly his memory was revered by all; while the following letter, addressed to his widow, will shew the high esteem in which he was held by his sovereign:—

“ PRINCESS CATHARINE ILENISHINA!

“ The Almighty, whose decrees it is impossible for mortals to resist, and unlawful to murmur at, has been pleased to remove your husband, Prince Michel Larionovitz Kutusoff Smolenak, in the midst of his brilliant career of victory and glory, from a transient to an eternal life. A great and grievous loss, not for you alone, but for the country at large! Your tears flow not alone for him—I weep—all Russia weeps with you. Yet God, who has called him to himself, grants you this consolation, that his name and his deeds are immortal; a grateful country will never forget his merits. Europe, and the whole world, will for ever admire him, and inscribe his name on the list of the most distinguished commanders. A monument shall be erected to his honour; beholding which, the Russian will feel his heart swell with pride, and the foreigner will respect a nation that gives birth to such great men. I have given orders that you should retain all the advantages enjoyed by your late husband; and remain your affectionate

[Signed.]

“ Dresden, April 25th, 1813.”

* See Vol. II. Book IV. p. 229.

† Galerie des Portraits des Généraux, &c. qui ont contribué aux Succès des Armes Russes pendant la Guerre en 1812.

MARSHAL BESSIERES, DUKE OF ISTRIA, surnamed the “The Brave,” was distinguished among the French generals for his courage and intrepidity. Italy, Germany, and the banks of the Nile, had witnessed his deeds in arms, and his urbanity in society was equal to his gallantry in the field. He was born at Pressac, in 1769, and entered the military service at the period of the revolution, as a common soldier. For sixteen years he had, in different ranks, commanded the emperor's guard, and followed him in all his campaigns and battles. His death, upon the field of battle near Lutzen, on the 1st of May, 1813, was so rapid as to be without pain, and his memory was cherished by the whole army. A son of Marshal Bessières, the inheritor of the name and renown of his father, has, by a striking act of magnanimity, been called, though in his nonage, to the dignity of a peer of France by Louis XVIII.

MARSHAL

MARSHAL DUROC, DUC DE FRIULI—Gerard Christopher Michel Duroc was the son of a scrivener, and born at Pont-à-Mousson, on the 25th of October, 1772. The studies of his youth were military, and the first levy took him into the army. The general served in the capacity of chief aide-de-camp to Bonaparte, and afterwards became a leader of a brigade, in which situation he distinguished himself particularly at the passage of the Lisonzo. He accompanied Bonaparte into Egypt, and returned with him to France in 1799, whence, on the formation of the consular government, he was sent in the capacity of ambassador extraordinary to Berlin. He was afterwards employed on missions to Stockholm and St. Petersburg, and the success with which all his negotiations were executed, shows that the warrior and the diplomatist are not incompatible characters. He knew how to ally civil virtues to military renown—to blend the olive with the laurel. On the 8th of July, 1805, he was appointed grand marshal of the palace, and decorated with the order of the Black Eagle of Prussia. He had long held the rank of the personal friend of Napoleon, and on the 22d of May, 1813, the day succeeding the battle of Bautzen, he fell by a cannon-ball, lamenting that he could no longer be of use to him to whose service his life had been consecrated.

GENERAL MOREAU.—Among the distinguished characters called forth by the French revolution may be ranked Jean Victor Moreau, born at Morlain, in the year 1761. A decided passion for arms led him, at the age of eighteen, to quit the profession of the law, in which his father held a respectable rank, and to enlist as a private soldier. From a situation so inferior to his education and prospects in life he was soon removed by paternal kindness, and enabled to pursue his studies; till, at the period of the revolution, he had attained a marked superiority among the students at Rennes. In the year 1790 young Moreau obtained the command of a battalion of volunteers in his department, and from that time he devoted himself wholly to the military profession. His valour and genius soon attracted attention, and in 1793 he was elevated to the rank of brigadier-general. On the 14th of April, 1794, he was appointed general of division, on the recommendation of General Pichegru, under whom he served with splendid success in the army of the north. In the celebrated winter campaign of 1794, which bowed Holland beneath the power of France, Moreau greatly contributed to the rapid success of his country. After the retreat of Pichegru, in 1796, he took the command of the armies of the Rhine and Moselle, and in the month of June opened that campaign which laid the foundation of his military glory.* His memorable retreat through the Black Forest to the Rhine, procured him the appellation of the modern Fabius; and the happy union of caution and skill which enabled him to rescue the French army in Italy from the perilous situation into which it had been precipitated, established his claim to rank with the Roman Cunctator. In 1797, General Moreau felt himself called upon by a sense of public duty to denounce his friend and patron, General Pichegru, who had entered into a treasonable correspondence with the Prince of Condé, and was meditating the overthrow of the republic. In 1800 he was nominated by the first consul to the command of the army of the Danube. The success of this campaign is justly ascribed to his skill and promptitude, and the battle of Hohenlinden, “where furious Frank and fiery Hun join’d in the dreadful revelry,” may be recorded as one of the most signal of his victories.†

The treaty of Leoben, executed at Steyer, the head-quarters of General Moreau, soon after followed, and on his return to Paris, Bonaparte presented him with a pair of magnificent pistols, saying, “I could have wished to have had your victories engraved upon them, but there was not room enough.” The general, having married during the preceding summer, now retired to his estate at Grosbois, where he spent his time in the bosom of his family, removed, apparently, from the cares of state and the intrigues of courts. It had however long been generally known that Moreau disapproved of the elevation of Bonaparte to the consular dignity, and it was soon discovered that he had held several interviews with General Pichegru, who had secretly repaired to Paris, and that even Georges was in their confidence. The official report of this conspiracy states, that he was willing to co-operate in the destruction of the consular authority, but he disapproved of the restoration of the Bourbons, and insisted on a representative government, on which Pichegru observed, “I believe he has a mind to the government too, but he would not retain it a week.” Moreau was brought, with the other conspirators, before the criminal tribunal, and defended no less by the eloquence of Bonnet, his counsel, than by public opinion; he was nevertheless condemned, on the 10th of June, 1804, to two years’ imprisonment, a punishment which was immediately commuted to banishment.‡

The United States of America was the country to which General Moreau determined to retire, and at the beginning of 1805 he embarked from Cadiz on his Trans-Atlantic voyage. On his arrival in America he purchased a handsome country-house at Morrisville, below the falls of the Delaware, and, surrounded by his family and friends, reposed in tranquillity under the shades of the laurels he had gained. In his exile Moreau continued for many years, restrained by a high sense of honour from taking up arms against a cause which numbered his countrymen among its supporters. At length however the great crisis arrived when the kingdoms of Europe united all their forces, and all their talents, against the ambition of one man; and at the invitation of the Emperor of Russia, General Moreau consented to contribute his genius to the common stock. On his arrival in Europe, where he was received with every mark of favour by the allied sovereigns, it was determined to organize a corps d’armée, to be principally composed of French prisoners, and called *Moreau’s Legion*. This body was to be decorated with the white cockade, to bear the motto *pro patriâ*, and to fight for the deliverance of Europe. The execution of this plan, which promised

* See Vol. I. Book I. p. 164-5.
VOL. II.—NO. 58.

† See Vol. I. Book II. p. 331.
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‡ See Vol. I. Book III. p. 456-8.

promised little good, and from which none was derived, was interrupted by the melancholy event which closed the career of the unfortunate general. On the fatal 27th of August Moreau received a mortal wound before Dresden, as already described, and after sustaining a journey of extreme torture with heroic fortitude, arrived at Laun, in Bohemia, on the 30th of that month. Hopes were now entertained of his recovery, and on the evening of that day he wrote with his own hand a letter to Madame Moreau, of which the following is a translation:—

“MY DEAR LOVE—At the battle of Dresden, three days ago, I had both legs carried away by a cannon shot. That scoundrel, Bonaparte, is always fortunate. The amputation has been performed as well as possible. Though the army has made a retrograde movement, it is not directly backward, but sideways, and for the sake of getting nearer to General Blucher. Excuse my scrawl: I love thee, and embrace thee with my whole heart. Rapatel will finish.—V. M.”

The following was added by his secretary:—

“MADAME—The general permits me to write to you on the same sheet on which he has sent you a few lines. Judge of my grief and regret by what he has told you. From the moment he was wounded I have not left him, nor will I leave him, till he is perfectly cured: we have the greatest hopes, and I, who know him, am certain we shall save him. He supported the amputation with heroic courage, without fainting. * * *

“I have stood in need of all my fortitude for the last four days, and shall still stand in need of it. Rely upon my care, my friendship, and upon all the sentiments with which both of you have inspired me. Don't alarm yourself—I need not tell you to exert your courage—I know all your heart. I will neglect no opportunity to write to you.—The surgeon has just assured me, that, if he continues to go on well, he will be able, in five weeks, to go out in a carriage. Madam, and respectable friend, farewell—I am miserable. * * *

“Laun, Aug. 30th, 1813.

“Your most devoted servant,

“Sept. 1. He is going on well, and is easy.

“RAPATEL.”

During the night of the 30th he was seized with a violent hiccup and other alarming symptoms, and three days afterwards he expired, at the moment when he was dictating a letter to the Emperor Alexander, expressive of the sentiments of admiration and devotedness with which his majesty had inspired him. The remains of General Moreau were embalmed, by command of the Emperor of Russia, and removed to St. Petersburg, to be interred in the catholic church, by the side of the body of Marshal Kutusoff. The beneficent designs of the emperor were not confined to the dead, but extended also to the living, and on this melancholy occasion he wrote a consolatory letter to Madame Moreau, of which the following is a translation:—

“MADAME—When the dreadful misfortune which befel General Moreau by my side, deprived me of the luminous mind and experience of that great man, I cherished the hope that, by great care, it might be possible to preserve him to his family and to my friendship. Providence has ordained otherwise. He has died as he has lived, in the full energy of a strong and constant soul. There is only one remedy for the great evils of life—it is that of seeing them shared. In Russia, Madam, you will every-where find these sentiments, and if it be convenient for you to settle there, I will seek out all the means to embellish the existence of a person, of whom I hold it to be my sacred duty to be the comforter and supporter. I pray you, Madam, to rely on it most confidently; never to leave me in ignorance of any circumstance in which I can be at all useful to you, and to write to me always direct. To anticipate your wishes will be always an enjoyment to me. The friendship I had vowed to your husband goes beyond the tomb, and I have no other means of acquitting myself well, at least in part, towards him, than in acting so as to insure, as I shall ever be disposed to do, the well-being of his family.

“Receive, Madam, in the present cruel and distressing circumstances, these testimonials, with the assurance of all my best sentiments.

“Toplitz, the 6th of September, 1813.”

[Signed.]



Sentiments such as these shed a splendour round thrones. The emperor, after conferring the rank of *Dame du Portrait* of the order of St. Catherine on Madame Moreau, and of *Demoiselle d'Honneur* to the empress on the only daughter of the deceased general, settled on the former an annuity of 40,000 roubles, and on the latter 6,000 roubles; ordering at the same time that 100,000 roubles (£22,500 sterling) should be paid to Madame Moreau by the bank at St. Petersburg.

The presence of Moreau in the allied army had excited much enthusiasm throughout Europe; and a fate so tragical and untimely produced equal sympathy and regret. Yet the propriety of his conduct may admit of difference of opinion. Unjust expulsion from the political community may seem to destroy the ties by which an individual is united to his country, and to absolve him from the duties of allegiance. Yet the general sense of mankind has pronounced an indelible relation between men and the country which gave them birth, which no wrong can obliterate. Had the object of the allied sovereigns been to change the government—to restore either a free constitution or the ancient monarchy to France—General Moreau might have had a fair ground of justification; but they had, on the contrary, disclaimed all such intentions, and declared, that their purpose was to re-establish against France the ancient balance of power—an object highly laudable and honourable in them, but in him, as a French subject, equivocal, and at variance with the general law of nations.

* * * The Signatures to the Letters of the Emperor of Russia and the Prince Royal of Sweden in this Chapter are *Fac Similes*—that to the Widow of Prince Kutusoff in the Russian character.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CAMPAIGN IN FRANCE: *Declaration of the Allied Powers previous to the Invasion of France—Meeting of the French Legislative Body—Abstract of the Report of the Committee appointed to examine the Diplomatic Correspondence—Napoleon's indignant Observations thereon—Passage of the Rhine by the Allied Armies—Proclamation of Prince Schwartzemberg, the Commander-in-Chief, to the People of France—Disposition of the French Armies—Capture of Geneva by the Allies—The Invasion of France announced to his Senators by Napoleon—Congress assembled at Chatillon—Advance of the invading Army into the interior of France—The Emperor quits Paris to place himself at the Head of his Army—Battle of Brienne—of La Rothière—Retreat of the French, and Advance of the Allies—Prince Schwartzemberg and Marshal Blucher divide their Force, and advance on Paris, the former by the Banks of the Seine, and the latter on the Course of the Marne—Vigorous and successful Exertions of Napoleon—Repulse of Marshal Blucher—of Prince Schwartzemberg—their Retreat—Negotiations at Chatillon—Belgium released from French Dominion—Battles of Craone and Leon—The Allies again assume the offensive—Last Conferences at Chatillon—Rupture of the Congress.*

THE vast empire which, at the close of the year 1813, extended over the rich and populous countries bounded by the Adriatic and the English channel, the Rhine and the Atlantic ocean; which reckoned, in the field and in the garrison, more than five hundred thousand warriors; which could arm, to reinforce them, at least an equal number of citizens, accustomed to camps, and in the flower of their age; whose existence was guaranteed by an age of victories, and by the fortune of a chief who had once been esteemed the arbiter of nations, and obtained the appellation of "The man of the destinies;"—that mighty empire, in a campaign of three months, was overthrown; all the princes of Europe occupied, and inundated with their troops, two-thirds of its territory; its warriors were sacrificed in useless combats; its chief survived that reputation for invincibility, the impression of which had so long contributed to uphold his power; and this man of indefatigable activity, suddenly struck with a species of stupor, crouched under the iron hand of destiny, and descended, like an actor who has finished his part, from a throne which he could no longer preserve, and in the defence of which he did not choose to die. This is one of those astonishing spectacles which was reserved for an age fertile in revolutions, and one of those great catastrophes which form an epoch in the history of the world.

Long before Napoleon ceased to reign, he had acquired all the faults inseparable from the exercise of despotic authority. Success and adulation had relaxed his mental energies; he could not endure the slightest opposition to his

will; he consulted but with those who were ready to signify their approbation of his plans; and so deep-rooted was his persuasion of his own powers and resources, that the disasters of the last campaign had failed to convince him that it was in vain to contend with congregated Europe. "Posterity," exclaimed he to his senate, "shall acknowledge, that the existing circumstances are not superior to France or to her sovereign." But the campaign that was now approaching served to dispel these delusions. It must, however, be acknowledged, that though surrounded with little more than the wreck of his former greatness, Napoleon remained undismayed, and placed his country in a formidable and imposing attitude. The frontiers, yet untouched and unbroken, and the fortresses, defended by numerous garrisons, promised to arrest, for a time, the progress of the troops who might attempt to force these barriers. It is true that the departments at the feet of the Pyrenees had been invaded, but no fatal blow was feared from that quarter; and the line of the Rhine was regarded as an impregnable defence, which would arrest the advance of the enemy. Tranquil in the midst of Paris, Napoleon, by his own authority alone, increased the indirect taxes, and received from the senate three hundred thousand conscripts. To these were added one hundred and twenty thousand men, taken from the former classes, and in this way the losses sustained in the German campaign were in some degree retrieved.

The combined armies had now advanced to the Rhine; and on the 1st of December the allied sovereigns issued from their head-quarters

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the memorable exposition of their views and policy.* The allies disclaimed all desire to conquer France; they expressed, on the contrary, a readiness to confirm to the French empire an extent of territory which France under her kings never knew, and they intimated no disinclination to make peace with Bonaparte; but they at the same time declared, that they would not lay down their arms until the political state of Europe should be re-established anew—in other words, that France, by keeping within her natural limits, the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, should preserve all the integrity of her territory; but that the principle of absolute independence, for Germany, Spain, Italy, and Holland, should be a *sine quâ non*.

This declaration was considered by Napoleon as an appeal from the sovereign to the people. He felt that it separated him from the French nation, and in this emergency he called around him the legislative body. On the 19th of December the assembly was convened, and in order to shed an air of splendour over the opening of the session, the senate, the council of state, and the grand dignitaries, were summoned.

"Every thing is against us," said Napoleon from his throne, "and France itself would be in danger, were it not for the energy and union of the French. I have never been seduced by prosperity—adversity will find me superior to its attacks. I have several times given peace to nations when they had lost every thing. From a part of my conquests I have raised thrones for kings who have forsaken me. Negotiations have been entered into with

the allied powers; I have adhered to the preliminary bases which they have presented; I had then the hope, that before the opening of the session the congress of Mannheim would be assembled; but new delays, which are not to be ascribed to France, have deferred this moment, which the wishes of the world eagerly demand. I have ordered to be laid before you the original documents, which are in the *port-feuille* of my department of foreign affairs, you will make yourselves acquainted with them by means of a committee. On my side there is no obstacle to the re-establishment of peace."

An extraordinary commission of five members was immediately formed from the legislative body by ballot, of which M. Lainé was the president, and for the first time during thirteen years, the legitimate organ of the nation ventured to express doubts of the soundness of their sovereign's policy. After encountering various impediments, the committee of the legislative body made their report, and on the 28th of December this document was submitted to the assembly:—

"If," says the report, "the declarations of the foreign powers are fallacious—if their object be to enslave us—if they meditate the dismemberment of the sacred territory of France, it will be necessary to carry on a national war for the purpose of averting such calamities. But the more completely to effect this grand movement, by which an empire is to be preserved, is it not desirable to unite the nation and the monarchy by closer ties? It is necessary that silence should be imposed on the enemy as to their accusation of aggrandizement, conquest, and alarming preponderance; and since the allied powers have chosen to declare by public proclamations that such are our intentions, is it not worthy of his majesty to shew the matter in a clear light, by solemnly declaring to Europe what are the

* DECLARATION OF THE ALLIED POWERS.

The French government has ordered a new levy of 300,000 conscripts. The motives of the *senatus consultum* to that effect contain an appeal to the allied powers.—They therefore find themselves called upon to promulgate anew, in the face of the world, the views which guide them in the present war; the principles which form the basis of their conduct, their wishes, and their determinations.

The allied powers do not make war upon France, but against that preponderance, haughtily announced,—against that preponderance which, to the misfortune of Europe and of France, the Emperor Napoleon has too long exercised beyond the limits of his empire.

Victory has conducted the allied armies to the banks of the Rhine. The first use which their imperial and royal majesties have made of victory, has been to offer peace to his Majesty the Emperor of the French. An attitude strengthened by the accession of all the sovereigns and princes of Germany has had no influence on the conditions of that peace. These conditions are founded on the independence of the French empire, as well as on the independence of the other states of Europe. The views of the powers are just in their object, generous and liberal in their application, giving security to all, honourable to each.

The allied sovereigns desire that France may be great, powerful, and happy; because the French power, in a state of greatness and strength, is one of the foundations of the social edifice of Europe.—They wish that France may be happy, that French commerce may revive, that the arts (those blessings of peace) may again flourish, because a great people can only be tranquil in proportion as it is happy. The allied powers confirm to the French empire an extent of territory which France under her kings never knew; because a valiant nation does not fall from its rank, by having in its turn experienced reverses in an obstinate and sanguinary contest, in which it has fought with its accustomed bravery.

But the allied powers also wish to be free, tranquil, and happy, themselves. They desire a state of peace which, by a wise partition of strength, by a just equilibrium, may henceforward preserve their people from the numberless calamities which have overwhelmed Europe for the last twenty years.

The allied powers will not lay down their arms until they have attained this great and beneficial result, this noble object of their efforts. They will not lay down their arms, until the political state of Europe be re-established anew,—until immoveable principles have resumed their rights over vain pretensions,—until the sanctity of treaties shall have at last secured a real peace to Europe.

Frankfort, Dec. 1, 1813.

designs of France and her emperor? In order that this declaration may have a salutary influence on foreign powers, and make the desired impression upon France, is it not desirable that it should announce the promise of only continuing the war for the independence of the French nation, and the integrity of its territory? If, after this, the obstinacy of the enemy should still force us to undertake a just and necessary war for national independence, France will know how to call forth, in the maintenance of her rights, the energy, union, and perseverance, of which she has heretofore displayed such brilliant examples. Unanimous in the wish to obtain peace, she will be equally so in her determination to enforce it by conquest; and she will prove to the world, that a great nation can do all it wills, when its objects are only honour and its just rights. But it is not enough merely to rouse the people, and place them in a state of defence; it is for government to propose such measures, in conformity with the laws, as appear the most prompt and certain to repulse the enemy, and fix the peace on a durable basis. These measures will be efficacious, if the French are persuaded that government only aspires to the glory of peace—they will be so if the French are convinced that their blood will only be shed to defend their country, and protect her laws. But the consolatory words, peace and country, will be pronounced in vain, unless the institutions are supported, which promise the benefits of both. It appears, therefore, indispensable to your committee, that when government shall propose the measures deemed most expedient for the safety of the state, his majesty shall be at the same time solicited to maintain the entire and constant execution of the laws, which guarantee to the French the rights of liberty, security, property, and the free exercise of their political privileges. This guarantee appears to your committee the most efficacious means of imparting to the French the energy necessary for their own defence.”

This salutary advice was considered by Napoleon and his ministers as an attack upon the imperial authority; the publication of the report was interdicted, and on the 1st of January the representatives of the nation were reprimanded, in a speech full of asperity, reproaches, and menaces:—

“A twelfth part of the legislative body,” exclaimed Napoleon, “consists of bad factious citizens; the members of the committee belong to that number; Laisné is a traitor sold to England. I have suppressed the printing of the report. It is incendiary. Is it then at the moment when you ought to unite to chase the enemy from your frontiers, that you exact from me the change of the constitution? You are not the representatives of the nation, but of the departments. I was elected by four millions of Frenchmen to mount this throne. I alone am the representative of the people. Why do you wish to charge yourselves with such a burthen? The throne does not consist of wood covered with velvet. The throne is myself. If I listen to you, I shall cede more to the enemy than he demands. You shall have peace in three months or I will perish. I go to seek the enemy, and I will overthrow him. I am at the head of this nation because the constitution of the government pleases me. If France exacts another constitution, I shall say to her—choose another king. France needs me more than I need France.”*

* This philippic is reported from memory, and rests upon the authority of some of the members of the legislative body. That it is substantially correct, is highly probable, but every thing published to the disadvantage of a sovereign after his fall must be received with caution.

In the midst of these intestine dissensions the allied armies penetrated into France. At the opening of the campaign the forces of the allies were divided into seven armies, of which four acted immediately against France, one in Holland, and two in Italy. They were thus divided:—

First, the grand Austro-Russian army, commanded by Prince Schwartzberg, was composed of the Austrian division of Collorédo, Wimpfen, Giulay, Bianchi, Bubna, Maurice, and Louis of Lichtenstein; the Russian divisions of Barclay de Tolly and Wittgenstein; the Bavarians, in three divisions, commanded by Count Wrede; and the Wirtembergers, under the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg.

Second, the grand army of Prussia or Silesia, commanded by Marshal Blücher, was formed of the corps of D'York, Kleist, Bulow; the four Russian corps of Tschersbatoff, Langeron, Sacken, and Winzingerode; and the Saxons, under the Prince of Saxe Weimar, and Baron de Thielman.

Third, the grand Swedish army, commanded by Marshal Bernadotte, the Prince Royal of Sweden, consisting of the Swedish corps, the five Russian corps of Bennigsen, Tettenborn, Doernberg, Benkendorf, and Czernicheff—the first of which remained before Hamburg—a corps of Hanoverians, the Hanseatic troops, and the contingents of the smaller states of the confederation.

Fourth, the Anglo-Spanish and Portuguese army of the Pyrenees, under the command of Lord Wellington, in the south of France.

Fifth, the Anglo-Batavian army, commanded by Sir Thomas Graham, in Holland.

Sixth, the Austrian army in Italy, commanded by Count Bellegarde.

And seventh, the army of Naples, under the orders of King Joachim, who joined the confederation by a treaty, dated January 11, 1814.

The strength of the armies operating upon the Rhine was variously estimated, but they probably exceeded half a million of men. Prussia and Austria had between them an effective force of two hundred and fifty thousand men; Russia alone had nearly two hundred thousand; and to these may be added thirty thousand Swedes, ten thousand Danes, and a large number of troops contributed by the princes of the confederation of the Rhine. This immense body did not, however, take the field at the same moment. The first armies, which passed the

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BOOK IV. Rhine at the end of December, consisted of about three hundred and fifty thousand men, to which an augmentation of about one-third was made by reinforcements, which arrived about the middle of February.

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The first operations of importance were made on the side of Switzerland; and on the 21st of December, 1813, Prince Schwartzberg, in contravention of the remonstrances of the government of Zurich, advanced by Basle, through Befort, towards Langres and Chaumont. On the 1st of January, the grand Prussian army, under Marshal Blücher, passed the Rhine in three divisions, at Mannheim, Kaub, and Coblenz, and while the corps of Sacken, D'Yorck, and Kleist, advanced on Mentz and Thionville, the division of Langeron was left to blockade the fortresses in the rear. The first care of the allies was to conciliate the people of France, and one of the first acts of Prince Schwartzberg on crossing the Rhine was to address the inhabitants in a proclamation founded on the declaration of the allied sovereigns:—

"Frenchmen," said the commander-in-chief, "victory has led the allied armies to your frontiers, which they are about to pass. We do not wage war against France; but we repel far from us the yoke which your government would impose upon our respective countries. They have the same right to independence and happiness as France. Magistrates, owners of property, farmers, remain at your stations. The maintenance of public order, respect for private property, and discipline the most rigid, will mark the conduct of the allies, while they pass through and remain on your soil. They are actuated by no spirit of vengeance. Other principles and other views than those which conducted your armies to us, preside in the councils of the allied monarchs. Their glory will consist in having terminated the misfortunes of Europe. The only conquest which is the object of their ambition is peace; but a peace which insures to their countries, to France, and to Europe, real repose. We hoped to have found it before we reached the territories of France—we are come hither in search of it."

The corps of Marshals Victor and Marmont, weakened by the sickness which had desolated the army since its retreat from Leipzig, consisted only of forty-five thousand men, and was altogether unable to arrest the progress of the invaders. At the approach of the allied army Marmont had retreated to St. Mihiel: while Victor, in consequence of the movements of the Austrians, had quitted Strasburg for Luneville; and Marshal Ney, forced to retire from the frontier, made a retrograde movement in the direction of Nancy. Marshal Macdonald, charged with the defence of the Lower Rhine, retreated in his turn before the army of the Crown Prince of Sweden, and established his head-quarters at Namur. The French General Maison sustained for some time a gallant struggle in front of Antwerp, but was at length obliged to retreat into France, and to throw his troops into Lille and

the neighbouring places. In a word, the whole of the French frontiers, from Lyons to Antwerp, forming an extent of country of five hundred miles, were invaded, by armies whose object it was to plant their standards on the heights of the capital.

These retrograde movements were announced by the French government as the result of a previously concerted plan, and the emperor wished it to be considered as an essential part of his system to permit the undisputed entry of the allies into the interior, that his triumph might be the more distinguished, and their overthrow the more certain. In pursuance of this system, Marshal Mortier retired from Langres to Chaumont; Marshal Augereau, with the reserve, marched to Lyons; and General Dessaix confined his operations to the defence of Savoy.

The capture of Geneva served as a prelude to the campaign of 1814. This ancient republic had been united to France for more than twenty years, and by its alliance had lost both its independence and its prosperity. On the 30th of December, an Austrian advanced-guard, commanded by General Count Bubna, consisting of three thousand men, advanced from Switzerland, when General Jordy, a brave veteran officer, thunderstruck at witnessing a circumstance so unforeseen, fell senseless in the midst of his staff. The officer on whom the command now devolved, partaking of the general consternation of the army, marched out of the city at the head of a garrison of twelve hundred troops, and suffered the Austrians to enter without the formality of a capitulation. The capture of Geneva, which forms one of the gates of the French empire, opened the road to Lyons, and exposed the passes of Italy to the Austrian army.

Napoleon himself now raised the curtain which had concealed from his subjects the dangers of their country:—

"You have seen," said he to his senators, "by the papers which I have ordered to be communicated to you, all that I have done for peace. The sacrifices which comprise the preliminary bases which have been proposed to me by my enemies, and which I have accepted, I will make without regret. My life has but one object—the happiness of the French people. In the mean time, Bearne, Alsace, Franche Comté, and Brabant, are invaded. The cries of this part of my family pierce my soul. Let us obtain peace by a final effort. I call on the French to succour the French. I call on the inhabitants of Paris, of Brittany, Normandy, Campagne, Burgundy, and the other departments, to assist their brethren. At the sight of a nation in arms the enemy will fly, or sign a peace on the bases which they themselves have proposed. Peace, and the deliverance of our territory, ought to be our rallying cry. Our object is now no longer to recover our conquests."

The wish thus expressed to obtain a peace by treaty or by force of arms was accompanied

by corresponding exertions. No endeavours were spared to raise the male population *en masse*; commissioners were dispatched to all the military divisions of the empire to facilitate the organization of the levies; and the Duke of Vicenza, minister of the interior relations of France, was sent to the head-quarters of the allied sovereigns at Basle, to propose that a congress for the negociation of a general peace should assemble at Chatillon-sur-Seine. These overtures were accepted by the allies without hesitation; and plenipotentiaries were appointed to the congress, which assembled at the place proposed between the 15th and the 20th of January; but the allies, secure in their own resources, peremptorily refused either to suspend or to interrupt the military movements of their armies during the progress of the negotiations.

The invading army, bearing down all opposition, still continued to advance; the defiles of the Vosges, a chain of mountains stretching from Befort to Strasburg, were forced in every direction; Vesoul, Langres, Nancy, and Thionville, had fallen; and the Cossacks had pushed their advanced corps into the neighbourhood of Verdun. In the midst of these accumulated difficulties, Napoleon remained at Paris, incessantly employed in endeavouring to recruit his army, and to replenish his exhausted finances. The formation of twelve new regiments was announced at Paris, under the designation of volunteers, consisting of mechanics, whose shops being shut, could no longer afford them employment; and considerable supplies of troops were obtained from other quarters, though by no means in sufficient numbers, or of the best description. Since the maintenance of the French armies had fallen principally upon their own country, the public finances had sunk into the most deplorable state of embarrassment; and before the end of the month of January the national bank encountered difficulties that approached to the confines of insolvency. From the report of the directors of this establishment it appeared, that the available funds in their hands, at the time of making that report, amounted only to £600,000 sterling, and that it had become indispensably necessary to restrict their daily payments to a sum not exceeding £20,000.

At length an army was assembled before Chalons, between the Marne and the Seine, and the French Emperor prepared to quit his capital, in order to place himself at the head of his troops. Two days previous to his departure he assembled the officers of the national guard, and in a speech, delivered with a degree of emotion that seemed to indicate a presage that he was taking a final farewell, committed the empress and his infant son to their protection, and to the

love of his faithful city of Paris. On the 25th of January Napoleon quitted the capital and repaired to Vitry, to which point the French armies, under Marshals Marmont, Macdonald, and Victor, were retreating from different quarters. The allied armies at the same time were concentrating, and pressing towards the same point—Marshal Blucher by the way of Nancy and Toul, and Prince Schwartzemberg in the direction of Langres and Chaumont.

On the 24th the allies commenced their operations in the interior by the battle of Bar, between Chaumont and Joinville. Marshal Mortier defended this position with the greatest skill and bravery, but being overpowered by superior numbers, he was eventually obliged to abandon the town, and to retire upon Troyes. Marshal Blucher, proceeding on his march to form the meditated junction with Prince Schwartzemberg, possessed himself, on the 23d and 24th, of Ligny and St. Dizier, and from thence pushed forward a corps to Brienne, to establish a communication with the Austrian division at Bar. Napoleon, fully sensible of the importance of this movement, and determined to defeat its object, made immediate preparations to attack the Prussian rear-guard, while it awaited the arrival of D'Yorck's division from St. Dizier. This attack, in which the French were successful, took place on the 27th, and the allies were forced from their position. Marshal Blucher, by no means disconcerted by the check which he had suffered, continued his movements upon Brienne, and having rallied his forces, awaited the arrival of Napoleon at that place. On the 29th, at mid-day, the French army appeared; and the battle which ensued was most sanguinary. While General Alsufieff defended the town with vigour, an attack was made by the allies upon the left wing of the French, which was known to labour under the disadvantage of a defective supply of cavalry. For several hours the fate of the day was uncertain. Victory, which thus hung in suspense, seemed to depend upon the occupation of the castle of Brienne; when an officer of rank, attached to the staff of Marshal Victor, availing himself of the darkness of the night, and of his perfect knowledge of the country, found his way into the castle, and put his corps in possession of this position. In the action which followed for the recovery of this post, a dreadful carnage took place, but all the efforts of the allies proved unavailing, and the French army was left in possession of the field. This success compelled the Prussian field-marshal to continue his retrograde movement upon Bar; and enabled the French columns under Marshal Victor and General Grouchy to take up fine positions at the villages of La Rothière and Dienville, on the 30th.

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After the battle of Brienne, in which a principal part of the town fell a sacrifice to the flames, Napoleon posted his army on the heights in the neighbourhood of that place, and displayed his superior force to the army of Silesia. On the 31st he again deployed in the low ground between La Rothière and Trannes; and thus situated, the hostile armies passed two days in sight of each other. General D'Yorck availed himself of the interval to re-capture the town of St. Dizier; while Count Wittgenstein, supported by Count Wrede, repulsed the corps of Marshal Marmont near Vassy. Advancing from the south-east, the grand allied army, under Prince Schwartzberg, approached towards the Aube, and the general commandant, Count Barclay de Tolly, united the Russian and Prussian guards, to form a reserve on the heights and in the defiles of Trannes, from which he could support any point that was menaced. These dispositions the Prince of Schwartzberg hastened to announce to Marshal Blücher, directing him, at the same time, to attack the French with his united force, while Count Wrede made an offensive movement from Doulevane-sur-Brienne.

In this situation Napoleon was reduced to the necessity of fighting, not merely to secure a retreat, but to save his army. The length of the enemy's line compelled him to extend his own, and his whole force was disposed in two lines of battle, ranged under a chain of hills, his right resting on Dienville and the Aube, his centre on La Rothière, and his left on the hamlet of Gibrie. At another important position, which covered the left flank, the 6th corps was posted, under the command of Marshal Marmont; General Duhesme defended La Rothière, and General Gerard had orders to protect both banks of the Aube by occupying Dienville. The infantry was ranged in masses upon the banks of the villages, which were bordered on all sides with artillery.

During these offensive dispositions on the part of the French, the three columns of attack belonging to the allied army, formed under Marshal Blücher, were taking directions in the following order: General Sacken's corps descended from the heights of Trannes into the plain of Rothière, and advanced on the centre of the French in two strong divisions, the one upon Brienne by the Dienville road, and the other direct on La Rothière. The Austrian corps of General Count Giulay, and the Russian corps of General Alsoufiéff, formed General Sacken's reserve. The Prince Royal of Wirtemberg manœuvred with the right wing from Eclance on Chaumenil and Gibrie, in order to attack the left of the enemy; opening, by this combined march, the communication with General Count

Wrede, who was moving on Chaumenil by Doulevant.

At half-past twelve o'clock on the 1st of February, the cavalry of the two armies, ranged in battle array between the lines, were put in motion. The general attention was soon attracted by a violent discharge of musketry and artillery on the left of the French army, which was found to proceed from the corps of the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg, who, having penetrated through the forest of Eclance, began the battle by attacking the woody heights of Gibrie, which were defended by several regiments. After encountering an obstinate resistance, he made himself master both of the heights and of the hamlet. Napoleon, fearing that he might be outflanked, ordered a corps to manœuvre on his left, and Gibrie was re-taken at the point of the bayonet by the French, who displayed prodigies of valour. The prince royal, having in his turn obtained reinforcements, once more assailed the wood and hamlet. At first he was repulsed, but the combined movement of Count Wrede was arranged with such precision that a junction was speedily formed between the two corps, and Gibrie and Chaumenil were re-taken. Napoleon, having learned that his left position was thus assailed, lost no time in hastening thither with part of the artillery of his guard, and on his arrival at that point, orders were immediately given that Chaumenil should be again carried. Count Wrede, determined to maintain a position that had been gained by so much valour, now ordered all the Austro-Bavarian divisions to advance: the charge was irresistible; the enemy's cavalry were put to the rout, the square of infantry broken, and the artillery obliged to retreat, leaving behind them several cannon and ammunition waggons. Marshal Marmont, who had in the mean time endeavoured by strong columns of cavalry and infantry to establish a communication with Chaumenil by Morvilliers, was repulsed by Count Hardegg, and a division of the Schwartzberg hussars, by a fortunate charge, seized a battery of six pieces of cannon, which the French were just moving to the support of the 6th corps.

Nearly three hours were employed in the manœuvres and successive attacks on this point; and Marshal Blücher, finding his right secured by the success of Count Wrede and the prince royal, determined to carry La Rothière—the centre and key of the enemy's position. About three o'clock all the allied troops deployed in the plains of La Rothière and Brienne, and at that hour the battle became general. The ardour of the troops was excited to enthusiasm by the presence of the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia. Taking a station along with Prince Schwartzberg between Trannes and Rothière,

on the ground of action, they observed and followed the progress of the attacks, which were in some degree confused by a high wind, and a heavy fall of snow that darkened the whole atmosphere. The artillery and musketry sometimes actually ceased from the impossibility of discerning the objects against which they were intended to be directed. The Russian batteries, although served with evident superiority, left half the cannon behind, and so deep was the snow upon the ground, that it was only by doubling the usual train that the other half was removed. The resistance of the French at La Rothière and Dienville was obstinate in the extreme. Not only was General Sacken, by whom the attack was made, resisted for several hours with success, but towards sun-set, the French cavalry, becoming in their turn the assailants, penetrated towards the centre of the Russian position, and obliged the masses of infantry, of which it was composed, to give way. At this critical moment Marshal Blücher made one of those bold movements on which the fate of battles so frequently depend: he ordered his cavalry, which had been reinforced for the purpose, to turn the left flank of the French, and by a rapid movement to attack them in the rear: at the same time directing the infantry, under General Sacken, to fall upon the enemy's right. These manœuvres, which the darkness favoured, were executed with equal spirit and precision. The French cavalry, finding themselves unexpectedly charged in the rear, retreated to Brienne, which place the Russians entered close at their heels. The infantry forming the enemy's centre, being now uncovered, General Sacken pushed his attacks with vigour, and soon made himself master of the long contested position of La Rothière. The battle appeared to be now decided. Napoleon himself for a moment feared the entire rout of his army, an event which must inevitably have taken place had the allies redoubled their charges on Brienne and Lesmont. The disaster at Leipzig might have been repeated, for the bridge of Lesmont, which was broken down to impede the advance of the invaders, had not been reconstructed, and only a narrow and difficult passage presented itself for the retreat of the French army.

The first alarm was succeeded by returning confidence. Napoleon placed himself at the head of General Colbert's cavalry, and in person directed a charge, which arrested the progress of the allies. Marshal Oudinot hastily arrived from Lesmont with two divisions of the national guard, and thus reinforced, the French army was again enabled to assume the offensive. Strong columns of infantry, and batteries of flying artillery, were directed against La Rothière.

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Thrice did Napoleon renew the attack at the head of his guards, and these efforts so far succeeded as to enable him to seize the church and several houses, while the Russian grenadiers occupied the rest of the village. Being thus at close quarters, both sides resorted to the bayonet, and the slaughter was terrible. The efforts of the Russians, in front of the line, were directed by Marshal Blücher in person. This general exposed himself to the fire of the enemy in the attack of the imperial guards on La Rothière, and so imminent was his danger, that a Cossack, pierced by a musket-shot, fell dead at his side. The Russian reserve now advanced, by command of the Emperor Alexander; and amidst these vicissitudes the battle was prolonged till midnight. Towards ten o'clock, Marshal Berthier, when traversing the French lines to visit the posts, found the two armies so closely in contact, that he several times mistook the posts of the allies for those of the French. At length, the whole village of La Rothière was ceded to the obstinate valour of the Russians; and General Sacken, who had three times been on the point of becoming a prisoner, made a bold charge on the right of the village, seized twenty pieces of cannon, and took from five to six hundred prisoners of the French guards. At midnight Napoleon made his last attack on La Rothière, which the Russians repulsed, and thus decided the victory in favour of the allies.

Under favour of the night, the French army concealed from the allies the disorder into which it had been thrown at the close of the action, and effected its retreat on Troyes and Arcis.

The courage displayed by the French troops, their heroic efforts, and the danger to which the emperor exposed himself, all tended to prove the importance which he attached to this general engagement. The allies were obliged to carry every village, height, or wood, by assault; and purchased with their blood every foot of ground which they gained. Some villages, which during the battle had taken up arms against them, were delivered up to military execution—a proceeding justified by the laws of war, but at variance with the principles of an enlightened policy. On the part of the allies about eighty thousand men had been engaged; and on the side of the French a number not much inferior. The loss of the latter was estimated at from four to five thousand men killed, wounded, and prisoners, besides seventy pieces of cannon; that of the allies exceeded this number, but they had not to include in their loss either prisoners or cannon. The moral effect of this day's defeat was the desertion of nearly twenty thousand newly raised conscripts from the ranks of Napoleon; and the allied monarchs might now, without presumption, cherish the expectation, that the time was not

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BOOK IV. distant when they would be able to prescribe the terms of peace in Paris to him who had so often dictated treaties in their capitals.

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After the battle of La Rothière the greatest anxiety prevailed in Paris, where contradictory reports were in circulation, according to the feelings and interests of those by whom they were propagated; but at length the official bulletin appeared, and represented the engagement as a "a rencontre of the rear-guard." "The combat," it was added, "ceased at night after a brisk cannonade; the army continued to concentrate itself without any obstacle, and that object was completely accomplished." To this soothing report the Parisian journals added splendid details of the large reinforcements which were daily arriving; and corps were continually passing in review at the Thuilleries before Joseph Bonaparte, who had obtained the rank of lieutenant-general to his imperial brother.

The allied monarchs now decided that their armies should march to the capital in two grand corps; the one following the course of the Seine, by the road of Troyes and Senlis; and the other advancing on the banks of the Marne, by Chalons, Chateau-Thierry, and Meaux. This plan of dividing the allied forces, though liable to serious objections, afforded the double advantage of securing subsistence, in a country which they conceived to be drained of provisions, and of placing the enemy between two hostile armies, one of which might hold him in check, while the other, by its sudden appearance at the gates of the metropolis, would cause every idea of defence to be abandoned, and prevent the destruction of the city. The first effect of this arrangement was to separate the army of Silesia from the grand army; and while Marshal Blucher took the direction of Ferre Champenoise towards the Marne, the Prince of Schwartzenberg marched on Troyes, the ancient capital of Champagne.

Resolved to expel the enemy from Troyes, the allies pushed forward strong corps on the roads to Arois, Bar-sur-Aube, and Sens, to intercept the communication of the French army with Paris. But Napoleon, braving all these demonstrations, was only induced to retreat by the intelligence that Marshal Blucher had advanced to the Marne, and was marching with a formidable army in *echelon* direct for Paris. The alarm in the capital now became extreme. Works were begun for the purpose of guarding the approaches; the barriers were palisaded to guard against a *coup de main*; and Passy, Montmartre, and the adjoining heights, were fixed upon to serve as defensive positions. Towers were at the same time made to St. Denis and Abergvilliers, and an immense fabrication of pikes was announced for the purpose of arming the peasantry. Such was the situation of the metropolis

when Napoleon, on the 6th of February, abandoned Troyes, and retreated to Nogent, for the purpose of arresting the progress of the Silesian army.

After the capture of Troyes a momentary indecision seemed to pervade the councils of the allied sovereigns. The Austrian Monarch, in common with the confederate princes of Europe, wished for peace, but his views did not at this time extend to the overthrow of the reigning dynasty. In this policy Russia and Great Britain expressed their acquiescence, flattering themselves that Napoleon would at length accommodate himself to his situation, and bow to the necessity of concluding a treaty of peace conformable to the general interests of Europe. The conferences at Chatillon had opened on the 4th of February, and Lord Castlereagh, the principal secretary of state for foreign affairs to his Britannic Majesty, had arrived at that place to take part in the deliberations. The pacific disposition of Austria did not escape the observation of the French Emperor; and relying on this disposition, he sent instructions to his plenipotentiary at Chatillon, the object of which was to propose an armistice, founded upon the bases laid down by the allies, and offering at the same time to surrender all the fortified places in the countries proposed to be ceded by France, on condition that military operations should be entirely suspended. To this the allies replied, that instead of an armistice, it was their wish that the preliminaries of peace should be signed without delay, with a condition that the principal places now invested by their armies, comprehending Antwerp, Wesel, Mentz, Strasburg, and Besançon, should be resigned by the Emperor of France, as pledges for the sincerity of his intentions.

At the moment when these points were under discussion, Napoleon, who was still at Nogent, received several couriers from Marshal Macdonald, informing him that a strong Russian and Prussian force was advancing, under Marshal Blucher, along the course of the Marne, and that unless an imposing force was instantly placed on this line of operations, Paris itself would be lost. On the 9th of February several Prussian battalions entered Chateau-Thierry, and were soon succeeded by a number of Russian brigades, supported by cavalry and artillery. These troops, which formed the advanced-guard of Marshal Blucher's army, soon extended themselves to Meaux, announcing that they were on their march to Paris, which it was their intention to enter on the succeeding Sunday. On the Seine, detachments from Prince Schwartzberg's army touched upon the gates of Sens, while his light troops pushed forwards to Melun, distant only ten leagues from Paris.

Napoleon, in his position at Nogent, found himself thus doubly outflanked; but by one of these brilliant combinations which, in the days of his glory, shed lustre on his military genius, he resolved to fall, by a bold and rapid march, on the flank and rear of Marshal Blücher's army, and not merely to repulse, but to annihilate, these divisions of the invaders. On the 9th, orders were dispatched to Marshals Marmont and Ney to prepare to attack the enemy. The movements of the main army, which consisted of the veteran and imperial guard, and of troops drawn from the French army on the Spanish frontier, were effected with inconceivable celerity. In their march on Montmirail, through the forest of Traconne, the artillery became engulfed in the marshy road near Villenoxe, and the general commanding the artillery announced to the emperor the impossibility of continuing the movements: "Forward," answered Napoleon, "if we leave some pieces of cannon behind us!" He was obeyed; the soldiers themselves assisted to draw out the ordnance, and even carried it in their arms; and the Mayor of Barbonne suddenly collected five hundred horses belonging to the peasantry, with which the cannon was extricated, and the train reinforced. On his advance towards the Marne, he found the corps commanded by Generals Sacken and D'Yorck posted, the first at Montmirail, and the other at La Ferte-sous-Jouarre, both having their advanced-guard pushed two leagues in front of the Marne near Château-Thierry and Meaux.

The movements of Marshal Blücher at this period are considered by military men as liable to much animadversion. He had separated himself too far from the grand army, and by extending his divisions too widely, he had prevented them from combining their operations, or mutually supporting each other. On the 10th, at day-break, Napoleon, in person, conducted his troops to the heights of St. Prix, while Marshal Marmont was ordered to pass the swampy defile of St. Gond, and to attack the village of Baye. At this point the advanced-guard of the Russian general Alsuéff was stationed, but being unprovided with cavalry, and seeing himself attacked by five or six thousand dragoons, as well as a superior body of infantry, he concentrated all his force, amounting to four or five thousand men, at Champeaubert, intending to fight as he retreated. The cavalry of the imperial guard now deployed upon the plain, attacking and turning the Russians, in order to intercept their march on the Chalons road. In vain did General Alsuéff form his infantry in squares; in vain did he attempt to resist the shock of the French cavalry, and the fire of their numerous batteries; his ranks gave way in all directions; and artillery, infantry, and cavalry,

fled into the woods and marshes. The general, several superior officers, and more than two thousand men, were made prisoners; and of twenty-four pieces of cannon, nine remained in the hands of the victors.

But Napoleon aimed at still more brilliant achievements, and hoped to defeat General Sacken's whole corps. At eight o'clock in the evening General Nansouty marched to Montmirail with two divisions of cavalry belonging to the guard, under the orders of Generals Colbert and Laferrière; and at five o'clock in the morning of the 11th, General Guyot's division of cavalry was advanced to the same place. General Sacken, having learned the disaster of his advanced-guard, quitted Ferte-sous-Jouarre, and marched all night on the 10th towards Montmirail, after having dispatched several messengers to General D'Yorck, who, by his advice, marched from the environs of Meaux in the same direction. Hence every thing seemed to presage a battle, the issue of which would be of the highest importance.

In the forenoon of the 11th, General Sacken's corps, reinforced by three brigades from General D'Yorck's division, appeared before Montmirail, where Napoleon had already arrived with the division of Ricard and the imperial guard. The Russian army consisted of only eighteen or twenty thousand men, but being no longer able to avoid a battle, they attacked the village of Marchais, where the division of Ricard was posted, under the immediate command of Marshal Ney. This village was twice taken and re-taken; and the Russians exhibited in the assault as much impetuosity as the French displayed determination and bravery in its defence. At the end of five hours each army found itself in the same position that it had occupied at the commencement of the action. Night was now approaching, and Napoleon, having, in the progress of the battle, received a reinforcement, determined to make a final effort. The success of the day appeared to depend upon assailing the Russian centre at Epine-aux-Bois, which was the key of General Sacken's position. Forty pieces of cannon defended the approaches to this point; the hedges were lined with a triple row of riflemen; and the infantry battalions, intended for their support, were stationed in the rear. At the command of the emperor, General Friant darted towards the farm of Haute-Epine, and charged the Russians with great impetuosity. The conflict at this point became sanguinary in the extreme, and success was for some time doubtful. At length the lancers, dragoons, and horse grenadiers of Bonaparte's guard, appeared on the right of Haute-Epine, and threw themselves on the rear of the Russian cavalry, with shouts of "Long live the em-

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peror." The French infantry, availing themselves of the advantages gained by the cavalry, precipitated themselves upon the disordered columns of the Russians, and forced them to abandon the position, artillery, and baggage. The Russians, thrown into the most extreme disorder at all points, retired by the road of Chateau-Thierry, after having sustained a loss of five or six thousand men, killed, wounded, or prisoners.

On the following day Marshal Mortier pursued the retreating army by the direct road from Montmirail to Chateau Thierry; and Napoleon, who had fixed his head-quarters at Haute-Epine, hastened to advance in the same direction. The Russians, who retired in the direction of Rheims, suffered severely in the retreat, and their loss at the village of Coquerets alone exceeded two thousand men. Victories so unexpected seemed almost to partake of the miraculous, even in the eyes of those who had achieved them. The French army, of late so much discouraged and depressed, now supported their privations and fatigues without a murmur, and testified the happiest disposition. It was remarked, that under no circumstances of preceding wars had so many Russian prisoners been taken; and the French soldiers, who suddenly pass from despondency to confidence, began to believe that "France—the sacred country, which the foe had violated, would be found by her invaders a land of consuming fire." These successes, however, were neither complete nor decisive. Marshal Blucher, having heard from the fugitives of the disasters of Generals Sacken and D'Yorck, collected the Prussian corps of General Kleist, and the Russian division of General Langeron, forming in all about eighteen thousand men, and on the 18th marched against Marshal Marmont's position at Etoges, on the road from Chalons to Montmirail. This movement re-called Napoleon, in great haste, from the pursuit of General Sacken, and at three o'clock in the morning of the 14th he quitted Chateau-Thierry, and made a forced march to join Marshal Marmont, with the hope of being able to annihilate the Silesian army. At eight o'clock the cavalry of his advanced-guard appeared upon the heights of Vauchamp, where they seized six pieces of cannon, planted on that station by the Prussians.

The French cavalry, which continually increased in number, suddenly appeared in great force under the command of General Grouchy. The Prussians immediately formed themselves in squares, and for some time firmly maintained their ground; but being at length overpowered by numbers, two of the Prussian battalions were taken, and three others either sabred or driven into the woods. Marshal Blucher, being thus assailed

by a superior force, and having only three regiments of cavalry, resolved to withdraw from a position which he conceived to be no longer tenable. In conducting the retreat, the infantry received orders to march in columns and squares towards Chalons, with artillery placed in the intervals, to repel the advancing enemy, having the flanks and rear covered by the rifle corps. In the progress of this retreat not a single column or square of infantry was charged by, or exposed to, the fire of the French. Napoleon played for a deeper stake; his object was to surround, and to capture or destroy, the whole of Blucher's force; and at sun-set the Prussian commander perceived the main body of the French cavalry had turned his flank, and thrown themselves on the line of his retreat. Only one way of escape remained, and that, with the usual decision and promptitude of the veteran general, was instantly adopted—he ordered his troops to continue their march, and to cut their way through every obstacle. This heroic expedient succeeded, but the loss sustained by the Prussians on this day amounted to at least four thousand men, together with nine pieces of cannon. Napoleon, being now called to the banks of the Seine, where other enemies had appeared in force, still threatening the metropolis, left Marshal Blucher to accomplish his admirable retreat upon Chalons, and to rally and re-unite the scattered corps of his army.

Prince Schwartzemberg, desirous of effecting a diversion in favour of Marshal Blucher, developed an immense force upon the banks of the Seine, near Nogent, while Count Wrede and General Wittgenstein marched upon Melun, pushing forward the Cossack force, under Platoff, to Fontainebleau, which city he entered on the 17th. On the same day Napoleon arrived by forced marches at Nangis, in the vicinity of Melun, and about four leagues to the east of that place. Here three divisions of Count Wittgenstein's corps were posted. Good roads, and extensive plains, now allowed the cavalry to manœuvre; and the General of division Gerard opened an attack on the village of Mormant, while the cavalry of Generals Milhaud and Kellerman assailed the Russians on the left, and several batteries advanced to bombard the village. This position was only feebly disputed; the squares into which the Russians had formed themselves gave way before the artillery, and fled in the direction of Montereau, leaving fourteen pieces of cannon, and four thousand prisoners, to attest the triumph of their enemies.

At three o'clock in the afternoon of the 18th Napoleon arrived with his staff from Nangis in front of Montereau, and gave orders for a vigorous attack upon the plain. The French army, amounting to twenty-eight thousand men, and

sixty pieces of cannon now moved from all parts of the line, while, at the same time, General Pajol, who arrived with a reinforcement of fresh troops on the Melun road, made a charge of cavalry, and turned the flanks of the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg, who commanded on this occasion. The onset was irresistible; and the allies, seeing the greatest part of their artillery dismounted, fled precipitately into Montereau, vigorously pursued by the French dragoons, while the inhabitants of the place augmented the danger of their retreat, by firing upon them from the windows. The loss on the part of the vanquished army, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounted to about eighteen hundred men; besides which a considerable quantity of arms, and several pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the French. The Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, on hearing of the discomfiture of their troops at Montereau, hastily quitted Bray, where their head-quarters had been established; and Napoleon exultingly exclaimed:—"My heart is relieved; I have saved the capital of my empire!"

Never was there a change of scene more rapid or complete. Couriers followed each other in succession from the army to Paris; the populace accompanied them to the Thuilleries with shouts of victory; and public opinion, which is almost always guided by the fortune of arms, was expressed loudly in favour of the emperor.

The allies had now nearly lost all the ground which they had gained by the battle of Rothière, and they, in their turn, relied upon pacific negotiations. The Austrian General Count de Paar accordingly presented himself at the advanced posts of the French, on the day after the battle of Montereau, and demanded a suspension of arms, which the allied sovereigns were now of opinion would facilitate the issue of the conferences. That no time might be lost, M. de Rumigny, secretary to the cabinet, arrived on the same evening at the head-quarters of the French army, from the congress at Chatillon, with a draft of the conditions of the preliminary treaty. The proposition transmitted to Napoleon by Marshal Caulaincourt, his plenipotentiary at the conference, comprehended all the bases deemed necessary for the re-establishment of a political equilibrium. The treaty, which, in its leading characteristic, proceeded upon the ground of placing France in the same territorial situation as she stood under her kings, with some small addition to her ancient limits, contained a proposition, that the capital of France should be occupied by the armies of the allied sovereigns till a definitive treaty of peace could be arranged and executed. Napoleon, elevated by his late successes, and apprehensive that some snare lurked under a proposal so humili-

liating, seized, with a mien of fury, the paper which contained the proposition of peace, exclaiming, while he tore it, "Occupy the French capital! I am at this moment nearer to Vienna than they are to Paris!" Before he would consent to a degrading peace he resolved to try again the fate of arms, on which he placed much greater reliance than upon deliberations and treaties; the tide of fortune had recently turned in his favour, and thus he was betrayed by her caresses to the last days of his power.

The allied sovereigns on their part considered their situation as critical: alarmed at the attitude which the peasants of the Brie and Champagne had assumed, they began to dread a national war, and abandoned the idea of seeking a compensation for their reverses in the hazard of a general battle. With an enemy who fortified himself even in the midst of disasters, and who defied all calculation by the enterprise and rapidity of his movements, a general battle might, in one day, extinguish all the hopes which their prudence and gallantry had brought so nearly to their consummation. Their advantages, however, were immense; every fortress which fell on either side of the Rhine augmented their means of invasion; the Oder, the Elbe, and the Rhine, had become a triple line of reserves, from which they continually drew reinforcements, and by a judicious union of caution, skill, and energy, they hoped ultimately to surmount all the obstacles that had hitherto retarded their progress.

On the 20th the French army quitted Montereau, and on the 21st passed through Nogent. At Mery, on the Seine, a small town, six leagues to the north west of Troyes, an attempt was made by the allies to check the progress of the enemy, but after an obstinate engagement, in which the bridge was broken down, and the town itself nearly destroyed by fire, Marshal Blucher was obliged to retreat, and on the 24th Napoleon entered Troyes at the head of his victorious army.

The grand Austro-Russian army, continuing its retrograde movements, evacuated the whole country between the Seine and the Yonne, and fell back upon Vandœuvres and Chaumont. But while this retreat of the generalissimo attracted the whole attention of the French army, Marshal Blucher commenced the execution of a plan, by which offensive warfare was about to be renewed on the part of the allies with renovated vigour. From the 24th to the 27th of February, Napoleon, at that time deeply occupied in the pending negotiations, remained stationary at Troyes; and Marshal Blucher, availing himself of this period of inaction, marched, with the Silesian army, in the direction of Ferte Champenoise, towards the Marne, with the intention to form a

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BOOK IV. junction with the corps of Generals Winzingerode and Bulow, who, having forced the northern frontier, and released Belgium from the dominion of France, had advanced into the vicinity of Rheims and Soissons.

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Nothing could more indisputably proclaim the declining power of the French Emperor than the fact, that his Belgic frontiers, defended as they were by fortresses almost impregnable, were at once abandoned, and thrown open to the allies, who were thence enabled to penetrate into the heart of his empire. On the advance of the Russians, the small corps of French troops under General Maison had evacuated Brussels, and on the 2d of February the Cossacks entered that city. In almost all the towns of Brabant the Russians were received with demonstrations of joy; a deputation from Ghent presented the keys of that place to General Bulow, and the allies soon extended their legions over every part of Belgium. In French Flanders intestine commotions prevailed at the same time to a most alarming extent; the country was overrun by refractory conscripts, and the communication between Dunkirk and the capital became subject to daily interruptions.

Vitry, Chalons, Epernay, and Chateau-Thierry, again fell into the possession of the Silesian army, which now occupied forty leagues of the Marne, stretching from the source of that river to Meaux, in the vicinity of Paris. Alarmed by the dangers of the capital, Napoleon quitted Troyes on the 27th, for the purpose of repeating, if possible, the manœuvres of Champaubert and Montmirail. The same spirit of daring, and rapidity of movement, which had distinguished the first expedition against Marshal Blucher, were employed on the present occasion; but the result was widely different, and in its consequences accelerated the fate of the French empire. On the 1st of March Napoleon arrived on the banks of the Marne, but the Prussian field-marshal, instructed by experience, immediately fell back with the main body of his forces upon Soissons, in order to complete the junction of the Silesian army with the army of the north, under Generals Bulow and Winzingerode. The corps of Marshals Marmont and Mortier, after having followed and harassed the allied army on its march from the Marne, was pushed forward to cut off the retreat of Marshal Blucher, and to prevent the junction of the allied armies, but in both these objects they entirely failed. On the 6th of March Napoleon had moved on Corbenie, and at a short distance he found the Russian infantry posted in front of Craone. Every thing announced the approach of a general battle.

Marshal Blucher now conceived one of those bold plans for which the tactics of that

general have been so much distinguished. Having formed his army in *echelon*, from the plain of Craone to the approaches of Laon, he formed a detachment of ten thousand horse, consisting nearly of the whole of the cavalry; the command of this force he conferred upon General Winzingerode, ordering him to march during the night by the roads of Chevigny and Presle, and after throwing himself upon the French line of communication, to turn Napoleon's position at Craone. That nothing might be wanting to secure the success of this enterprise, Marshal Blucher hastened on his charger to direct the operations in person, but unforeseen difficulties, arising out of the steep declivities and other impediments with which the country abounds, impeded the progress of this nocturnal movement, and completely defeated its object.

The position taken up by the allies on the evening of the 6th was unusually strong; the right and left, as well as the front, were protected by ravines, to which there was no approach except by a narrow defile. But nothing could damp the ardour of Napoleon. On the 7th, at day break, he caused this position to be reconnoitred, and at eleven o'clock in the forenoon he commenced the attack with his whole force, estimated at fifty thousand men. While Marshal Ney moved on the right to attack the position of Craone, Marshal Victor's corps, with two divisions of newly levied guards, crossed the ravine, which was guarded by fifty pieces of ordnance, and immediately formed again upon the heights. At this moment the French marshal was struck by a ball, and a great number of his men fell by the determined fire of the Russians; but his columns were followed by numerous trains of artillery, and they succeeded finally in establishing themselves on the heights. At the commencement of the action, Count Strogonoff, the commandant, saw his son fall dead at his side; and three other Russian generals were dangerously wounded. Marshal Ney, having passed the ravine on the left, fell on the right of the enemy's position, while Generals Grouchy and Laferriere, at the head of the cavalry, crossed the defile amidst a shower of cannon shot and musket balls. Both these generals were wounded in the attack, and obliged to quit the field, but General Nansouty, more fortunate, passed the ravine on the right of the Russians, followed by two divisions of cavalry, without sustaining any severe loss. The allies, finding themselves turned, and pressed on all sides, determined upon a retreat in the direction of Laon; but their movements were conducted with such admirable coolness and regularity, that they lost neither cannon nor prisoners, and all the efforts of the French to break their ranks by a general charge of cavalry failed in

their object. Thus the battle of Craone, though dreadfully sanguinary from the ravages made by the artillery, produced no decisive result; the loss on each side was pretty nearly balanced; and the possession of the field by the French was the only reward, and the only sign, of victory.

Napoleon now determined to carry the position of Laon,* and on the 9th he marched with the main body of his army from Chavignon to that place. This ancient town, the capital of the department of the Aisne, covers the greatest part of an eminence, and commands a vast plain, studded with villages and small woods. At the distance of a league from the town the plain becomes narrow, and is bordered on the south-east by a double chain of lofty eminences; intersected by a marshy dale, through which flows the little river Lette. Far from being deterred by the difficulties of the position, the French commander seemed only the more excited to make the attack. Early in the day the enemy advanced to the attack, and, under cover of a dense fog, seized the villages of Semilly and Ardon, situated under the town itself, and forming part of its suburbs. Towards eleven o'clock the fog began to disperse, and Marshal Blucher, perceiving from the heights that the French were in force behind the villages of Ardon, Semilly, and Levilly, immediately ordered the combined cavalry of the rear-guard to advance, and turn the left flank of the French army. At the same time, General Count Woronzow marched with his infantry from the left wing, and pushed forward two battalions of chasseurs, who drove the French advanced posts out of Semilly, and held their left in check till the allied cavalry arrived. The centre and left of the French army were now seen in full retreat, but this movement was merely a feint, preconcerted by the emperor, for the purpose of drawing the allies into the plain, while a more serious and general attack was made upon their position. Marshal Marmont, who had just arrived from Rheims, with an advanced-guard of sixteen battalions of infantry, supported by cavalry and flying artillery, attacked and carried the village of Athies, which was defended by Prince William of Prussia; but scarcely had he established himself in his new position when night began to close in upon the combatants, and when a mass of the Russian cavalry put in practice against his troops the manœuvre which had failed at Craone. About seven o'clock in the evening, the Cossacks, with a general *hourra*, surprised his park of artillery, and notwithstanding every effort was resorted to by the French general in order to save his ordnance, so sudden and vigorous was

the attack, that the Cossacks succeeded in carrying off thirty pieces of cannon. At this period, Prince William of Prussia, in concert with Generals Horn and Ziethen, and supported by the corps of Generals D'Yorck and Kleist, resuming the offensive, fell upon the flank and rear of the French army, and carried several batteries at the point of the bayonet. The conscripts, terrified by this nocturnal surprise, fled in all directions, taking shelter in the woods; nor did they rally again in numbers for several days after the battle. Forty-six pieces of cannon, fifty waggon, and nearly two thousand prisoners, belonging to the corps of Marshal Marmont and the Duke of Padua, fell into the hands of the Prussians.

Undismayed by this terrible check, Napoleon made his dispositions for a regular and general attack on the morning of the 10th, and orders were issued from his head-quarters that the position of Laon should be turned on the right and left at the time that it was attacked in front. Nothing could be more hazardous than this enterprise; but feeling that a retreat would, in its moral effects, be equivalent to the loss of a battle, the French army was again marched under the walls of Laon. General Charpentier, with a division of national guards, seized the village of Clacey, on the left of the allied position, and a wood in its vicinity was taken and re-taken several times. In the centre, and on the left, the French fought with unabating intrepidity all the day; but still no impression was made. About an hour before sun-set the village of Semilly was again attacked; here two Prussian battalions, belonging to the corps of General Bulow, were posted, and being supported by two cross fires on each flank, the murderous discharge was found so destructive that this last effort was at length abandoned. A retreat was now ordered; and the French army, after sustaining a dreadful loss before Laon, fell back without molestation in the direction of Soissons.

In vain did Napoleon attempt to palliate the serious check which he had experienced at Laon; in vain did he represent Marshal Blucher as marching without a regular plan, hoping by a *hourra* of the Cossacks to spread a panic, which might pave his way to Paris. Nothing could now escape the attention of the public; the truth soon became known; and the retreat from before the capital of the department of the Aisne destroyed the moral effect of the victories by which it was preceded.

On the side of the Seine, the grand Austro-Russian army had availed itself of the diversion made by Marshal Blucher; after inflicting a severe defeat upon the corps under Marshals

* Erroneously called Leon in the Chart.

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In another quarter, the Hetman Platoff obtained possession of Arcis-sur-Aube, which was defended only by a body of infantry, and made the commandant of the garrison prisoner. The next operation of the hetman was directed against Sens, which in its turn shared the fate of Arcis. A detachment of five hundred of the warriors of the Don was now dispatched in the direction of Montmirail, while strong columns of light horse swept the country from the Seine to the Marne, and maintained a regular communication between the grand confederated army and the army of Silesia.

Thus, within the short period of a fortnight, were lost all the advantages so recently obtained over the invaders of France; the alarms of the existing government again revived, and their only remaining hope seemed to repose upon the successful conclusion of the pending negotiations at Chatillon.

The progress of the negotiations had been retarded or accelerated according to the nature of military events; after the successes of Napoleon on the Marne and on the Seine, his expectations of ultimate success became unduly elevated, and he seemed determined to act upon the resolution formed by the Russians in the campaign of 1812—not to make peace with his enemies till they had withdrawn beyond the frontier. The allied sovereigns, anxious to ascertain his views and intentions, allowed his plenipotentiary at the congress to present a counter-proposition, stipulating only that it should correspond with the spirit and substance of the conditions already submitted. To afford time for the preparation of this document some delay became necessary, and the 10th of March was fixed upon by mutual consent, as the period at which the final determination should be made.

In the mean time, the confederated sovereigns of Europe thought it necessary to draw still closer the ties by which they were united, and for this purpose they entered into a formal engagement, by which they covenanted to bring six hundred thousand men into the field. This new treaty of alliance, on the part of the Emperors of Austria and Russia, the King of Prussia, and the King of England, was signed on the 1st of March, at Chaumont, to which place the sovereigns and their ministers had repaired after the retreat from Troyes. By this treaty, the high contracting powers engaged, that if the French Emperor should refuse to coincide in the propositions submitted to him, they would employ all the means afforded by their respective dominions in a vigorous prose-

cution of the war; that they would act in perfect concert for the purpose of procuring a general peace; and that Austria, Russia, England, and Prussia, should keep constantly in the field, to be actively employed against the common enemy, one hundred and fifty thousand men each; Great Britain, wishing to contribute in a manner the most prompt and decisive towards this great object, engaged to furnish a subsidy of five millions sterling, to be equally divided among the other three powers; reserving to herself, however, the right of furnishing her contingent in foreign troops, at the rate of twenty pounds sterling per annum for infantry, and thirty pounds for cavalry. The treaty finally stipulated that the league should continue for twenty years, and should extend also to such other powers as might determine to join the confederation.

It is believed that Napoleon had no knowledge of the existence of this treaty when he dispatched his *ultimatum*; and it appeared as if fortune had a pleasure in perpetuating his illusions, for at the very moment when his pretensions were about to be laid before the congress at Chatillon, she again smiled upon him at Rheims. On the 12th of March General St. Priest had carried that city by assault, and the greatest part of the garrison, as well as the artillery, and several superior officers, fell into his hands. No sooner had the emperor heard of this disaster than he formed the resolution of marching upon Rheims; and on the following day, at six o'clock in the morning, his army was put in motion, leaving at Soissons only the force under Marshal Macdonald. On arriving in the vicinity of Rheims, the allied troops, amounting to about fifteen thousand men, were found posted on an eminence, within a quarter of a league of the city. The advanced-guards of the armies immediately engaged; and for several hours the plain between the two positions was a scene of continual skirmishing and cannonade; but it was not till four o'clock in the afternoon that Napoleon arrived with the remainder of his army, and then the attack became general. Fifty pieces of ordnance opened a tremendous cannonade; and the Russians were long exposed to a destructive fire, much superior to their own. General St. Priest sustained this unequal combat on all points with undaunted intrepidity, facing every danger, and exhibiting, amidst a shower of cannon and musket balls, a brilliant example to the chosen troops under his command. At this decisive moment he fell from his horse, mortally wounded, and was carried from the field of battle. The loss of their general threw the Russian battalions into disorder, and General Defrance, seizing the favourable moment, made an impetuous charge, which completed

their rout. The victory in front of Rheims put the French Emperor in possession of this important city; upwards of two thousand Russian troops were made prisoners, and a large quantity of cannon, baggage, and other trophies, fell into the hands of Napoleon—but it was the last triumph of his reign.

Soissons, Troyes, Nogent, Sens, Arcis, and Bar-sur-Aube, had all now been recovered by the French troops; but no sooner did they quit any one of these places than it was re-occupied by a persevering enemy, whose numbers were immense. Thus the theatre of hostilities became gradually more and more contracted; if Napoleon succeeded in surmounting one difficulty, another and more dangerous one presented itself; and this exhausting war realised in some degree the hydra and its renovated heads.

From the 14th to the 16th of March Napoleon remained at Rheims, expecting the result of the conferences at Chatillon, which had been delayed a few days longer than the time prescribed. On the 15th of March, the French plenipotentiary laid before the congress his sovereign's counter-proposition. This *ultimatum* proved that "adversity had not subdued him." He demanded that the Rhine should form the boundary of the French empire; that Antwerp, Flushing, Nimeguen, and part of Waal, should be ceded to him; and that Italy, including Venice, should form a kingdom for the Viceroy, Eugene Beauharnois. In addition to these claims, he demanded indemnities for Joseph Napoleon in lieu of the kingdom of Spain; for Jerome Napoleon, who had lost Westphalia; for Louis Napoleon, the Grand Duke of Berg; and finally, for the viceroy as Duke of Francfort.

To these demands the ministers of the allied powers replied, that the extent of dominion demanded by the French Emperor was incompatible with a system of equilibrium, and would confer power on France out of all proportion to the other great political bodies of Europe. The present, they held, was not an ordinary war—it was not undertaken for the purpose of obtaining territorial possessions—its object was not to enforce particular rights, but to defend the cause of the world, and to restore to the nations of Europe a durable peace. It had now, they conceived, become clear, that no such peace could be made with Napoleon; and that to continue the negotiations under the present auspices

would be to renounce the objects which they had in view, and to betray the universal confidence reposed in them. These considerations prevailed. Austria herself abandoned Napoleon to his fate; and on the 18th of March the congress at Chatillon was dissolved.

At this decisive moment the allied sovereigns renewed their solemn engagements never to lay down their arms till the great object of their alliance was attained. Up to the present time the Emperor Napoleon was at liberty to have accepted the sovereignty of France, as it stood in 1792, but though engaged in a contest against the military force of combined Europe, and placed at the head of an army that did not exceed sixty thousand men, he rejected the proposed bases of peace, preferring rather to stake his empire upon another appeal to arms. The first effort of the French government after the rupture of the congress was to awaken the slumbering energies of the people, and to convert the contest in which they were engaged into a national war. For this purpose orders were again issued to raise the *levy en masse*, and an imperial decree was promulgated, enjoining all mayors, public functionaries, and others, to encourage the people to take up arms; and denouncing as traitors all those who should dissuade them from rallying round the standard of their country. About the same time the generalissimo of the allied armies published a proclamation to the French nation, in which he declared, "that all who resisted the allied arms would expose themselves to inevitable destruction;" and Marshal Blucher, in a similar proclamation, dated on the 13th of March, at Laon, announced, "that painful as he should feel it to confound the innocent with the guilty, he would henceforth cause every town and village to be burnt, the inhabitants of which should dare to take up arms against his troops, and impede his military operations."

A war of extermination seemed thus on the eve of being proclaimed; both the belligerents had expressed their determination to resort to reprisals upon the spot; and the inhabitants of the invaded provinces were reduced to the terrible alternative, either of submitting to the denunciations of their own government, for remaining in a state of inaction; or of exposing themselves and their property to destruction, from the allied troops, if they ventured to take any part in the war.

CHAPTER XXV.

CAMPAIGN IN FRANCE (continued): *Liberation of Ferdinand VII.—Operations in the South of France—Battle of Orthes—Counter-Revolution at Bourdeaux—Movements of the hostile Armies in the Departments of the Seine and the Marne—Battle of Arcis-sur-Aube—Retreat of Napoleon—Stratagem to draw the Allied Armies from Paris—The Allies resolve to advance upon the Capital—Disastrous Attempt upon Bergen-op-Zoom—Inactivity of the Prince Royal of Sweden—Operations in Italy—Junction of the Armies of Prince Schwartzemberg and Marshal Blucher—Advance on Paris—Preparations made by Marshals Marmont and Mortier to defend the Capital—Battle of Paris—Armistice—Capitulation—Advance of Napoleon with a Detachment of Guards into the Neighbourhood of Paris—State of Parties—Exertions of the Royalists to induce the People to demand the Restoration of the Bourbons—Triumphal Entry of the Allies into the French Capital—Proclamation of the Emperor Alexander explanatory of the Views of the Allies towards France—The Senate convoked by Prince Talleyrand—They abjure the Imperial Sway, and create a Provisional Government—The French Prisoners of War in Russia liberated without Ransom—Napoleon collects an Army at Fontainebleau—Establishment of a Regency Government at Blois under the Empress Maria Louisa—Abdication of the Emperor Napoleon—Constitutional Charter—Battle of Toulouse—Cessation of Hostilities in the South of France—Entry of the Count d'Artois into Paris as Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom—Dissolution of the Imperial Government, and the Regency at Blois—Napoleon's Farewel to his Guards—His Departure for the Isle of Elbar—Entry of Louis XVIII. into Paris—Adhesion of the French Marshals—Definitive Treaty of Peace*

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IN the great struggle to curb the ambition, and limit the aggrandizement, of the Ruler of France, no country had acted so conspicuous and persevering a part as Great Britain; for many years, indeed, her co-operation had been confined principally to her own element, and to the supply of the sinews of war; or if she did send troops to the continent, their courage was rendered unavailing by defects either in the plan or the execution of the purpose for which they were dispatched. At length, however, the war in the peninsula of Spain and Portugal commenced, and the British soldier found a theatre on which he could shew how much he was capable of effecting when led on by a general worthy to command him, and taught the nations of Europe that the character of invincible was no longer due to the soldiers of France. It was not to be imagined that Lord Wellington, who had accomplished so much against the power of Napoleon, would be inactive now, that the contest was approaching to its crisis, or that he would fail to co-operate with the allies in their endeavours to secure the independence, and restore peace to the nations, of Europe.

During the whole of the month of January, and a considerable portion of the following

month, the state of the weather in the vicinity of the Pyrenees prevented Lord Wellington from commencing offensive operations; and this period of inaction was employed by the French government in an endeavour to separate Spain from the cause of the allies. Towards the close of the year 1813, Napoleon, actuated by that tortuous policy which had exhibited itself in every part of his conduct towards Spain, and convinced that Ferdinand VII. who had so long been a captive in France, would subscribe to any conditions which secured to him liberty, and the complete re-establishment in his sovereignty, summoned to Paris the Duke de San Carlos, Ferdinand's ex-minister. When this nobleman arrived, he was informed that a disposition existed in the French government to restore the throne of Spain to its sovereign, and Count Laforet, the plenipotentiary of Bonaparte, was dispatched along with the duke to the residence of the unfortunate Ferdinand at Valencay, for the purpose of negotiating the conditions of his restoration. Little difficulty existed in prevailing upon the Spanish Monarch to afford the sanction of his name to the documents already provided; the treaty was ratified without delay, and by this instrument the captive monarch

engaged to pay the deposed king, his father, a pension of four millions of rials; to liberate, without loss of time, the French prisoners of war at that time in Spain; to restore the property, revenue, dignity, employment, and pensions, of every Spaniard who had declared in favour of the Napoleon dynasty in Spain; and finally, to cause the evacuation of that country by the troops of his Britannic Majesty. This treaty, which was signed at Valencay, on the 11th of December, 1813, was rendered nugatory by a decree of the cortes, dated on the 1st of January, 1811, which declared null and void all the acts and conventions signed by the king during his captivity either in Spain or elsewhere. But it was supposed that royal influence would remove every difficulty, and Ferdinand, some time afterwards, entered upon his journey to his own dominions, where he was received with extatic demonstrations of joy.

The negotiations between the French Emperor and the King of Spain had no influence whatever upon the operations of the English army in the south of France. No sooner had the weather become favourable for military movements, than Lord Wellington resolved to pass the Adour, and to penetrate to the Garonne; and on the 24th of February, Lieutenant-general Sir John Hope, in concert with Rear-admiral Penrose, crossed the Adour below Bayonne, and took possession of both banks of that river where it empties itself into the ocean.

At this time Marshal Soult had concentrated his army on a strong commanding ground, of very difficult access, in front of the town of Orthes; and on the 26th, Sir Thomas Picton, who commanded the 8d division of the British army, having forded the Gave de Pau, drove in the advanced posts of the enemy, and took up a position within four miles of their main army. On the morning of the following day, the 4th, 6th, and 7th divisions passed the river; but in consequence of the wretched state of the roads, it was nearly one o'clock before all the corps had taken up their appointed positions.

The army of Marshal Soult, which consisted of from thirty-five to forty thousand troops, was, on this occasion, collected at a point as favourable as the most skilful commander could have chosen, for the purpose of arresting the progress of an invading army. His right, commanded by General Count Reille, occupied the village of St. Bois, and the heights near Orthes; the left, commanded by General Clausel, rested on Orthes, and the adjoining heights, for the purpose of opposing the passage of the river by General Hill; from the direction of the heights on which the French army was ranged, the centre, commanded by Count d'Erlon, was thrown back, while the strength of

the position afforded the flanks extraordinary advantages. Lord Wellington, being unwilling longer to delay the attack, ordered Marshal Beresford to turn the enemy's right; while the left and centre were vigorously assailed by the troops of General Picton, who occupied the road from Peyrehorade to Orthes; and at the same time General Hill was to effect a passage of the river, in order to attack the left of the enemy's position.

Marshal Beresford obtained possession of the village of St. Bois after an obstinate resistance; but the ground in front was found to be so circumscribed that the columns could not deploy to obtain the heights. At this point the French troops displayed great intrepidity and *sang froid*; the action became sanguinary, and the result appeared dubious. Perceiving that it was impossible to turn the French army on the right without an undue extension of his line, Lord Wellington, with his characteristic promptitude, instantly changed his plan, and caused the third and sixth divisions to advance with a brigade of light infantry, ordering them to make an impetuous attack on the left of the heights, where Marshal Soult's right wing was stationed. This attack, led by the 52d regiment, and supported by General Brisbane and Colonel Kean's brigade, placed the centre of the French army in a perilous situation; and so decisive was the result, that Lord Wellington, being strongly supported by simultaneous attacks, on the right by Sir Thomas Picton, and on the left by General Anson, obtained a decisive victory. Lieutenant-general Hill, having in the mean time forced the passage of the defile below Orthes, and compelled General Clausel to fall back on the heights, made a rapid movement on the high road from Orthes to St. Sever with the tenth division of infantry, and General Fane's infantry threatened to cut off the retreat of the left of the French army. Marshal Soult, finding himself thus assailed and turned in every quarter, was obliged to order a retreat. For some time the discomfited army, being supported by solid masses of infantry in succession, and favoured by the numerous advantageous positions with which the country abounds, fell back in good order; but the repeated attacks of a numerous and determined enemy, combined with the dangers threatened by the movement of General Hill, obliged the French marshal to accelerate his march, and his retreat, towards evening, degenerated into an absolute flight. The French army, being thus driven from the high road by the columns of General Hill, and vigorously charged by Lieutenant-general Sir Stapleton Cotton and Lord Edward Somerset's brigade, retired over the heights towards St. Sever; but numbers of the conscripts threw down their

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arms and fled, and six pieces of cannon, with a large quantity of baggage, and a considerable number of prisoners, fell into the hands of the victors. The loss of the allies in the sanguinary battle of Orthes amounted in killed and wounded to about two thousand. Lord Wellington, with his usual caution on this subject, professes his inability to estimate the enemy's loss, but it may, without exaggeration, be stated at ten thousand men, independent of the void caused in his ranks by the desertion of a large portion of the newly raised levies. The French marshal, in directing his retreat upon St. Sever, manifested an intention to cover Bourdeaux, but he soon after fell back upon Tarbes, leaving the direct road to that city, where a new scene was now opening, entirely exposed.

The operations of the allied armies in the south, had produced, in succession, the defeat of the French army, and the capture of its magazines, the investment of Bayonne, Navarrens, and St. Jean Pied-de-Port, the passage of the Adour, and the possession of all the great communications upon that river. Though reduced by so many disasters to twenty-five thousand men, the troops of Marshal Soult seemed still to flatter themselves that they could preserve to Napoleon the southern provinces, and, at least, they were determined to dispute the possession of them with tenacity. To excite this spirit to the highest degree, and to check the disposition which had already exhibited itself among the inhabitants to favour the English army, Marshal Soult addressed a proclamation to his army on the 8th of March, in which he says:—

"Soldiers! let us devote to opprobrium and execration every Frenchman, who shall favour, in any manner, the insidious projects of our enemies. For ourselves, our duty is clearly pointed out. Let us fight to the last for our august emperor and our dear country. Let us respect the persons and the property of our loyal countrymen; but let our hatred to traitors, who are inimical to France, be implacable. War, even to extermination, be waged against those who would attempt to divide us, in order to effect our destruction. Let us contemplate the prodigious efforts of our great emperor; let us be always worthy of him; let us be Frenchmen, and rather die, with arms in our hands, than survive our dishonour."

Thus was announced, on the part of the southern army and its leader, a devotion which appeared even to brave reverses. Nothing but still more decisive events, and the avowal of public opinion, could convince men who had been accustomed to live in camps, that the cause which they defended with so much valour, was incompatible with the interests of the country. But this lesson was now to be inculcated; and the arrival of the nephew of Louis XVIII. in the south of France, favoured a revolution which had been some time contemplated.

Lord Wellington, having made himself

master of the whole extent of the French coast from Bayonne to Bourdeaux, invited his Royal Highness the Duke d'Angoulême to his headquarters at St. Sever; and soon afterwards a deputation from the royalists repaired to the British camp. His lordship, however well inclined to the restoration of the Bourbons, found himself embarrassed by the negotiations at Chatillon, which at that time still existed; but at length, yielding to the solicitations of the mayor, and other inhabitants of Bourdeaux, Marshal Beresford was authorised to move from Mont-de-Marsan upon that city, with a body of fifteen thousand men. At the report of the approach of Marshal Beresford, who was now rapidly advancing, the Senator Cornudet, the extraordinary commissary of Napoleon in this quarter, left the city, along with the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and his example was soon after followed by General Lhuillier, at the head of two thousand soldiers. The royalists, thus released from all restraint, awaited with confidence the arrival of the English army. M. Lynch, the Mayor of Bourdeaux, and an ardent friend of the Bourbon family, had made every arrangement to receive the allies in a manner that should exhibit the most unequivocal proof of devotion to the exiled monarch; couriers were dispatched to meet Marshal Beresford; and deputies hastened to lay at the feet of his Royal Highness the Duke d'Angoulême the homage of the city.

On the arrival of Marshal Beresford at the bridge of La Maye, in the morning of the 12th of March, Colonel Vivian was dispatched to the mayor, to announce that the British general hoped to enter a city favourably disposed to the cause in which he was engaged. The mayor returned the most solemn assurances of his friendship, and confirmed his declaration by repairing, at the head of a large body of municipal officers, to hail the arrival of the advancing army. The king's commissary, with a train of more than ten thousand inhabitants of every rank and description, accompanied the chief magistrate, and the rear of the procession was brought up by the Marquis de la Rochejaquelein, the brother of the unfortunate Vendéen chief of that name. Advancing to the staff of the British army, the mayor addressed Marshal Beresford:—

"General," said he, "the generous nation which has given distinguished proofs of its magnanimity by succouring its oppressed allies with unshaken perseverance, presents itself this day at the gates of Bourdeaux. If you come as conquerors you can possess yourselves of the keys without being presented with them; but if you come as the ally of our august sovereign Louis XVIII. I offer you the keys of this interesting city, where you will soon witness the proofs of affection exhibited on all sides in favour of our legitimate king. To these testimonies will be united the sentiments of lively gratitude towards our liberators."

Marshal Beresford, in the most impressive manner, assured M. Lynch that he considered the city which he was about to enter as the city of an ally, inhabited by the subjects of Louis XVIII. Scarcely had he uttered these words, when the mayor exclaimed—"Vive le Roi!" The shout was instantly repeated with enthusiasm, both by the military and the inhabitants; while the mayor cast away his scarf, and resumed the ancient emblem of the French nation. At this moment the white flag was displayed from the steeple of St. Michael, and the white cockade was generally adopted with a spontaneous sentiment of satisfaction and joy. Shouts of "*Long live the Bourbons*"—"Honour to the English nation"—"*Long live the Mayor*," succeeded each other, and resounded through every quarter of the city.

The people now became clamorous to see the illustrious descendant of Henry IV. the nephew of the king, and the husband of the daughter of Louis XVI. in the person of the Duke d'Angoulême, who was advancing from the head-quarters of Lord Wellington, accompanied by Count Etienne de Damas, the Duke de Guiche, and Count d'Escars. When the duke entered the city the cries of *Vive le Roi* were renewed, and the transport exhibited by the inhabitants became unbounded. The crowd was so immense that two hours were scarcely sufficient to reach the cathedral, where the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, at the head of his clergy, awaited the arrival of his royal highness, and on his entrance thus addressed him:—

"MONSIEUR—Afflicted for a long time by calamities of every kind, we have, while groaning under their oppression, addressed our prayers to heaven for deliverance, looking towards the issue with alternate hope and fear. These painful emotions are at length calmed by the arrival of your royal highness. We shall be happy. I venture, in the name of the faithful clergy connected with this diocese, to intreat that your royal highness will transmit to our august sovereign Louis XVIII. the assurances that he will not find in his dominions more faithful and devoted subjects. Long live our legitimate king!"

As soon as silence could be obtained, for even the sanctuary could not restrain the acclamations of the populace, *Te Deum* was chaunted; and at the conclusion of the service the duke returned to the Palais Royal, where he took up his residence. The presence of the nephew of Louis XVIII. served to convert into allies irritated nations, bearing the character of enemies till they reached the gates of Bourdeaux; the friendly ensigns of England, Spain, and Portugal, were now united with the *oriflamb*—the signal for the restoration was given, and the

short, but comprehensive sentences—"No more tyranny—no more war—no more conscription—no more vexatious taxes," uttered by the Duke d'Angoulême, and reiterated by the Mayor of Bourdeaux,* gave a currency to the counter-revolution, which, like an electric shock, instantly extended its influence through the southern departments of France.

Important as were the events on the shores of the Gironde, the fate of the campaign was to be decided in the departments of the Marne and the Seine, and it was to the issue of the operations in that quarter that the attention of all Europe was at this moment directed. On the 15th of March, Napoleon reviewed his army at the gates of Rheims, and on the same evening Marshal Ney re-entered Chalons without striking a blow. The inhabitants of Chalons, misled by false accounts of important victories obtained by the French arms, spontaneously illuminated the town, and the municipal body repaired without delay to Rheims, to compliment the emperor on the deliverance he had wrought for his country!

At length the grand Austro-Russian army, which had remained ever since the 4th of March in a state of mysterious inaction, commenced a general movement of attack upon the corps of Marshals Oudinot and Macdonald, which were posted between Melun and the Aube, to cover the capital. The Emperor of Austria re-entered Troyes about the 13th of March; and on that day the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia repaired to the head-quarters of Prince Schwartzberg at Arcis, where the troops received orders to repass the Seine at Montereau, Nogent, and Pont. On the arrival of the courier who brought intelligence that the movement of the allied armies indicated an intention to make an attack on the whole of the French line, Napoleon perceived that the least success of the Russians might place him in the most critical situation. If he persisted in opposing Marshal Blucher, Paris would be left at the mercy of Prince Schwartzberg; and if he marched to the Seine, a similar danger awaited his capital from the advance of the hostile army on the Marne. Thus, with not more than from fifty to sixty thousand men, he found himself between two armies, each consisting of a hundred thousand; but his enemies were timid, and he enterprising, and a blow, suggested by despair, might release him from the terrible situation into which he had been plunged by the delirium of ambition and the love of conquest.

On the 16th he put the main body of his army in motion, and on the following day en-

* See the Proclamation of M. Lynch, Mayor of Bourdeaux, dated March 12, 1814.

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tered Epernay at the head of his imperial guard, with an army of forty thousand men. The marches and counter-marches of the emperor, aided by the dark veil cast over political and military events, so far imposed upon the inhabitants, that wherever he directed his steps, he was hailed as a conqueror, and thought to be in pursuit of the vanquished invaders. From Epernay the French army advanced to Fere Champenoise, where M. de Rumigny, secretary to the cabinet, arrived from Chatillon with intelligence of the dissolution of the congress. This event caused a deep sensation in the army, and many of his most enlightened generals augured the most disastrous results.

The advance of the French Emperor, at the head of his army, had once more produced in the allied army on the Seine a determination to retreat beyond Troyes; but the Emperor Alexander, seeing no end to these marches and counter-marches, formed the determination to concentrate all the allied forces at Arcis, and there to give battle to Napoleon. On the 19th the principal part of the allied force was concentrated in front of that place, and on the same day the French cavalry, infantry, and artillery, advanced to the Aube, and occupied both banks of that river. No sooner had the French Emperor arrived on the banks of the Aube than he received intelligence that the squadrons of the allies were wheeling into the plain between Troyes and Arcis. The cavalry, which had hitherto appeared only in small bodies, was gradually reinforced, and soon appeared in formidable masses in the plain between Troyes and Arcis, where several lines of infantry had already formed in order of battle. The two armies were now in sight of each other; and the first column of the French on commencing the attack found themselves opposed to a battery of sixty pieces of cannon, and one hundred squadrons of horse. Against this impregnable barrier all their efforts were directed in vain, and the danger of a repulse became the more imminent, because the town of Arcis is so situated as to form, in some degree, the head of a defile, half a league in length, and in which several bridges afford the only means of crossing the marshes and the various arms of the Aube. The preservation of the town became, therefore, of the highest importance. After the repulse of the French guard the retreating squadrons were pursued with extreme ardour by the cavalry of the allies, under General Count Pahlen, who, by a sudden and bold attack, captured three pieces of cannon. Every appearance induced a belief that the enemy's dragoons would enter the town at the heels of the French squadrons; when Napoleon, seeing the fugitives almost surrounded, placed

himself at their head, exclaiming—"Are you not the conquerors of Champeaubert and Montmirail?" Inspired with fresh ardour by the presence of the emperor, a fresh charge was made by the French cavalry; while Napoleon in person marched for several minutes at the head of the assailants exposed to every danger. At this period of the engagement a blow was aimed at him by a Cossack, but Colonel Girardin, his aide-de-camp, had the good fortune to parry the lance, and to avert the fate of his sovereign. A dreadful cannonade now took place on both sides. The fire of the allies caused great destruction among the French battalions, which were formed in squares, and remained immovable under the walls of Arcis, covering the town with heroic constancy and perseverance. The emperor, less cautious than usual, braved all danger; several officers of his staff were wounded round his person, and his horse was struck by a musket-ball, which rendered the animal unserviceable. Murmurs of dissatisfaction were now heard among the French troops, who seemed to reproach their general with exposing himself to unnecessary danger. "Subdue your fears," said he to those around him, "the ball which will be fatal to me is not yet cast." This sanguinary conflict terminated only with the day; both armies remained on the disputed ground; the field of battle was covered with the bodies of the slain, and the Austrian General de Hardegg was numbered among the wounded.

During the action reinforcements arrived on both sides; and after night had concealed their operations from the enemy, the allied army concentrated themselves by a retrograde movement on the heights of Mesnil-la-Comtesse, where Prince Schwartzberg determined to await the attack of the French on the following day. At day-break on the 21st Napoleon proceeded to reconnoitre the position of the allies, and found to his surprise that their force had considerably increased. The difficulty of dislodging this formidable army from its present advantageous position appeared extreme, but the danger of inaction was still more alarming. The French corps, which had been left on the Marne, under the command of Marshal Mortier, was too weak to maintain its position, and it was evident that Marshal Blucher with all his strength would soon manœuvre on the flank and rear of the main army. Napoleon, aware of the necessity of striking a prompt and decisive blow, had re-united with his troops the corps under Marshals Oudinot and Macdonald, and a large reinforcement of cavalry drawn from the army of Spain. These reinforcements were posted on the right bank of the Aube, and on the heights of Arcis. The two armies remained in the presence of each other, ready for battle, till

half past one o'clock; and in the interval, Napoleon, apparently undecided as to his measures, changed his plan several times, sent orders and counter-orders, but appeared, nevertheless, determined on a general battle. About two hours after mid-day all the troops were ordered to advance through the town of Arcis, and to deploy before the allied army; but scarcely were they in line when Napoleon suddenly resolved to retreat on Vitry and St. Dizier, in hopes of drawing the enemy to a distance from his capital. This determination was no sooner formed than orders were issued to the troops to retreat immediately along the defile in the rear, while directions were given to General Sebastiani and Marshal Oudinot to defend the bridges of Arcis, and to form a rear-guard for the protection of the retreating army. This duty, so important to the safety of the army, was performed with distinguished bravery and success, and though exposed to the combined attacks of three different corps of the allied army, they maintained their position till one o'clock in the morning, at which hour the bridges were destroyed. During the retreat, the light troops of the allies hovered on the flanks of the enemy, and General Count Angerouski, with a body of Russian cavalry, seized twenty-two pieces of cannon, several ammunition carriages, and sixty baggage waggons, together with five hundred men, belonging to Marshal Macdonald's corps, who formed the escort.

On the 22d the whole of the grand allied army advanced towards the Marne, for the double purpose of interposing between the French army and the capital, and uniting with the force under Marshal Blucher. After the battle of Rheims, that vigorous and enterprising general had been by no means inactive; Rheims had in the interval been entered for the third time; and by advancing on Chalons he was soon enabled to join in the bold operations which were to decide the fate of the campaign, and to fix the destinies of Europe.

Without interrupting his march to carry the town of Vitry, which was at this time garrisoned by a corps of Prussians, Napoleon pushed on to St. Dizier, from whence he dispatched a corps of cavalry, under General Piré, in the direction of Chaumont, with orders to seize on the road every courier, *estafette*, and carriage, which departed from Vesoul. By a rapid march the general arrived near Chaumont on the 25th of March, and penetrated into that place. Having thus cut off the line of communication of the allies, General Piré was enabled to intercept several ministers of state, and other persons of distinction, who were proceeding on missions to the head-quarters of the allied army. The seizure of these persons and

their papers tended to develop the plans and objects of the allies to the enemy, but in his grand object, which was to capture Monsieur Count d'Artois, who had recently arrived from England, and was known to be in the eastern provinces of France, he was happily disappointed.

The Cossacks, always on the alert, intercepted a courier who had been sent to Paris with a letter from Napoleon to the Empress Regent Maria Louisa, disclosing the object of his movement on St. Dizier, and holding out flattering expectations regarding the final issue of the campaign. On the same day another courier was intercepted on his way from Paris to the emperor, with dispatches from the minister of war, containing official intelligence of a descent made by ten thousand British troops on Leghorn, adding, that Lyons had been entered by the Austrian General Count Bubna, in defiance of the French reserve under Marshal Augereau; that Bourdeaux was occupied by the English; and that it was conjectured that Lord Wellington would advance along the Garonne in order to combine his operations with those of General Bianchi. To these disastrous dispatches was joined a report from the minister of police, regarding the state of the public mind in Paris, and expressive of a strong apprehension of serious disturbances on the slightest appearance of the allies.

It resulted from the information which had thus fallen into the hands of the allied commanders, that Napoleon was about to place himself on the line of their communications, and that by this movement he might have three objects in view: first, to oblige the allied armies to retrograde towards the Rhine; secondly, if he did not succeed in this, to manœuvre on their rear, and to form a junction with Marshal Augereau; or thirdly, to take the direction of Metz, Thionville, and Longwy; there to prolong hostilities by defending a new line, and drawing the allies to the centre of France, after having taken all possible means to ensure the defence of his capital, and to raise the mass of the population in their rear.

The only way in which these consequences could be averted, and the great crisis accelerated, was to advance at once to Paris with a formidable force. The repeated declarations made by the allied sovereigns, that they had no desire to interfere in the measures which the French nation might pursue relative to the choice of a government, was considered as a sacred guarantee for the freedom of decision, and gave an impulse to the general spirit in their favour which no other circumstance could have produced. Being certain that Paris, and even the government itself, contained many persons who were discontented, and that the population of that

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capital were far from being disposed to take up arms and sacrifice every thing for a man who had imposed upon his country a military despotism, the confederated monarchs determined to effect a junction of the allied armies, to place themselves between the French army and Paris, and to march at the head of two hundred thousand men direct to the capital.

On the side of Holland, the operations of the British army, under Sir Thomas Graham, were by no means of that magnitude and importance to the cause of the allies that was expected from them. The Dutch people, after the first impulse of their detestation to the French yoke, and their anxiety for the restoration of the house of Orange had subsided, seemed disinclined to exert themselves either to co-operate in the invasion of France, or even to lend any cordial assistance in the expulsion of the enemy from the fortresses in their own dominions. At Bergen-op-Zoom, where Sir Thomas Graham had collected four thousand British troops, with a determination to carry the place by storm, it does not appear that any efficient assistance was afforded by the Dutch soldiery. The assault was made on the night of the 8th of March, when this small British army was formed into four columns, two of which were destined to attack at different points of the fortifications, a third to make a false attack, and the fourth to penetrate into the fortress by the entrance of the harbour, which is fordable at low water. The first column, on the left, led on by Major-general Cooke, incurred some delay on account of the difficulty in passing the ditch on the ice, but at length established itself on the rampart. The right column, under Major-general Skerret, and Brigadier-general Gore, had forced their way into the body of the place, but the fall of the latter officer, and the dangerous wounds of the former, caused the column to fall into disorder, and to suffer a severe loss. The centre column, being driven back by the heavy fire from the enemy's batteries, was re-formed, and marched round to join General Cooke. At break of day the enemy turned their guns upon the troops on the unprotected rampart, and much loss and confusion ensued. General Cooke, now despairing of success, directed the retreat of the guards, but finding it impossible to withdraw his weakened battalions, he saved the lives of the remainder of his men by a surrender. The governor of the place, General Bizanet, who is represented as a brave and humane man, agreed to a suspension of hostilities for an exchange of prisoners, and to liberal stipulations for the treatment of the wounded left in his hands. The British army, which displayed the most heroic valour on this disastrous occasion, sustained a loss exceeding

one half its whole amount, the number of slain being computed at three hundred, and the prisoners at eighteen hundred men.

The Crown Prince of Sweden, freed from the war with Denmark, was expected to have put forth a vigorous and effectual co-operation in the invasion of France; but, either from the peculiarity of his situation as a French subject, or from some other cause, his movements became extremely slow; nor did he arrive near the scene of action till his services were no longer wanted.

In Italy the contest between the Austrians and the French was maintained with considerable vigour. The treaty concluded between the Emperor of Austria and the King of Naples had provided that the emperor should keep fifty thousand men in Italy, and the king twenty thousand, till the end of the war, to act in concert, and to be augmented in case of necessity; it was also stipulated that the emperor should guarantee to the king and his heirs the possession of the dominions actually held by him in Italy; and that his mediation should be exerted to induce the allies to accede to this guarantee. Joachim, in consequence of these arrangements, united his force with the Austrian army; and thus reinforced, Count Bellegarde succeeded, in spite of the vigorous resistance opposed to him by Eugene Beauharnois, in establishing himself on both banks of the Mincio.

But the operations in Holland and Italy were altogether subordinate to the great events which were preparing in the neighbourhood of Paris. On the 24th of March Prince Schwarzenberg established his head-quarters at Vitry, and on the same day Field-marshal Blücher arrived with a large proportion of his army at Chalons. Generals Winzingerode and Czernicheff were now dispatched, with ten thousand horse, and fifty pieces of cannon, to observe the march of Napoleon on St. Dizier, and to menace his rear. The arrangements being complete, the King of Prussia issued orders to Marshal Blücher to direct his army on Paris, and on the 25th the Austro-Russian army faced about from Vitry, and took the same direction, by the route of Ferre Champenoise, where a junction between the two armies was formed. A splendid and unforeseen advantage was about to mark this re-union. A column of five thousand men had been dispatched from Paris, under the command of Generals Amey and Pactod, as an escort to an immense convoy of ammunition, and one hundred thousand rations of bread, intended for Napoleon's army. Protected by Marshal Marmont's corps, this convoy had approached to Montmirail, and found, when it was too late, that it was impossible to escape the two grand armies of the allies. Captain Harris, the aide-

de-camp of Lieutenant-general Stewart, who had been dispatched on a reconnoitring expedition, with a body of Cossacks, was the first to perceive the convoy, and hastened to apprise Marshal Blucher of its advance. The whole column was soon surrounded; but in spite of the most vigorous attacks, they formed themselves into squares, and refused to lay down their arms. Colonel Rapatel, the French officer who attended General Moreau in his dying moments, advanced to end this unavailing struggle by a friendly remonstrance with his countrymen; but scarcely had he presented himself when he was struck by two musket balls, and fell dead in the front of the ranks. The artillery was now called in to subdue these self-devoted victims, who were at length obliged to surrender, with the whole of their cannon, ammunition, and stores.

During the night of the 26th General Woronzow surprised a French corps at *bivouac* near Montmirail, and took about two thousand prisoners, while the corps of Marshals Marmont and Mortier fell back continually before the advancing army, with a prodigious loss of both men and artillery. The grand army, continuing its march, established its head-quarters at Coulmiers on the 27th, having marched twenty-seven leagues in three days, and being now no more than thirteen leagues from Paris. The plan of the allied sovereigns was to concentrate the whole of their force on the right banks of the Marne and the Seine, and to attack Paris on the north, by taking a position on the heights of Montmartre. On the 28th they continued their progress to Meaux by the two roads of Ferte Gaucher and Montmirail, and in the evening of that day the allied sovereigns arrived in the neighbourhood of the French metropolis, without having encountered any formidable obstacle in their line of march.

At the moment when the allies commenced their rapid movement Napoleon, displayed to his army the most invincible confidence in the final result of the campaign, considering the armies to which he was opposed as cut off in their retreat, and inclosed in the heart of France. But roused at length from this delusion, by intelligence received on the 27th, that the allied armies were marching directly on the capital, he advanced at the head of his army, by the route of Vitry, to the Aube. On the 29th, at day-break, the advanced guard was preparing to pass that river at the bridge of Doulan-court, when a courier arrived from Paris with dispatches for the emperor. The report of his arrival spread instantly through the army, and excited the highest degree of curiosity. More than ten days had elapsed since Napoleon and his Marshals had received official intelligence from the capital. On the appearance of the

courier Bonaparte alighted from his horse, in a small meadow on the borders of the Aube, where he hastily broke the seals of the packet, and put questions to the courier. The result of his answers and information proved, that on the preceding day, the 28th, the allied armies were at Claye, five leagues from Paris, and that Marshals Marmont and Mortier, after having fallen back before the enemy, were making dispositions to defend the capital. All the hopes and favourable presages of Napoleon were at once dissipated; the bandage, which had covered his eyes, was torn away. He was well aware of the insufficiency of the means that existed for the defence of the capital, and foresaw the catastrophe which was about to destroy the great edifice of his power. He appeared to be subdued by his reverses. In this state he passed several hours at the bridge of Doulan-court, surrounded by his aide-de-camps and generals, and deliberating upon the course that was to be pursued. Listening to the sentiments of apprehension and compassion expressed by the officers around him respecting the fate of Paris, he dispatched General Dejean in great haste, with a formal order, to his lieutenant-general, not to sacrifice the capital by an obstinate defence. During this short interval of resignation, he determined to apply to the Emperor of Austria, and for that purpose, he summoned into his presence Baron de Wissenberg, the Austrian minister, recently seized and made a prisoner near Chaumont. In the conference that ensued, he conjured the baron to repair, without loss of time, to his imperial father, for the purpose of interceding in favour of Maria Louisa, and recommending his son, the King of Rome, to the tenderness and political influence of his august grandfather. Baron de Wissenberg, yielding to the intreaties of Napoleon, repaired immediately to Dijon, to which city the emperor, his master, had retired. The emperor was too much devoted to the cause of confederated Europe, and to the interests of his own monarchy, to sacrifice either to personal considerations; and the mission of Baron de Wissenberg, though seconded by a similar application through the medium of M. de Galbois, failed of success. The time for saving the Napoleon dynasty had passed, and the seat of his empire was no longer sacred.

The tempest hovered about the heads of the Parisians, and they expected soon to be crushed by the explosion. On Sunday the 27th of March, six thousand regular troops, and twenty thousand national guards, were ranged in battle array, and passed in review before the Thuilleries. The tremendous spectacle of the artillery, the gloomy silence of the soldiery, and the intense anxiety of the populace, formed the

BOOK IV. distinguishing traits of this military procession ; every one laboured under a weight of oppression, and the most intrepid could not divest their minds of an involuntary fear. The eyes of all were turned to the affecting scenes which the Boulevards principally exhibited in the morning of the 29th, the peaceful promenades, generally embellished by brilliant equipages, with all the accompaniments of pleasure and luxury, were suddenly filled with wounded soldiers, and peasants who had abandoned their farms, carrying with them the remnant of their rustic fortunes.

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In the morning of the 29th the allies removed their advanced posts towards Pantin, Villette, and the forest of Vincennes, harassing the French corps which were rallying under the walls of Paris. Every thing now indicated an approaching attack, but neither the government nor the people of Paris were fully aware of the extent of the dangers by which they were menaced. During the whole day immense masses of infantry advanced by different roads, a large body of cavalry covered the plains, and six hundred pieces of artillery approached, to thunder from the heights, and to announce the arrival of an army of two hundred thousand men. For nearly two centuries war had never approached the walls of Paris, and of all spectacles, the most novel and terrible to its inhabitants, was a general battle. All business in the city was suspended ; the shops in the principal streets were closed, and the countenances of the numerous groups assembled on the quays and in the squares exhibited mingled feelings of consternation and alarm. It was clearly perceived that the late colossal power of the French empire was falling into dissolution. The treasure and equipage of the agents of government were at this time seen filing off on the roads of the Loire ; the council sat in close deliberation, and the empress and her son, accompanied by several of the principal officers of state, suddenly abandoned Paris.

The troops left to defend the capital consisted of the remains of the corps which had fallen back before the allied armies, five or six thousand regulars in garrison, commanded by Generals Compans and Ornans, and thirty thousand national guards, of whom eight or ten thousand at the most were fit for active service. This small army was under the immediate command of Joseph Bonaparte, assisted by Marshals Mortier and Marmont, and the Governor-general Hulin. Joseph, who had thrice fled from Madrid on the approach of the enemy, appeared determined to hold this last bulwark of his family's power ; and with this view, a concentrated position was taken by his troops ; the right being stationed on the heights of Belleville, Mesnil-Montant, and Saint-Chaumont, resting

on Vincennes ; the centre towards the canal of Ourcq, protected on the rear by Montmartre ; and the left extending itself from Mousseaux to Neuilly. To add to the strength of this defensive position, one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, advantageously disposed, were placed along the whole line, while several redoubts covered the centre, and increased the difficulty of approach.

In the night between the 29th and 30th, a council of war was assembled in the camp of the allied sovereigns, when the final arrangements for the attack on the French capital were made, and at which it was determined that the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg, whose corps formed the left of their position, should march on Vincennes ; General Rayefski on Pantin and Belleville ; and the Russian and Prussian guards on the high road which leads from Bondy to Paris, along the Ourcq canal. On the right, the army of Silesia was to take a direction by the Soissons road towards St. Denis, and on the village of Villette, and to attack the heights of Montmartre ; while the grand army was to make its offensive efforts on the heights of Belleville and Romainville. The third corps, and part of the cavalry, were posted in reserve.

On the 30th of March, at two o'clock in the morning, Joseph Bonaparte gave a formal order for the defence of Paris, and the march of the national guards. Two hours afterwards the Parisians were roused from their beds by the beat of the drums, and the soldiers and citizens, in spite of their diversity of opinion, seemed penetrated by a feeling sacred to every nation—the duty of defending their capital. At the dawn of day two officers from the allied army presented themselves at the advanced posts of Marshals Marmont and Mortier, bearing a proclamation from the commander-in-chief to the inhabitants of Paris, in which they were told—“ that there existed in the nature of the government which oppressed them an insurmountable obstacle to that peace which the allies had made so many attempts to obtain ; that Europe in arms, now before their walls, sought only for a salutary authority in France, which might cement the union of all governments with her ; that the inhabitants had only to declare themselves, and from that moment the allied armies would become the supporters of their decisions.” The bearers of this proclamation were refused admittance ; and every thing was prepared for a determined resistance on the heights of Paris.

The fire of artillery commenced between five and six o'clock in the morning, and the engagement on the hills of Belleville and Saint-Chaumont, where the principal part of the French force was stationed, under Marshal Mortier, soon became very animated. At this

moment a number of the inhabitants, principally consisting of mechanics and artisans, formed themselves into bodies, and repaired to the parades to demand arms. After waiting for several hours they were told that no arms were to be had, but that they might be supplied with pikes. These they indignantly rejected, and a cry of "treason!" rang through the city. At eight o'clock in the morning the Russian corps of General Rayefski had advanced from Bondy in three columns, supported by the guards, as well as the reserve, and quitting the high road from Meaux, attacked the heights of Belleville and Romainville, which, like those of Montmartre, command Paris, and are covered with villages and chateaux. The division under Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, after having commenced the fire, endeavoured to turn the right flank of the position at Belleville, but his infantry was repulsed by the batteries, and Marshal Marmont instantly assumed the offensive. The nature of the ground not permitting the allied cavalry to make any decisive charge, the fire of the Parisian artillery mowed down the ranks of their enemies, and obliged them to give way. The combat was soon renewed with great obstinacy, and such was the determination on both sides, that the riflemen were more than once renewed. The villages of Pantin and Romainville were several times taken and retaken, but the allied troops were at length obliged to withdraw from these points, and to leave them in possession of the enemy.

Marshal Blucher had not yet arrived on the field, and the gallant resistance of the French began to render the issue of the contest doubtful. Had Napoleon suddenly appeared at this moment in the midst of his military and political resources, the course of affairs might have been changed, and the beams of his imperial power might once more have shone forth. Penetrated with the full urgency of the danger, and the necessity of an extraordinary effort, General Barclay de Tolly, the commander-in-chief of the Russian armies, judged it indispensable to bring the choicest of his troops at once into action, and thus, if possible, to decide the fortune of the day. Without a moment's delay, he ordered the grenadiers of the reserve, as well as the Prussian and Baden guards, to advance, and to co-operate in General Rayefski's attack. The village of Pantin was soon re-taken at the point of the bayonet, and Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg seized the village of Pris St. Jervais. The French troops, reinforced in their turn, returned to the charge, and attempted several times to resume the offensive. Being at length checked by the Russian grenadiers near the woods of Romainville, they were driven back into the villages of Belleville and Mesnil-Montant; no advantage, however,

was obtained but at the price of great sacrifices, and after the most vigorous resistance. A continual fire of musketry and cannon prevailed on the whole line. Persons unhabituated to the occupation of war joined in the combat, and the Parisian artillery was served by the pupils of the Polytechnic school, boys principally from twelve to fifteen years of age, with a devotion and enthusiasm that in some degree compensated for their inexperience. The soldiers of the line, still animated by the hope of saving the capital, ceased not to renew their attacks upon the advancing columns, and frequently descended from the heights to attack the allies with the bayonet. The field of battle thus became covered with the dead, and the carnage presented on all sides a hideous spectacle. The hills between Romainville and Pantin being now occupied by the columns of the grand allied army, General Barclay de Tolly ordered the regiments, many of which were reduced almost to the rifle corps, to collect their forces, and to cease to act on the offensive; being convinced, that when the army of Silesia, and the advanced-guard, under the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg, came on the ground, the army would be enabled to seize on Belleville and Saint-Chaumont with less sacrifice.

The French troops, though aware of the superior numbers of their enemy, were reduced by a sentiment of national honour to redouble their gallant efforts. Joseph Bonaparte himself manifested a degree of emulation, and flattered himself that the seat of his brother's government would yet remain unconquered. But no sooner was the lieutenant-general informed that the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia were at Bondy, and that their whole force was congregated in the vicinity of Paris, than he exclaimed,—“In that case there is no alternative but to capitulate.” Soon after the arrival of the intelligence which apprised the French commanders of the magnitude of the force by which the capital was assailed, the confederated armies were perceived spreading over the plain of St. Denis, and displaying a front of more than two leagues. At noon the national guards departed from the barriers to support the line, and it was then clearly perceived that the allies were making dispositions for a general attack. The first column of the Silesian army had reached the ground, and St. Denis was blockaded. The corps of General Langeron, after having dislodged the troops which occupied Aubervilliers, instantly advanced by Clichy on Montmartre, while the Prussian corps, under Generals D'Yorck and Kleist, marched on Villette, and carried that village.

During these combats, the rifle corps belonging to the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg's

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advanced-guard had approached from Vincennes; and General Barclay de Tolly now ordered a general attack. The division commanded by Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg moved on Belleville, and that under Prince Gotschakoff on the village of Charonne; while the corps of Russian grenadiers, led by Lieutenant-general Lambert, marched also to attack the villages of Belleville and Mesnil-Montant. On the side of Montmartre the batteries of the allies were advanced to the foot of the hill, and opened a fire which reached the lieutenant-general and his staff. Marshal Marmont now announced to the commander-in-chief that the French troops were about to be overpowered, and could not sustain the battle more than an hour and a half. It was also perceived that the capture of Belleville, Saint-Chaumont, and Montmartre, would speedily afford the allies access to the capital, and Joseph Bonaparte once more sought his safety in flight. On his departure he authorised Marshal Marmont to apply for a suspension of arms, to afford time for a capitulation; but these pacific dispositions could not be effected with a promptitude sufficient to stop the effusion of blood; the conflict was prolonged through the whole line; and the successive arrival of reinforcements gave to the allies a decided superiority.

While the vicinity of this great metropolis had thus become the theatre of a wide-spreading carnage, the interior presented a calm and singular aspect. The populace covered the squares, streets, and interior *boulevards* of the north, though without confusion or disorder, and without any manifestation of surprise or alarm. The crowd, actuated apparently by a spirit of curiosity and expectation, moved principally towards the gates of St. Denis and St. Martin, as if to assist at a public ceremony. Amidst an uninterrupted line of carriages, baggage waggons, and artillery trains, with officers and soldiers of every description, filing towards the field of battle, or returning wounded from it, an immense multitude proceeded through the city, consisting almost of as many women as men, attracted by a spectacle the most singular in the annals of their country. A secret presentiment seemed to assure the inhabitants that the *denouement* of the great drama now before them would not be fatal,

and that the interior of this beautiful capital would be preserved from the horrors of war. But if the populace waited the event with composure, such was not the case with many families. How many wives and mothers were in tears and agony, looking forward with horror to the probability of Paris being sacked, and their daughters outraged; and trembling for the fate of their husbands and sons, who had taken up arms as much to defend their homes as to support the existing government?

Towards Charonne, Belleville, Mesnil-Montant, and Saint-Chaumont, the allied troops had surmounted every obstacle. In every direction the French troops had been driven to the barriers, and the capital was about to be forced, when Marshal Marmont, on whom the command had now devolved, dispatched an officer to General Barclay de Tolly to solicit a truce; engaging to abandon all the ground which he occupied beyond the barriers, and to sign a capitulation for the surrender of Paris in two hours. The Russian general lost no time in submitting this proposition to his imperial master, and to the King of Prussia, neither of whom had for a moment quitted the field of battle. These monarchs, animated by a desire to stop the effusion of blood, and wishing to preserve from ruin one of the first cities in Europe, agreed to the truce without hesitation, and ordered their armies to cease hostilities. Count Orloff, aide-de-camp to the Emperor of Russia, and Count de Paar, aide-de-camp to the Prince of Schwartzenberg, were charged with the office of regulating the cessation of hostilities, in concert with Colonel Denys, principal aide-de-camp to Marshal Marmont, and Colonel Baron Fabrier, attached to his staff. A shout of "*a capitulation!*" now resounded on all sides; the thunders of the artillery had already ceased; and the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia repaired to the heights of Belleville, where they surveyed the capital of France, and received its deputies. At four o'clock in the afternoon Count de Nesselrode entered the city, furnished with full powers to ratify the capitulation, which was concluded at two o'clock in the morning of the 31st of March*.

Paris, surrounded as it was with dangers,

* CAPITULATION OF PARIS.

Art. I.—The corps of the Marshals Dukes of Treviso and Ragusa shall evacuate the city of Paris on the 31st of March, at seven o'clock in the morning.

II.—They shall take with them all the appurtenances of their corps d'armée.

III.—Hostilities shall not recommence until two hours after the evacuation of the city, that is to say, on the 31st of March, at nine o'clock in the morning.

IV.—All the arsenals, military establishments, work-shops, and magazines, shall be left in the same state they were previous to the present capitulation being proposed.

V.—The national or city guard is entirely separated from the troops of the line. It is either to be kept on foot, or disbanded or disbanded, according to the ulterior disposition of the allied powers.

VI.—The corps of the municipal gendarmerie shall, in every respect, share the fate of the national guard.

VII.—The wounded and the stragglers remaining in Paris after seven o'clock shall be prisoners of war.

VIII.—The city of Paris is recommended to the generosity of the high allied powers.

escaped only by a sort of miracle; the very resistance which duty and honour commanded might have occasioned its ruin. The obstinate resistance of the French troops cost the conquerors seven or eight thousand men; and the vanquished sustained a loss of about half that number. The commander-in-chief of the Russian armies, Count Barclay de Tolly, exhibited a happy union of skill and moderation, and his services on this memorable day were rewarded by his sovereign with the elevated distinction of field-marshal.

The Emperor Napoleon, pressing the movements of his army with incredible celerity, arrived at Troyes at eleven o'clock at night on the 29th, after having exhausted his troops by a march of twenty leagues that day. Agitated by alarming presentiments, he had formed an opinion that the duration of his power depended upon the resistance of Paris, and that unless he could prevent the reduction of that city all would be lost. Under this persuasion, he adopted the resolution of dispatching General Girardin, his aide-de-camp, during the night, with orders diametrically opposite to those of which General Dejean had been made the bearer from the bridge of Doulan-court. These last dispatches were addressed to the ministers of war and police, and contained positive commands to defend Paris by all practicable means, assuring the ministers, that in twelve hours after the arrival of his aide-de-camp, himself and his army would enter Paris. Early in the morning of the 30th Napoleon left Troyes at the head of his guard, taking the direction towards Sens. But so great was his impatience, that he quitted his army at the distance of five leagues from Troyes, and with an escort of fifteen hundred cavalry, selected from his horse-guards, proceeded with the utmost rapidity to Fontainebleau, and in the night of the same day arrived at Cour-de-France, about four leagues from the capital. Assuming an air of tranquillity, he awaited, at an inn, the return of his aide-de-camp from Paris. For some time he paced the room in silence, without suffering any trace of disquietude to appear upon his countenance, and after having supped with appetite, threw himself upon his bed, and enjoyed several hours of sleep. With every exertion General Girardin was not able to reach Paris till the armistice had taken place, and till all hopes of preventing the entrance of the allies were completely dissipated.

Paris, the focus of those revolutionary wars which had agitated Europe for five and twenty years, saw, on the 31st of March, Europe in arms within her walls. The approach of the crisis had secretly given birth to three parties, into which the city was divided. The first was composed of a numerous body, who felt a desire for

the re-establishment of liberty; another party, less numerous, was composed of faithful royalists, anxious for the restoration of the Bourbons; while a third wished to maintain the existing government. These elements of intestine discord existed in every department of France; but the partisans of liberty, from a hope that adversity had inculcated upon the Bourbons the salutary lesson—that the best security of thrones consists in the liberty and happiness of the people, cast their weight into the scale of the royalists, and favoured the return of their ancient sovereigns.

The occupation of Paris by the allies had suggested a movement to the royalists, which had for its object to convince the European monarchs that the wishes of the French, too long suppressed, were favourable to the royal cause. With this view, one hundred young royalists entered into an engagement to meet on the morning of the 31st, at the Place Louis XV. and to declare for the Bourbons. At nine o'clock in the morning M. Charles de Vauvineaux appeared on horseback at the appointed rendez-vous, and read aloud to the citizens by whom he was surrounded the proclamation of the commander-in-chief of the allied armies, which declared that they sought to establish “a salutary authority in France, able to join in cementing the union of all nations and governments.” Having finished the proclamation, he mounted the white cockade, and uttered, for the first time that it had been heard in Paris since the death of Louis XVI. the shout of “*Long live the King!*” This cry was instantly reiterated by a number of the partisans of royalty, who dispersed in various directions, and explained to the people the advantages of the restoration. “By recalling your legitimate monarch,” said they, you will obtain peace, and with it the end of the conscription, as well as the abolition of all vexatious taxes.” These popular harangues, so grateful to the ears of the Parisians, were followed by a distribution of white cockades, which were received by the populace with cries of—“*Down with the Tyrant! Long live the Bourbons! Long live Louis XVIII.*” To waft these returning indications of loyalty into a flame, a group of royalists, headed by Count Thibault de Montmorency, retraced their steps to the Place of Louis XV. without their numbers having been materially increased; but here they were joined by the Viscountess de Chateaubriand, Madame de Vauvineaux, Madame de Semallé, the Countess de Choiseul, the Princess de Leon, and several other ladies of distinction, who encouraged the citizens to assume the royal colours, and when they had no longer any cockades to distribute, they tore into shreds several parts of their dress, which served to multiply

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the tokens of the restoration. Napoleon, however, still had partisans, who went from group to group, exclaiming—"Remove your cockades. Have we not an established order of things. Would you unsettle all our institutions, disturb property, and renew the scenes of the revolution. We ought to have no wishes but for the emperor." These cold remonstrances were lost in the tumultuous shouts of the multitude, and by a strange vicissitude, the same voices which, one and twenty years ago, had exulted in the death of Louis XVI. were now raised for the restoration of the Bourbons.

The cavalry of the allied armies, under the command of the Grand Duke Constantine, the brother of the Emperor of Russia, were formed in columns during the morning on the road from Bondy to Paris; and the emperor himself, with his staff, his generals, and his suite, repaired to Pantin, where he was joined by the King of Prussia with a similar equipage.

The two monarchs, attended by their suites, at length proceeded by the suburbs of St. Martin through the barriers of Paris, the Cossacks of the guards forming the head of the procession. Towards noon, the troops which preceded and followed the imperial and royal retinue made their entry, with the sound of trumpets and martial music—the infantry marching with a front of thirty, and the cavalry of fifteen men. On reaching the suburb the crowd was so immense that the military procession was for a long time delayed. All Paris seemed to be concentrated at a single point. Towards one o'clock the army of Europe, from the borders of the Volga, the Danube, and the Spree, debouched on the *Boulevards*, with as much regularity as if defiling at a parade, accompanied by the most rapturous greeting of the multitude by which they were surrounded. When the Emperor Alexander, the King of Prussia, and the Grand Duke Constantine, appeared, accompanied by the Generalissimo, Prince Schwartzberg, and the British Ambassador, Lord Cathcart, the crowd rushed towards them, and exclaimed, "*Long live the Emperor Alexander! Long live Frederick William! Long live our Deliverers!*" and these cries were frequently mixed with the exclamations of "*Long live Louis XVIII! Long live the Bourbons!*" During the whole of this imposing procession, which occupied several hours, the two sovereigns replied to the acclamations of the populace with unbounded affability, and soothed the wounds of national pride by repeating to all around them, "We come not as your conquerors, we are your allies." The royalists, seizing the auspicious moment, crowded round the Emperor Alexander, and continually implored him to restore the legitimate monarch. Madame de Semallé, a

lady who had distinguished herself by her activity and zeal in the royal cause, threw herself at the feet of the czar, and with a flood of tears urged the claims of her sovereign, the king:—"You wish it," answered Alexander, "and the French nation wish it. Enough—you shall be gratified." These assurances spread like electricity through Paris; accompanied by assurances that the capital should be exempt from contributions and war charges; and that all the monuments of art should be respected. To complete the picture, the populace, so lately greeting the ears of Napoleon with the cry of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" were now seen throwing a cord round the neck of his statue, on the column of victory, and labouring to remove it from the pedestal, with repeated cries of "*Down with the tyrant!*"

Napoleon, as if doomed to assist at the funeral rights of his own power, passed the night of the 30th at a distance of only four leagues from Paris, and slept with tranquillity, while two hundred thousand foreign troops were making preparations to deprive him of his crown. Early in the morning the intelligence reached him that his capital had capitulated, and that no effort could now prevent the entrance of the allied armies into Paris. In this emergency he held a council with the officers by whom he was surrounded, consisting of the Duke of Vicenza, General Bertrand, and several others, at which it was determined that the emperor should repair to Fontainebleau, and there rally his army, while the Duke of Vicenza proceeded to the head-quarters of the allied monarchs, furnished with full powers to coincide in such conditions as the conquerors might be disposed to dictate.

The military government of Paris was confided to General Baron Sacken, and the propriety of this choice was manifested by the good order and tranquillity which prevailed in all quarters. Business resumed its natural course; the barriers were opened, and a sentiment of general security began to prevail in a city occupied by an army so lately in a state of hostility with France. Still the opinions of the people regarding the future government had not been expressed in an authorised way. The legislative corps, which, from its popular construction, seemed the proper organ of the national will, had been abruptly dissolved on the 31st of December, and it was impossible to assemble the deputies with sufficient promptitude to take a lead in the momentous decisions of the present moment. The senate was the only body which possessed any authority; but this assembly thought itself crushed beneath the ruins of Napoleon's throne, till the following declaration on the part of the Emperor Alexander called it into action, and gave it a new existence:—

"The armies of the allied powers have occupied the capital of France, and the sovereigns gladly meet the wishes of the French nation. They declare, that though the conditions of peace must have been protected by the strongest guarantees, while it was their object to fetter the ambition of Bonaparte; these conditions may be more favourable, when France herself, returning to a sage system of government, offers the assurance of repose. The sovereigns consequently declare, that they will no further treat with Napoleon Bonaparte, nor with any member of his family; that they will respect the integrity of ancient France, such as it existed under her legitimate kings; and that they may even do more, because they lay it down as a principle, that, for the happiness of the people, it is necessary France should be great and strong; that they will acknowledge and guarantee the constitution which the French nation shall choose for itself; and that they consequently invite the senate to appoint, without delay, a provisional government, which is capable of providing for the wants of administration, and preparing a constitution suitable to the French. The intentions which I thus avow, are entertained by me, in common with all the allied powers.

"ALEXANDER."

This proclamation was no sooner promulgated, than the senators were suddenly convoked by Prince Talleyrand de Perigord, in his quality of vice grand elector. Sixty-five senators, assembled by this authority, on the 1st of April, threw off the imperial sway, and created a provisional government, charged with the office of re-establishing the functions and administration of the state. The persons fixed upon for this

duty were Prince Talleyrand, the Senators Count Beurnonville and Count de Jaucourt, the Counsellor of State, Duke Dalberg, and the Abbé de Montesquieu, an old member of the constituent assembly. The installation of the provisional government was signalized by an address to the French armies, in which it was said:—"You are no longer the soldiers of Napoleon; the senate and all France release you from your oath." On the following day, the 2d of April, the senate decreed, that the Emperor Napoleon had forfeited the throne of France, and that the people, as well as the army, were released from the oath of fidelity.* At the close of the sitting the members proceeded in a body to the Emperor of Russia, who, after receiving their homage, addressed them in these terms:—

"A man, who called himself my ally, came as an unjust aggressor into my dominions. It is against him, and not against France, that I have carried on the war. I am the friend of the French, and you cause me to renew this declaration. It is just and wise that France should have strong and liberal institutions, commensurate with her present enlightened state. The allies and I have only come to protect the freedom of your decisions. As a proof of the durable alliance which I wish to contract with your nation, I restore to you all the prisoners now in Russia. The provisional government has solicited this of me; I grant it to the senate in consequence of the resolution which it has taken."

* DECREE OF THE SENATE.

The conservative senate, considering,

That in a constitutional monarchy, the monarch exists only in virtue of the constitution or social compact;

That Napoleon Bonaparte, during a certain period of firm and prudent government, afforded to the nation reasons to calculate for the future on acts of wisdom and justice; but that afterwards he violated the compact which united him to the French people, particularly in levying imposts and establishing taxes otherwise than in virtue of the law, against the express tenor of the oath which he had taken on his ascending the throne, conformable to the 57th article of the Act of the constitutions of the 28th Floreal, year 12;

That he committed this attack on the rights of the people, even in adjourning, without necessity, the legislative body, and causing to be suppressed, as criminal, a report of that body, the title of which, and its share in the national representation, he disputed;

That he undertook a series of wars in violation of article 50 of the act of the constitutions of the 22d Frimaire, year 8, which purports, that declarations of war should be proposed, debated, decreed, and promulgated, in the same manner as laws;

That he issued, unconstitutionally, several decrees, inflicting the punishment of death; particularly the two decrees of the 5th of March last, tending to cause to be considered as national, a war which would not have taken place but for the interests of his boundless ambition;

That he violated the constitutional laws by his decrees respecting the prisoners of the state;

That he annulled the responsibility of the ministers, confounded all authorities, and destroyed the independence of judicial bodies;

Considering that the liberty of the press, established and consecrated as one of the rights of the nation, has been constantly subjected to the arbitrary controul of his police, and that at the same time he has always made use of the press to fill France and Europe with misrepresentations, false maxims, doctrines favourable to despotism, and insults on foreign governments;

That acts and reports heard by the senate have undergone alterations in the publication;

Considering that, instead of reigning according to the terms of his oath, with a sole view to the interest, the happiness, and the glory of the French people, Napoleon completed the misfortunes of his country by his refusal to treat on conditions which the national interests required him to accept, and which did not compromise the French honour;

By the abuse which he made of all the means intrusted to him in men and money;

By the abandonment of the wounded, without dressings, without assistance, and without subsistence;

By various measures, the consequences of which were the ruin of the towns, the depopulation of the country, famine, and contagious diseases;

Considering that, for all these causes, the imperial government, established by the *senatus consultum* of the 28th Floreal, year 12, has ceased to exist, and that the wish manifested by all Frenchmen calls for an order of things, the first result of which should be the restoration of general peace, and which should also be the era of a solemn reconciliation of all the states of the great European family—

The senate declares and decrees as follows:—

Article I.—Napoleon Bonaparte has forfeited the throne, and the hereditary right established in his family is abolished.

II.—The French people and the army are released from their oath of fidelity towards Napoleon Bonaparte.

III.—The present decree shall be transmitted by a message to the provisional government of France, conveyed forthwith to all the departments and the armies, and immediately proclaimed in all the quarters of the capital.

* See Vol. II. Book IV. Page 309.

BOOK IV.

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Thus, by a splendid act of munificence, two hundred thousand French captives were about to be restored without ransom, and returned from the extremities of Europe and Asia to the bosom of their families in France.

The members of the legislative body who still remained in Paris, amounting to seventy-seven in number, assembled on the following day in the ordinary hall of their sittings, and assented to the act of the senate, which decreed that Napoleon and his family had forfeited the throne. The body of advocates, and the court of cassation, immediately followed this example, invoking the constitutional charter, which they considered necessary to confirm public liberty, and restore France to the descendants of Henry IV. Marshal Marmont, in a correspondence with Prince Schwartzberg, on the 3d of April, professed his readiness to accede to the decree by which Napoleon Bonaparte was declared to have forfeited the throne of France, but he required as a guarantee—"That all troops quitting the standard of Napoleon should have leave to pass freely into Normandy; and that if the events of the war should place Bonaparte as a prisoner in the hands of the allies, that his life and safety should be guaranteed, and that he should be sent to a country chosen by the allied powers and the French government." To these demands Prince Schwartzberg acceded, and Marshal Marmont, with his corps of twelve thousand men, passed within the lines of the allies. The counter-revolution was thus advancing at a steady pace, and all the authorities, both civil and military, successively rallied round the senate and the provisional government.

In the mean time Napoleon collected all his troops at Fontainebleau, amounting to sixty thousand men, and announced, that it was his intention to march his army to the capital, and to repel the invaders; but the talisman of passive obedience was broken; some of the marshals had already sent in their adherence to the provisional government,* and a majority of the other marshals refused to acquiesce in the romantic enterprise of marching against Paris. France was invaded from the Pyrenees to the Garonne; from the Alps to the Auvergne; from the Rhine to the Loire; Paris and its environs were occupied by two hundred thousand foreign troops, and the army that Napoleon still had under him might be considered as almost surrounded. The struggle, therefore, had become hopeless, and the army, however well disposed to follow their leader, had no disposition to sacrifice themselves, or to light up a flame of civil war, which might lay their country in ruins. The Major-general

Berthier, having at all times access to the emperor, was deputed to repair to the palace during the night of the 3d of April, and to recommend to him the salutary measure of abdication. The first mention of this subject roused the natural irritability of his temper into rage; but when Marshals Ney, Oudinot, and Macdonald, who afterwards arrived, assured him that this measure alone could save the country, his towering spirit seemed subdued, and he consented to abdicate his throne in favour of his son, the infant King of Rome. This proposal it was determined to submit to the senate and the French nation, and on the 4th, Marshals Ney and Macdonald, accompanied by M. de Caulaincourt, were deputed to repair to Paris for that purpose.

On quitting Paris, the empress and the King of Rome had taken the road to Tours, by Rambouillet and Chartres, and on the 1st of April arrived at Blois, the capital of the department of the Loire, where a regency government was established in the name of the empress. The ministers, and the brothers of Napoleon, forming the council of regency, determined to maintain one government against another; the war-office was placed in full activity, and four hundred commissioners were employed day and night in collecting levies, under a persuasion that this unfortunate country would become the theatre of a civil war. To forward the execution of the projects of the emperor, the ephemeral regency of Blois issued the following proclamation, which was dated on the 3d of April, and signed by the empress:—

"FRENCHMEN! The events of war have placed the capital in the power of foreigners; but the emperor has hastened to its protection at the head of his armies, so frequently victorious. They are in the presence of the enemy under the walls of Paris. It is from the residence I have chosen, and from the ministers of the emperor, that the only orders will proceed which you can acknowledge. Every place which is in the possession of the enemy ceases to be free. Every direction which emanates from it, is in the language of strangers, or such as it suits their hostile views to adopt. You will be faithful to your oath of allegiance. You will listen to the voice of a princess, who was consigned to your good faith, who glories in being a Frenchwoman, and in having associated her destiny with that of the sovereign whom you freely chose for yourselves. My son was less sure of your affection during the hour of prosperity than at the present moment. His rights and his person are under your safe-guard. (Signed)

"MARIA LOUISA, Empress Regent.

"MONTALIVET, Secretary to the Regency."

It was amidst these melancholy prospects that the negociators from Fontainebleau, who had repaired to Paris to defend the Napoleon dynasty, were introduced during the night of the 4th into the presence of the Emperor Alex-

* Marshal Victor, who was detained at Paris by a severe wound, was the first of this number.

ander. Marshals Ney and Macdonald, faithful to the obligations imposed upon them by their commission, represented that the emperor was disposed to abdicate his throne in favour of his son. The political and moral considerations connected with the question of the succession were debated with great energy at a special conference convened on this question, at which Prince Talleyrand, General Pozzo di Borgo, and others, attended, and the result was, that the Bourbon dynasty should be restored. At the breaking up of the conference Marshals Ney and Macdonald returned to Fontainebleau, where they arrived at eleven o'clock at night on the 5th. The Prince of Moskwa was the first to enter the apartments of the palace, when the emperor inquired with earnestness if he had succeeded. "In part, sire," said the marshal, "but not with regard to the regency—it was too late. Revolutions never give way. This has taken its course, and the senate will tomorrow recognize the Bourbons." The marshal then proceeded to state, that the personal safety of the emperor and his family had been stipulated for; that he would be permitted to retire to the Isle of Elba; and that a stipend of two millions of francs would be allowed for his annual expenditure. The composure and acquiescence with which a man who had aspired to universal empire received these proposals, astonished those around him, and the utter impossibility of

controlling the adverse events by which he was surrounded, combined with a love of life, bowed him to his destiny. In virtue of these arrangements Napoleon consented to the entire renunciation of his rights, and on the 6th of April announced his abdication in the following terms:—

"The allied powers have proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon is the only obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in Europe; the emperor, faithful to his oath, declares, that he renounces, for himself and his heirs, the thrones of France and Italy; and that there is no personal sacrifice, even that of life, which he is not ready to make for the interest of France."

This act, which was officially announced in the London Gazette Extraordinary of the 9th of April, was not known at Paris till the 12th, the day after the conclusion of a secret treaty between the confederated Sovereigns of Europe and the modern Charlemagne, now become, by a strange vicissitude of fortune, the Emperor of the Isle of Elba!*

The same day on which the deed of abdication was signed by Napoleon, a new constitution for the government of France was submitted to the conservative senate, and adopted by the unanimous consent of that assembly. By this constitutional charter Louis XVIII. was called to the throne of his ancestors, and in its enactments the prerogatives of the sovereign are happily blended with the liberties of the subject.

* The secret treaty between Napoleon and the allied powers consists of twenty-one articles; it is dated the 11th of April, 1814, and fixes and guarantees the future destiny of Napoleon and his family. The first article stipulates that "His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon shall, for himself, his successors, and descendants, and for all the members of his family, renounce all right of sovereignty and dominion, as well over the empire of France and the kingdom of Italy, as every other country;" by the second, the titles of Bonaparte and his family are guaranteed to them during their lives; by the third, the Isle of Elba is appointed as his future residence, of which the full sovereignty is vested in him, with an annual revenue of two millions of francs, (£83,333), in rent charge on the great book of France; one million to revert to the Empress Maria Louisa; to whom, by the fifth article, the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, are granted in full propriety and sovereignty, to pass to her son and his descendants in the direct line, the prince, her son, to take the name of Prince of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla. By the sixth article a rent charge of two millions five hundred thousand francs is decreed to the different branches of Bonaparte's family, in the following proportions:—

To Madame, the Mother of the Emperor, - - - - -	Francs	300,000
King Joseph and his Queen, - - - - -		500,000
King Louis, - - - - -		200,000
Queen Hortensia and her Children, - - - - -		400,000
King Jerome and his Queen, - - - - -		500,000
the Princess Eliza, - - - - -		300,000
the Princess Paulina, - - - - -		300,000

Article seven fixes the future revenue of the Empress Josephine at one million francs; and article eight provides that a suitable establishment shall be given to her son, Prince Eugene, the Viceroy of Italy, in some country out of France. The seventeenth article stipulates that the emperor shall carry with him, and retain as his guard, four hundred volunteers, including officers, subalterns, and privates; and by the nineteenth the Polish troops of every description in the service of France are permitted to return to their native country, carrying with them their arms and baggage; and the officers, subalterns, and privates, retaining the decorations which have been bestowed upon them, and the pensions attached to those decorations. The other articles of the treaty are either explanatory or merely prescribe the mode of carrying into effect those above enumerated.

BOOK IV. The resemblance of many articles in this constitution to that form of government under which it is the happiness of Englishmen to live is sufficiently obvious;* and hence it might perhaps be inferred that the French were at last to be blessed with as great a portion of civil, religious,

and political liberty, as the people of this country enjoy; but no constitution, however liberal in its principles, and apparently practicable in its details, can of itself bestow on a nation the blessings of liberty. Unless in the great body of the people there be a proper degree of in-

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* CONSTITUTIONAL CHARTER.

Article I.—The French government is monarchical, and hereditary from male to male, in order of primogeniture.

II.—The French people call freely to the throne of France, Louis Stanislaus Xavier de France, brother of the last king, and after him the other members of the house of Bourbon.

III.—The ancient nobility resume their titles. The new preserve theirs hereditarily. The legion of honour is maintained with its prerogatives. The king shall fix the decoration.

IV.—The executive power belongs to the king.

V.—The king, the senate, and the legislative body, concur in the making of laws.

Plans of laws may be equally proposed in the senate and in the legislative body.

Those relating to contributions can only be proposed in the legislative body.

The king can invite equally the two bodies to occupy themselves upon objects which he deems proper.

The sanction of the king is necessary for the completion of a law.

VI.—There are one hundred and fifty senators at least, and two hundred at most. Their dignity is immovable, and hereditary from male to male, in order of primogeniture. They are named by the king. The present senators, with the exception of those who should renounce the quality of French citizens, are maintained, and form part of this number. The actual endowment of the senate and the senatorships belongs to them. The revenues are divided equally between them, and pass to their successors. In case of the death of a senator without direct male posterity, his portion returns to the public treasure. The senators who shall be named in future cannot partake of this endowment.

VII.—The princes of the royal family, and the princes of the blood, are by right members of the senate. The functions of a senator cannot be exercised until the person has attained the age of twenty-one years.

VIII.—The senate decides the cases in which the discussion of objects before them shall be public or secret.

IX.—Each department shall send to the legislative body the same number of deputies it sent thither. The deputies who sat in the legislative body at the period of the last adjournment shall continue to sit till they are replaced. All preserve their pay. In future they shall be chosen immediately by the electoral bodies, which are preserved, with the exception of the changes that may be made by a law in their organization. The duration of the functions of the deputies to the legislative body is fixed at five years. The new election shall take place for the session of 1816.

X.—The legislative body shall assemble of right each year on the 1st of October. The king may convoke it extraordinarily; he may adjourn it; he may also dissolve it; but in the latter case another legislative body must be formed, in three months at the latest, by the electoral colleges.

XI.—The legislative body has the right of discussion. The sittings are public, unless in cases where it chooses to form itself into a general committee.

XII.—The senate, legislative body, electoral colleges, and assemblies of cantons, elect their president from among themselves.

XIII.—No member of the senate, or legislative body, can be arrested without a previous authority from the body to which he belongs. The trial of a member of the senate or legislative body belongs exclusively to the senate.

XIV.—The ministers may be members either of the senate or legislative body.

XV.—Equality of proportion in the taxes is of right; no tax can be imposed or received unless it has been freely consented to by the legislative body and the senate. The land tax can only be established for a year. The budget of the following year, and the accounts of the preceding year, are presented annually to the legislative body and the senate, at the opening of the sitting of the legislative body.

XVI.—The law shall fix the mode and amount of the recruiting of the army.

XVII.—The independence of the judicial power is guaranteed. No one can be removed from his natural judges. The institution of juries is preserved, as well as the publicity of trial in criminal matters. The penalty of confiscation of goods is abolished. The king has the right of pardoning.

XVIII.—The courts and ordinary tribunals existing at present are preserved; their number cannot be diminished or increased, but in virtue of a law. The judges are for life, and irremovable, except the justices of the peace, and the judges of commerce. The commissions and extraordinary tribunals are suppressed and cannot be re-established.

XIX.—The courts of cassation, the courts of appeal, and the tribunals of the first instance, propose to the king three candidates for each place of judge vacant in their body. The king chooses one of the three. The king names the first presidents and the public ministry of the courts and the tribunals.

XX.—The military on service, the officers and soldiers on half pay, the widows and pensioned officers, preserve their ranks, honours, and pensions.

XXI.—The person of the king is sacred and inviolable. All the acts of the government are signed by a minister. The ministers are responsible for all which those acts contain violatory of the laws, public and private liberty, and the rights of citizens.

XXII.—The freedom of worship and conscience is guaranteed. The ministers of worship are treated and protected alike.

XXIII.—The liberty of the press is entire, with the exception of the legal repression of offences which may result from the abuse of that liberty. The senatorial commissions of the liberty of the press and individual liberty are preserved.

XXIV.—The public debt is guaranteed. The sales of the national domains are irrevocably maintained.

XXV.—No Frenchman can be prosecuted for opinions or votes which he has given.

XXVI.—Every person has the right to address individual petitions to every constituted authority.

XXVII.—All Frenchmen are equally admissible to all civil and military employments.

XXVIII.—All the laws existing at present remain in vigour, until they be legally repealed. The code of civil laws shall be entitled, *Civil Code of the French*.

XXIX.—The present constitution shall be submitted to the acceptance of the French people, in the form which shall be regulated. Louis Stanislaus Xavier shall be proclaimed King of the French, as soon as he shall have signed and sworn, by an act stating, *I accept the constitution; I swear to observe it, and cause it to be observed.*

This oath shall be repeated in the solemnity, when he shall receive the oath of fidelity of the French.

Signed by the PRINCE OF BENEVENTE, President; and by sixty-seven members of the senate.

telligence; a due sense of their own importance, weight, rights, and duties; and unless also there be, in the higher classes, and particularly in those who are intrusted with the government, a conviction that their own happiness and the permanency of their rule will be best secured by maintaining the liberties of the people, free constitutions will be of little avail. The body will be there, but the animating spirit will be wanting; and years, perhaps ages, must roll away, before nations once sunk into slavery can become free and happy.

After the fall of Bourdeaux, that city, and the department of La Vendée, became the focus of royal insurrection, and Lord Wellington, pursuing his success, marched to the conquest of Languedoc. From Tarbes Marshal Soult had been obliged to retreat to Toulouse, and thither he was pursued by the British army. On the 7th of April, Colonel Cooke had left Paris for the express purpose of apprising Lord Wellington of the revolution which had so completely changed the aspect of public affairs; and this officer was accompanied by Colonel St. Simon, who was employed by the provisional government to give Marshals Soult and Suchet information of the same event. From some cause, not very satisfactorily explained, these messengers of peace were arrested and detained on their way to the south, and owing to their detention the lives of ten thousand brave men were uselessly sacrificed, in a battle fought on the 10th of April, under the walls of the capital of Languedoc.

The incessant rains had impeded the advance of Lord Wellington; and time was afforded to Marshal Soult to prepare for the defence of this city. Toulouse, though not naturally a strong fortress, is supported on three of its sides by the Garonne, and the celebrated canal of Languedoc; and the French, availing themselves of these advantages, constructed *têtes de pont* commanding the approaches by the canal and the river, and supported them by musketry and artillery from the walls. In addition to these advantages, they had placed five redoubts on a commanding height to the eastward; and as the roads had become almost impassable for artillery, the allies were obliged to attack to great disadvantage. Early in the morning of the 10th of April, all the corps of the combined army were put in motion, while the French troops, ranged in battle array, prepared to make the most vigorous resistance. At seven o'clock in the morning the battle commenced, near the wharfs at the mouth of the canal, and soon became extremely animated. The French brigade being at first repulsed, set fire to several houses in the suburbs, for the purpose of arresting the progress of the assailants, and

then fell back towards the *tête de pont* formed at the junction of the canals, and in this situation they maintained themselves with so much firmness that all the efforts of the allies to dislodge them proved unavailing.

The attack soon spread along the whole line, and the battle became general. Marshal Beresford, by previous arrangement, crossed the Ers, and forming his corps into three columns at Croix d'Orade, immediately seized the village of Montblanc, and re-ascended the river over difficult ground, in a direction parallel to the position of Marshal Soult. On reaching the extremity of the village he lost no time in proceeding to the attack. As soon as Don Manuel Freyre, the Spanish commander, perceived that Marshal Beresford's corps had reached its station, he advanced to attack the French intrenchments in concert with that commander. It was Marshal Soult's intention to receive the combined army with a tremendous cannonade, and to avail himself of this favourable moment for attacking it unawares, hoping to break the line by a bold and decisive charge. Every thing seemed at first to presage success; his army stood firmly in its line, and saw, without intimidation, the approach of the Spanish troops, marching in good order under a brisk fire of musketry and artillery, with their general and his staff at their head. On moving round to the left flank, Don Manuel's corps was repulsed with loss, and Marshal Soult immediately ordering a charge to be made, his troops darted from their line. By this charge the right wing of the Spanish corps was turned on both sides of the high road from Toulouse to Croix d'Orade, and compelled, notwithstanding the utmost exertion of their officers, to fall back in disorder.

This partial success, which animated the French army to the highest degree, induced Lord Wellington to redouble his efforts. The 4th division, under the command of Lieutenant-general Sir L. Cole, and the 6th division, under Lieutenant-General Sir H. Clinton, led by Marshal Beresford in person, carried part of the heights, after two successive attacks, and obtained possession of the first redoubt, which covered and protected the flank of his position. This advantage was not obtained without much bloodshed, and the French troops having shown that they were resolved to defend every intrenchment and redoubt, inch by inch, Marshal Beresford suspended his attacks till the arrival of his artillery, and till the Spanish corps was prepared to return to the charge. These dispositions being completed, the marshal resumed his offensive movements along the heights, and successively attacked the other redoubts with General Pack's brigade, supported by the 6th division. The Spanish and Portuguese corps

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failed in several attempts to carry the redoubts, but Lord Wellington, undismayed by the heroic resistance of the enemy, renewed the assault, and towards noon succeeded in carrying the two principal redoubts in the centre, and the intrenchments which constituted the principal strength of the position. Victory now evidently inclined towards the allies; but on approaching the castle of Guery, towards the banks of the canal, they had to sustain a fierce attack, made by a French division, which rushed from a place of ambush, and made a desperate, but unsuccessful, effort to regain the heights. The French General Tampin, to whom the command of the troops issuing from this ambuscade was confided, paid the forfeit of his life to his impetuous valour; and the 6th division of the British troops continuing to advance steadily along the summit of the hill, while the Spaniards made a corresponding movement in front, the French army was at length dislodged from the two remaining redoubts. The victorious troops of Lord Wellington now possessed themselves of the Montaudron road, and the whole range of heights fell into their possession.

While these operations were taking place on the left of the combined army beyond the Garonne, Lieutenant-general Hill, with the right wing, dislodged the enemy's left from the interior works of the St. Cyprien suburb. Lieutenant-General Picton also renewed his attacks, and drove the French troops from the *tête de pont* at the canal, near the Garonne; but upon attempting to seize that position his division was repulsed with loss, and compelled to desist from the further prosecution of this part of the enterprise.

The allied army, being now victorious at all the principal points, and particularly on the left, established themselves on three of the sides of Toulouse; and after having turned the French army, compelled it to seek refuge in the city, and finally, to retreat from that place in the direction of Castelnaudry, leaving Generals D'Harispe, Bourot, and St. Hilaire, with sixteen hundred prisoners, in the hands of the victors. Of the numerous battles fought by Lord Wellington, the battle of Toulouse, which was the last of the campaign, and of the war, may be classed among the most sanguinary; the engagement, which commenced at seven o'clock in the morning, did not cease till the same hour in the evening; and the number of killed and wounded in the allied armies amounted to nearly five thousand. The loss of the French was not estimated, but it no doubt swelled the whole number of those whose blood flowed in vain on this glorious but melancholy day upwards of ten thousand.

On the 11th of April Colonel Cooke and

Colonel St. Simon arrived at Toulouse with the intelligence that Napoleon Bonaparte was dethroned; and the same information was conveyed with all possible dispatch to Marshals Soult and Suchet. For some days the French marshals did not consider the communication as sufficiently authentic to induce them to lay down their arms; and in the interval Sir John Hope was made prisoner by the enemy in a sortie from Bayonne; but the arrival of other messengers placed the fact of the overthrow of Bonaparte's government out of all doubt, and a convention was entered into by the commanders of the hostile armies on the same bases as the convention of Paris.

All France was now left at complete liberty to follow the impulse and the example of the capital; in every part of that fine country an ardent desire existed to see public liberty flourish under the shelter of the laws; and the Bourbons, aware of the rock upon which the unfortunate Louis XVI. had perished, would, it was hoped, secure to the nation over which they were again destined to rule, a portion, at least, of that first of blessings. At the period of the restoration, Louis XVIII. was confined at his residence in England by sickness and infirmity; in consequence of which, his brother, the Count d'Artois, was appointed lieutenant-general of France, and requested immediately to repair to the capital from Vesoul. On the 12th of April his royal highness made his public entry into Paris, surrounded by several of the great officers of the state, and attended by a group of French marshals. The enthusiasm with which the French people had now become animated was rapidly communicated to the Russian, Austrian, Prussian, English, Spanish, and Portuguese officers assembled in the church of Notre Dame, and it appeared as if all Europe, represented by a selection of warriors, swore on the altar, at the festival of the restoration, to maintain that peace which had been so happily and unexpectedly restored.

The cause of Napoleon was for the present entirely lost; the emblems of his government disappeared, and his army was rapidly melting away. The regency at Blois, astonished at the rapid progress of the restoration, and overpowered by the intelligence of the emperor's abdication, was suddenly dissolved; and the Empress Maria Louisa and her son, placing themselves under the protection of Prince Esterhazy, retired, first into Switzerland, and afterwards to that paternal residence from which four years before she had withdrawn, under the combined influence of the blandishments of imperial splendour, and the dictates of filial obedience.

Napoleon, who, in the plenitude of his

power, had commanded five hundred thousand warriors, and held all Europe in awe, now found himself at Fontainebleau, with no troops but his guards, and those reduced to two or three thousand men. The shock of his sudden overthrow had produced an attack of catalepsy,* a disorder to which he was subject, and his departure for the Island of Elba was in consequence delayed. His indisposition was not so severe as to prevent him from daily reading the Paris journals; but instead of those extravagant eulogiums, of which for fifteen years he had been the object, he now found his conduct canvassed with freedom, and frequently censured with a spirit that awakened his fury, and called down his menace; but speedily recollecting that he was no longer the formidable Napoleon, he exclaimed—"Had any one told me, three years ago, one-hundredth part of the truths I now hear, I should still have been upon the throne of France." What a reflection on the dastardly and servile flatterers of princes! During his reverse of fortune he still preserved his adventurous character, and prepared himself for the last scene of his expiring power. Assembling his guards, he placed them in review, and with an emotion that could ill be suppressed, he thus addressed them:—

"Generals, officers, and soldiers of my guard, I bid you farewell. I am satisfied with you. For twenty years I have always found you in the path of glory. The allied powers have armed all Europe against me; part of the troops have betrayed their duty, and France herself wishes for another dynasty. With you and the other brave men who have remained faithful to me, I could maintain a civil war for three years; but this would be a misfortune to France, and as such is contrary to the object I have ever had in view. Be faithful to the new king which France has chosen; and do not abandon this dear country which has been so long unhappy. Lament not my fate; I shall be always happy when I know that you are so. I might have died—nothing would have been easier for me; but I will continue in the path of honour. I will write the history of our achievements. I cannot embrace you all, but I embrace your general. Bring me the eagle. Dear Eagle! may these kisses resound in the hearts of all my brave soldiers. Adieu, my children!"

On the 20th of April, at noon, Napoleon departed from Fontainebleau for Elba, accompanied by Generals Bertrand and Drouet, who retired with him to that island. The exiles were escorted on their journey by four superior officers,† acting as commissioners to the allied powers, together with one hundred and fifty

foreign troops, supported by detachments placed at a distance from each other.

To accomplish the great work of a general peace, the allied sovereigns of the continent assembled at Paris. The Emperor of Austria, who had hitherto remained at Dijon, made his entry into the French capital in great state on the 15th of April, and was received by the Emperor Alexander, the King of Prussia, and his Royal Highness the Count d'Artois. On the 23d a convention was signed between the allied powers and France, by which it was agreed that hostilities should every-where cease; and that the allied armies should evacuate the French territory in fourteen days from that date; the boundary line to be observed being that which constituted the limits of France on the 1st of January, 1792. Fifteen days were allowed for mutual evacuations in Piedmont, and twenty days in Spain; the fleets were to remain in their then present stations, but all blockades were declared to be raised, and the fisheries and coasting trade were permitted. By this convention all prisoners were mutually and immediately liberated and sent to their respective countries.

The health of Louis XVIII. was sufficiently restored on the 20th of April to enable him to repair from Hartwell to London, and his reception in the British metropolis was little inferior to that which awaited him in his own. The Prince Regent, who ranked among the warmest friends to the restoration, went out to meet the future sovereign of France; and the inhabitants of London, and indeed of every part of the kingdom, participated largely in the feelings of their prince.

On the 2d of May the French King arrived at the castle of St. Ouen, a royal residence in the vicinity of Paris, where the members of the provisional council were admitted to an audience, and on which occasion the following declaration was issued:—

"Louis, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, to all whom these presents shall concern, health!

"Recalled by the love of our people to the throne of our fathers, and guided as to our conduct by the misfortunes of the nation which we are destined to govern, our first idea is to invoke that mutual confidence, so necessary to our repose, and the happiness of France.

"After having attentively read the plan of constitution proposed by the senate at its sitting of the 6th of April last, we are convinced that the bases of it are good,

* A disease in which the senses and the power of voluntary motion are suddenly suspended, the body and limbs of the patient remaining unmoved in the situation in which they happen to be at the moment of attack, and readily receiving and retaining any position which is communicated to them by external force.

† Colonel Campbell, (English); General Schuwalow, (Russian); General de Koller (Austrian); and General Valdeburgh Fruchsels, (Prussian.)

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but that a great number of articles, bearing the stamp of the precipitation with which they have been framed, cannot, in their present form, become fundamental laws of the state.

"Being resolved to adopt a liberal constitution, wishing that it may be sagely combined, and not being able to accept one which it is indispensable to rectify, we convoke, for the 10th of June, in the present year, the senate and legislative corps, engaging that we will then submit to them the result of our labours, with a committee chosen from the members of these two bodies, and that the constitution shall be founded on the following bases.

"The representative government shall be maintained as it exists at this day, and shall be divided into two bodies, the senate, and the chamber of deputies from the departments.

"The taxes shall be freely assented to.

"Public and individual liberty shall be secured.

"The liberty of the press shall be respected, subject to such precautions as are necessary to insure public tranquillity.

"Religious liberty shall be guaranteed.

"Property shall be sacred and inviolable; the sale of national effects shall be irrevocable.

"The ministers, who shall be responsible for the measures of government, may be arraigned by one legislative chamber, and judged by the other.

"The judges shall hold their offices for life; and their judicial power shall be independent.

"The public debt shall be guaranteed.

"The pensions, degrees, and military honours shall be preserved, as well as the ancient and new nobility.

"The legion of honour shall be retained, and we will fix the decoration of it.

"Every Frenchman shall be admissible to civil and military employments.

"No individual shall be disturbed for his opinions and votes.

"Given at St. Ouen, the 2d of May, 1814.

"LOUIS."

Accompanied by the acclamations of the people from the frontiers of his kingdom to the gates of his capital, the impatiently expected monarch made his solemn entry on the 3d of May. The procession was headed by the marshals of France, the generals of the army, and all the officers of the court; accompanied by the national guards, and by detachments of the regular army. The king, dressed in a general's blue uniform, appeared in an open carriage, drawn by eight horses; on his left was placed the august daughter of Louis XVI. opposite to them were the Prince of Condé, and his son, the Duke of Bourbon; and Monsieur, and his son, the Duke of Berri, mounted on their chargers, took the right and left of the carriage. The procession entered the city amidst the reiterated shouts of the populace, and peals of artillery. All the windows in the streets through which they passed, up to the roofs, were filled with spectators, and the king saluted the crowd with the most gracious condescension and benignity. On entering the gates of Notre Dame, the royal personages were saluted by the thou-

sand times repeated cry of "*Vive le Roi!*" The king alighted at the gate of the cathedral, and after receiving the holy water and incense, was addressed by the vicar-general in the name of the chapter:—"On entering my good city of Paris," said his majesty in reply, "my first object was to thank God and his blessed mother, the almighty protectress of France, for the miracles which have terminated my misfortunes. I am a son of St. Louis, and will imitate his virtues." At the close of the ceremony the king repaired to the palace of the Thuilleries, and in presenting himself to the countless multitude assembled under the windows of his palace, he laid one hand on his heart, and raised the other towards heaven, as if to express, by a single gesture, that the acknowledgment which he owed to God, he would manifest by his love to his people.*

As the stability of the new government depended in a great degree on the adherence of the French marshals, and of the army, over which they had a powerful influence, their sentiments on the counter-revolution were anxiously looked for. Most of them were not slow in offering the incense of their adhesion at the shrine of power; and if they had simply contented themselves with expressing their fidelity to their new sovereign, and their hope that by his restoration peace would be secured to France and to Europe, no blame could have been attached to them; but many of them, in their acts of adhesion, indulged in the most violent and outrageous language against Napoleon—language which, however well warranted by his conduct, ill became men who had been the instruments of his ambition, and had largely partaken in the honours and emoluments which his successful career had enabled him to shower down upon his followers. Of the number of *girouettes*, Marshal Angereau, the Duke of Castiglione, held the most distinguished rank; and his subsequent conduct sufficiently proved how little reliance is to be placed upon that spurious loyalty which has for its basis a compound of ingratitude and apostacy. "Soldiers!" said the marshal, in his proclamation to the army, "you are freed from your oaths; you are freed by the nation, in whom the sovereignty resides; you are freed also, if this were necessary, by the abdication of a man, who, after sacrificing millions of victims to his cruel ambition, had not the heart to die like a soldier."†

The convention signed between the allied powers and the French government on the 23d of April, was the precursor of a more comprehensive and specific arrangement; and on the 30th

* Relation Authentique de l'Invasion de France, en 1814, par M. de Beauchamp.

† Proclamation of Marshal Angereau to his army, dated Valence, April 16, 1814.

of May, a definitive treaty of peace between his Majesty Louis XVIII. was signed at Paris, of which the subjoined copy is a faithful transcript :—

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DEFINITIVE TREATY OF PEACE

CONCLUDED AT PARIS ON THE 30TH DAY OF MAY, 1814.

" In the name of the most Holy and Undivided Trinity. His Majesty, the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his allies, on the one part; and his Majesty the King of France and of Navarre on the other part; animated by an equal desire to terminate the long agitations of Europe, and the sufferings of mankind, by a permanent peace, founded upon a just repartition of force between its states, and containing in its stipulations the pledge of its durability; and his Britannic Majesty, together with his allies, being unwilling to require of France, now that, replaced under the paternal government of her kings, she offers the assurance of security and stability to Europe, the conditions and guarantees which they had with regret demanded from her former government, their said majesties have named plenipotentiaries to discuss, settle, and sign a treaty of peace, and amity; namely,

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Honourable Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, his Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, &c. &c. &c. the Right Honourable George Gordon, Earl of Aberdeen, his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty; the Right Honourable William Shaw Cathcart, Viscount Cathcart, his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias; and the Honourable Sir Charles William Stewart, his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to his Majesty the King of Prussia; and his Majesty the King of France and Navarre, Charles Maurice de Talleyrand Perigord, Prince of Benevente, his said Majesty's Ministers and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; who, having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles :—

Art. I.—There shall be from this day forward perpetual peace and friendship between his Britannic Majesty and his allies on the one part, and his Majesty the King of France and Navarre on the other, their heirs and successors, their dominions and subjects respectively.

The high contracting parties shall devote their best attention to maintain, not only between themselves, but, inasmuch as depends upon them, between all the states of Europe, that harmony and good understanding which are so necessary for their tranquillity.

II.—The kingdom of France retains its limits entire, as they existed on the 1st of January, 1792. It shall further receive the increase of territory comprised within the line established by the following article ;—

III.—On the side of Belgium, Germany, and Italy, the ancient frontiers shall be re-established as they existed the 1st of January, 1792, extending from the North Sea, between Dunkirk and Nieuport, to the Mediterranean, between Cagnes and Nice, with the following modifications :—

1st.—In the department of Jemappes, the cantons of Dour, Merbes-le-Chateau, Beaumont, and Chimay, shall belong to France; where the line of demarkation comes in contact with the canton of Dour, it shall pass between that canton and those of Boussu and Paturage; and likewise further on it shall pass between the canton of Merbes-le-Chateau, and those of Binck and Thuin.

2.—In the department of the Sambre and Meuse, the cantons of Walcourt, Florennes, Beauraing, and Gedinne, shall belong to France; where the demarkation reaches that department, it shall follow the line which separates the cantons from the department of Jemappes, and from the remaining cantons of the department of Sambre and Meuse.

3.—In the department of the Moselle, the new demarkation, at the point where it diverges from the old line of frontier, shall be formed by a line to be drawn from Perle to Fremersdorf, and by the limit which separates the canton of Tholey from the remaining cantons of the said department of the Moselle.

4.—In the department of La Sarre, the cantons of Saarbruck and Arneval shall continue to belong to France, as likewise the portion of the canton of Lebach which is situated to the south of a line drawn along the confines of the villages of Herchenbach, Ueberhofen, Hilsbach, and Hall, (leaving these different places out of the French frontier) to the point where, in the neighbourhood of Querselle (which place belongs to France), the line which separates the cantons of Arneval and Ottweiler reaches that which separates the cantons of Arneval and Lebach. The frontier on this side shall be formed by the line above described, and afterwards by that which separates the canton of Arneval from that of Rillcastel.

5.—The fortress of Landau having, before the year 1792, formed an insulated point in Germany, France retains beyond her frontiers a portion of the departments of Mount Tonnerre and of the Lower Rhine, for the purpose of uniting the said fortress and its radius to the rest of the kingdom.

The new demarkation from the point in the neighbourhood of Obersteinbach (which place is left out of the limits of France) where the boundary between the department of the Moselle and that of Mount Tonnerre reaches the department of the Lower Rhine, shall follow the line which separates the cantons of Weissenbourg and Bergzabern (on the side of France) from the cantons of Pirmasens, Dahn, and Annweiler (on the side of Germany) as far as the point near the village of Vollmersheim where that line touches the ancient radius of the fortress of Landau. From this radius, which remains as it was in 1792, the new frontier shall follow the arm of the river de la Queich, which on leaving the said radius at Queichheim (that place remaining to France) flows near the villages of Merlenheim, Knittelsheim, and Balheim (these places also belonging to France) to the Rhine, which from thence shall continue to form the boundary of France and Germany.

The main stream (Thalweg) of the Rhine shall constitute the frontier; provided, however, that the changes which may hereafter take place in the course of that river shall not affect the property of the islands. The right of possession in these islands shall be re-established as it existed at the signature of the treaty of Lunéville.

6.—In the department of the Doubs the frontier shall be so regulated as to commence above the Rancoanière near Looz, and follow the Crest of Jura between the Cerneux, Pequignot, and the village of Fontenelles, as far as the peak of that mountain, situated about seven or eight thousand feet to the north-west of the village of La Brevine, where it shall again fall in with the ancient boundary of France.

7.—In the department of the Leman, the frontiers between the French territory, the Pays de Vaud, and the different portions of the territory of the republic of Geneva (which is to form part of Switzerland), remain as they were before the incorporation of Geneva with France. But the cantons of Frangy and of St. Julien (with the exception of the districts situated to the north of a line drawn from the point where the river La Loire enters the territory of Geneva near Chancy, following the confines of Sesequin, Laconex, and Seneuvre, which shall remain out of the limits of France) the canton of Reignier, with the exception of the portion to the east of a line which follows the confines of the Muras, Bussy, Pers, and Cornier, (which shall be out of the French limits) and the canton of La Roche (with the exception of the places La Roche, and

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and Armanoy, with their districts) shall remain to France. The frontier shall follow the limits of these different cantons, and the line which separates the districts continuing to belong to France, from those which she does not retain.

In the department of Montblanc, France acquires the sub-prefecture of Cambery, with the exception of the cantons of L'Hospital, St. Pierre d'Albigny, la Rocette, and Montmelian, and the sub-prefecture of Annecy, with the exception of the portion of the canton of Faverges, situated to the east of a line passing between Ourechaise and Mariens on the side of France, and Marthod and Ugine on the opposite side, and which afterwards follows the crest of the mountains as far as the frontier of the canton of Thones; this line, together with the limit of the cantons before mentioned, shall on this side form the new frontier.

On the side of the Pyrenees, the frontiers between the two kingdoms of France and Spain, remain such as they were the 1st of January, 1792, and a joint commission shall be named on the part of the two crowns for the purpose of finally determining the line.

France on her part renounces all rights of sovereignty (*suzeraineté*) and of possession over all the countries, districts, towns, and places situated beyond the frontier described, the principality of Monaco being replaced on the same footing on which it stood before the 1st of January, 1792.

The allied powers assure to France the possession of the principality of Avignon, of the Comptat Venaissin, of the Comté of Montbeillard, together with the several insulated territories which formerly belonged to Germany, comprehended within the frontier above described, whether they have been incorporated with France before or after the 1st of January, 1792. The powers reserve to themselves, reciprocally, the complete right to fortify any point in their respective states which they may judge necessary for their security.

To prevent all injury to property, and protect, according to the most liberal principles, the property of individuals domiciliated on the frontiers, there shall be named, by each of the states bordering on France, commissioners, who shall proceed, conjointly with French commissioners, to the delineation of the respective boundaries.

IV.—To secure the communications of the town of Geneva with other parts of the Swiss territory situated on the lake, France consents that the road by Versoy shall be common to the two countries. The respective governments shall amicably arrange the means for preventing smuggling, regulating the posts, and maintaining the said road.

V.—The navigation of the Rhine, from the point where it becomes navigable unto the sea, and *vice versa*, shall be free, so that it can be interdicted to no one:—and that at the future congress, attention shall be paid to the establishment of the principles according to which the duties to be raised by the states bordering on the Rhine may be regulated, in the mode the most impartial, and the most favourable to the commerce of all nations.

The future congress, with a view to facilitate the communication between nations, and continually to render them less strangers to each other, shall likewise examine and determine in what manner the above provision can be extended to other rivers which, in their navigable course, separate or traverse different states.

VI.—Holland, placed under the sovereignty of the house of Orange, shall receive an increase of territory. The title and exercise of that sovereignty shall not in any case belong to a prince wearing, or destined to wear a foreign crown.

The states of Germany shall be independent and united by a federative bond.

Switzerland, independent, shall continue to govern herself.

Italy, beyond the limits of the countries which are to revert to Austria, shall be composed of sovereign states.

VII.—The island of Malta and its dependencies shall belong in full right and sovereignty to his Britannic Majesty.

VIII.—His Britannic Majesty, stipulating for himself and his allies, engages to restore to his most Christian Majesty, within the term which shall be hereafter fixed, the colonies, fisheries, factories, and establishments of every kind, which were possessed by France on the 1st of January, 1792, in the seas and on the continents of America, Africa, and Asia, with the exception however of the islands of Tobago and St. Lucie, and of the Isle of France and its dependencies, especially Rodrigues and Les Sechelles, which several colonies and possessions his most Christian Majesty cedes in full right and sovereignty to his Britannic Majesty, and also the portion of St. Domingo ceded to France by the treaty of Basle, and which his most Christian Majesty restores in full right and sovereignty to his Catholic Majesty.

IX.—His Majesty the King of Sweden and Norway, in virtue of the arrangements stipulated with the allies, and in execution of the preceding article, consents that the island of Guadaloupe be restored to his most Christian Majesty, and gives up all the rights he may have acquired over that island.

X.—Her most Faithful Majesty, in virtue of the arrangements stipulated with her allies, and in execution of the 8th article, engages to restore French Guyana as it existed on the 1st of January, 1792, to his most Christian Majesty, within the term hereafter fixed.

The renewal of the dispute which existed at that period on the subject of the frontier, being the effect of this stipulation, it is agreed that the dispute shall be terminated by a friendly arrangement between the two courts, under the mediation of his Britannic Majesty.

XI.—The places and forts in those colonies and settlements, which, by virtue of the 8th, 9th, and 10th articles, are to be restored to his most Christian Majesty, shall be given up in the state in which they may be at the moment of the signature of the present treaty.

XII.—His Britannic Majesty guarantees to the subjects of his most Christian Majesty the same facilities, privileges, and protection, with respect to commerce, and the security of their persons and property within the limits of the British sovereignty on the continent of India, as are now or shall be granted to the most favoured nations.

His most Christian Majesty, on his part, having nothing more at heart than the perpetual duration of peace between the two crowns of England and of France, and wishing to do his utmost to avoid any thing which might affect their mutual good understanding, engages not to erect any fortifications in the establishments which are to be restored to him within the limits of the British sovereignty upon the continent of India, and only to place in those establishments the number of troops necessary for the maintenance of the police.

XIII.—The French right of fishery upon the great bank of Newfoundland, upon the coasts of the island of that name, and of the adjacent islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, shall be replaced upon the footing in which it stood in 1792.

XIV.—Those colonies, factories, and establishments, which are to be restored to his most Christian Majesty by his Britannic Majesty or his allies in the Northern Seas, or in the seas on the continents of America and Africa, shall be given up within the three months; and those which are beyond the Cape of Good Hope within the six months which follow the ratification of the present treaty.

XV.

XV.—The high contracting parties having, by the 4th article of the convention of the 23d of April last, reserved to themselves the right of disposing, in the present definitive treaty of peace, of the arsenals and ships of war, armed and unarmed, which may be found in the maritime places restored by the 2d article of the said convention; it is agreed, that the said vessels and ships of war, armed and unarmed, together with the naval ordnance and naval stores, and all materials for building and equipment, shall be divided between France and the countries where the said places are situated, in the proportion of two-thirds for France, and one-third for the power to whom the said places shall belong. The ships and vessels on the stocks, which shall not be launched within six weeks after the signature of the present treaty, shall be considered as materials, and after being broken up, shall be, as such, divided in the same proportions.

Commissioners shall be named on both sides to settle the division and draw up a statement of the same, and passports or safe conducts shall be granted by the allied powers for the purpose of securing the return into France of the workmen, seamen, and others in the employment of France.

The vessels and arsenals existing in the maritime places which were already in the power of the allies before the 23d of April, and the vessels and arsenals which belonged to Holland, and especially the fleet in the Texel, are not comprised in the above stipulations.

The French government engages to withdraw, or cause to be sold, every thing which shall belong to it by the above stipulations, within the space of three months after the division shall have been carried into effect.

Antwerp shall for the future be solely a commercial port.

XVI.—The high contracting parties, desirous to bury in entire oblivion the dissensions which have agitated Europe, declare and promise, that no individual, of whatever rank or condition he may be, in the countries restored and ceded by the present treaty, shall be prosecuted, disturbed, or molested, in his person or property, under any pretext whatsoever, either on account of his conduct or political opinions, his attachment either to any of the contracting parties, or to any government which has ceased to exist, or for any other reason, except for debts contracted towards individuals, or acts posterior to the date of the present treaty.

XVII.—The native inhabitants and aliens, of whatever nation or condition they may be, in those countries which are to change sovereigns, as well in virtue of the present treaty as of the subsequent arrangements to which it may give rise, shall be allowed a period of six years, reckoning from the exchange of the ratifications, for the purpose of disposing of their property, if they think fit, whether it be acquired before or during the present war; and retiring to whatever country they may choose.

XVIII.—The allied powers, desiring to offer his most Christian Majesty a new proof of their anxiety to arrest, as far as in them lies, the bad consequences of the disastrous epoch terminated by the present peace, renounce all the sums which their governments claim from France, whether on account of contracts, supplies, or any other advances whatsoever to the French governments, during the different wars that have taken place since 1792.

His most Christian Majesty, on his part, renounces every claim which he might bring forward against the allied powers on the same grounds. In execution of this article, the high contracting parties engage reciprocally to deliver up all titles, obligations, and documents, which relate to the debts they may have mutually cancelled.

XIX.—The French government engages to liquidate and pay all debts it may be found to owe in countries beyond its own territory, on account of contracts, or other formal engagements between individuals, or private establishments, and the French authorities, as well for supplies, as in satisfaction of legal engagements.

XX.—The high contracting parties, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, shall name commissioners to direct and superintend the execution of the whole of the stipulations contained in the 18th and 19th articles. These commissioners shall undertake the examination of the claims referred to in the preceding article, the liquidation of the sums claimed, and the consideration of the manner in which the French government may propose to pay them. They shall also be charged with the delivery of the titles, bonds, and the documents relating to the debts which the high contracting parties mutually cancel, so that the approval of the result of their labours shall complete that reciprocal renunciation.

XXI.—The debts which in their origin were specially mortgaged upon the countries no longer belonging to France, or were contracted for the support of their internal administration, shall remain at the charge of the said countries. Such of those debts as have been converted into inscriptions in the great book of the public debt of France, shall accordingly be accounted for with the French government after the 22d of December, 1813.

The deeds of all those debts which have been prepared for inscription, and have not yet been entered, shall be delivered to the governments of the respective countries. The statement of all these debts shall be drawn up and settled by a joint commission.

XXII.—The French government shall remain charged with the reimbursement of all sums paid by the subjects of the said countries into the French coffers, whether under the denomination of surety, deposit, or consignment.

In like manner, all French subjects employed in the service of the said countries, who have paid sums under the denomination of surety, deposit, or consignment, into their respective coffers, shall be faithfully reimbursed.

XXIII.—The functionaries holding situations requiring securities, who are not charged with the expenditure of public money, shall be reimbursed at Paris, with the interests, by fifths and by the year, dated from the signature of the present treaty. With respect to those who are unaccountable, this reimbursement shall commence, at the latest, six months after the presentation of their accounts, except only in cases of malversation. A copy of the last account shall be transmitted to the government of their countries, to serve for their information and guidance.

XXIV.—The judicial deposits and consignments upon the "*caisse d'amortissement*," in the execution of the law of 28 Nivose, year 13 (18th of January, 1806,) and which belong to the inhabitants of the countries France ceases to possess, shall, within the space of one year from the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, be placed in the hands of the authorities of the said countries, with the exception of those deposits and consignments interesting French subjects, which last will remain in the "*caisse d'amortissement*," and will only be given up on the production of the vouchers, resulting from the decisions of competent authorities.

XXV.—The funds deposited by the corporations and public establishments in the "*caisse de service*" and in the "*caisse d'amortissement*," or other "*caisse*," of the French government, shall be reimbursed by fifths, payable from year

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year to year, to commence from the date of the present treaty; deducting the advances which have taken place, and subject to such regular charges as may have been brought forward against these funds by the creditors of the said corporations, and the public establishments.

XXVI.—From the 1st day of January, 1814, the French government shall cease to be charged with the payment of pensions, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, pensions for retirement, and allowances for reduction, to any individual who shall cease to be a French subject.

XXVII.—National domains acquired for valuable considerations by French subjects in the late departments of Belgium, and of the left bank of the Rhine, and the Alps, beyond the ancient limits of France, and which now cease to belong to her, shall be guaranteed to the purchasers.

XXVIII.—The abolition of the "*droits d'Aubaine*," "*de Detraction*," and other duties of the same nature, in the countries which have reciprocally made that stipulation with France, or which have been formerly incorporated, shall be expressly maintained.

XXIX.—The French government engages to restore all bonds, and other deeds, which may have been seized in the provinces occupied by the French armies or administrations; and in cases where such restitution cannot be effected, these bonds and deeds become and continue void.

XXX.—The sums which shall be due for all works of public utility not yet finished, or finished after the 31st of December, 1812, whether on the Rhine or in the departments detached from France by the present treaty, shall be placed to the account of the future possessors of the territory, and shall be paid by the commission charged with the liquidation of the debts of that country.

XXXI.—All archives, maps, plans, and documents whatever, belonging to the ceded countries, or respecting their administration, shall be faithfully given up at the same time with the said countries: or if that should be impossible, within a period not exceeding six months after the cession of the countries themselves.

This stipulation applies to the archives, maps, and plates, which may have been carried away from the countries during their temporary occupation by the different armies.

XXXII.—All the powers engaged on either side in the present war, shall, within the space of two months, send plenipotentiaries to Vienna, for the purpose of regulating, in general congress, the arrangements which are to complete the provisions of the present treaty.

XXXIII.—The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged, within the period of fifteen days, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed and affixed to it the seals of their arms.

Done at Paris, the thirtieth of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fourteen.

(L.S.) CASTLEREAGH.

(L.S.) LE PRINCE DE BENEVENT.

(L.S.) ABERDEEN.

(L.S.) CATHCART

(L.S.) CHARLES STEWART, Lieutenant-general.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLES.

I.—His most Christian Majesty, concurring without reserve in the sentiments of his Britannic Majesty, with respect to a description of traffic repugnant to the principles of natural justice and of the enlightened age in which we live, engages to unite all his efforts to those of his Britannic Majesty, at the approaching congress, to induce all the powers of Christendom to decree the abolition of the slave trade, so that the said trade shall cease universally, as it shall cease definitively, under any circumstances, on the part of the French government, in the course of five years; and that, during the said period, no slave merchant shall import or sell slaves, except in the colonies of the state of which he is a subject.

II.—The British and French governments shall name, without delay, commissioners to liquidate the accounts of their respective expenses for the maintenance of prisoners of war, in order to determine the manner of paying the balance which shall appear in favour of the one or the other of the two powers.

III.—The respective prisoners of war, before their departure from the place of their detention, shall be obliged to discharge the private debts they may have contracted, or shall at least give sufficient security for the amount.

IV.—Immediately after the ratification of the present treaty of peace, the sequestrations which since the year 1792 (one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two) may have been laid on the funds, revenues, debts, or any other effects of the high contracting parties or their subjects, shall be taken off.

The commissioners mentioned in the 2d article shall undertake the examination of the claims of his Britannic Majesty's subjects upon the French government, for the value of the property, moveable or immovable, illegally confiscated by the French authorities, as also for the total or partial loss of their debts or other property, illegally detained under sequestration since the year 1792, (one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two.)

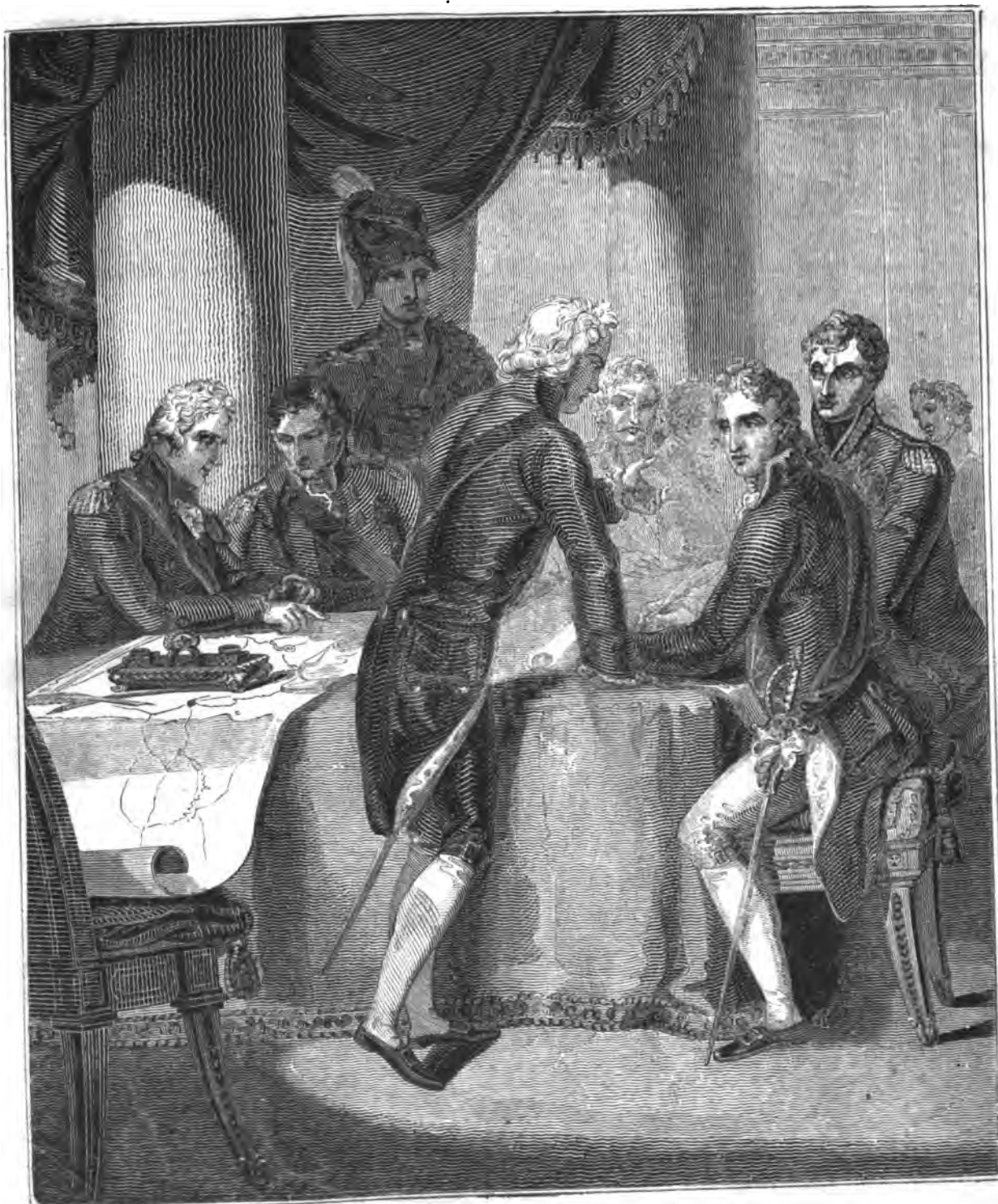
France engages to act towards British subjects in this respect, in the same spirit of justice which the French subjects have experienced in Great Britain; and his Britannic Majesty, desiring to concur in the new pledge which the allied powers have given to his most Christian Majesty, of their desire to obliterate every trace of that disastrous epocha, so happily terminated by the present peace, engages on his part, when complete justice shall be rendered to his subjects, to renounce the whole amount of the balance which shall appear in his favour for the support of prisoners of war, so that the ratification of the report of the above commissioners, and the discharge of the sums due to British subjects, as well as the restitution of the effects which shall be proved to belong to them, shall complete the renunciation.

V.—The two high contracting parties, desiring to establish the most friendly relations between their respective subjects, reserve to themselves, and promise to come to a mutual understanding and arrangement, as soon as possible, upon their commercial interests, with the view of encouraging and increasing the prosperity of their respective states.

The present articles shall have the same force and validity as if they were inserted word for word in the treaty patent of this day. They shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at the same time.

Dated and signed as above.





Execution of the Peace of Paris in '1814.
Published by Edw. Baines Leeds Jan'y 1st 1816

At the same time the same definitive treaty of peace was concluded between France and Austria, Russia, and Prussia, respectively; and signed, on the part of the former by the Prince of Benevente, for Austria by Prince Metternich and Count Stadion, for Russia by Count Rasumoffsky and Count Nesselrode, and for Prussia by Baron Hardenberg and Baron Humboldt; with the following additional articles.

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TO THE TREATY WITH AUSTRIA.

The high contracting parties, wishing to efface all traces of the unfortunate events which have oppressed their people, have agreed to annul explicitly the effects of the treaties of 1805 and 1809, as far as they are not already annulled by the present treaty. In consequence of this determination, his most Christian Majesty promises, that the decrees passed against French subjects, or reputed French subjects, being or having been in the service of his Imperial, Royal, and Apostolic Majesty, shall remain without effect; as also the judgments which may have been given in execution of these decrees.

TO THE TREATY WITH RUSSIA.

The duchy of Warsaw, being under the administration of a provisional council established in Russia, since that country has been occupied by her armies, the two high contracting parties have agreed to appoint immediately a special commission, composed of an equal number of members on either side, who shall be charged with the examination, liquidation, and all the arrangement relative to the reciprocal claims.

TO THE TREATY WITH PRUSSIA.

Though the treaty of peace concluded at Basle, on the 8th of April, 1795; that of Tilsit, of the 9th of July, 1807; the convention of Paris, of the 20th of September, 1806; as well as all the conventions and acts whatsoever, concluded since the peace of Basle between Prussia and France, are already virtually annulled by the present treaty, the high contracting powers have nevertheless thought fit to declare expressly that the treaties cease to be obligatory for all their articles, both potent and secret, and that they mutually renounce all right, and release themselves from all obligation which might result from them.

His most Christian Majesty promises that the decrees issued against French subjects, or reputed Frenchmen, being or having been in the service of his Prussian Majesty, shall be of no effect, as well as the judgments which may have been passed in execution of those decrees.

[In the group of portraits of the plenipotentiaries engaged in the "Execution of the Treaty of Paris," Lord Castlereagh is seated at the head of the table, with Prince Talleyrand, in profile, to the left, and Count Metternich to the right of his lordship. At the foot of the table Lord Cathcart is seen, in profile, with the Earl of Aberdeen on his left, and Sir Charles Stewart standing nearly opposite to Prince Talleyrand. The engraving is on wood, by Mr. Branston, and is considered by the Society of Arts, to which it has been submitted, one of the most successful specimens of historical engraving ever produced in this department of the art.]

CHAPTER XXVI.

BRITISH HISTORY: *Meeting of Parliament—Inquiry regarding the Cession of Norway to Sweden—Address to the Prince Regent moved by Mr. Wilberforce—Honours conferred upon the Duke of Wellington—Takes his Seat in the House of Peers—His Reception in the House of Commons—The Corn Bill—Fresh Indignities offered to the Princess of Wales—Discussions in Parliament on this Subject—Proposed Marriage between the Princess Charlotte of Wales and the Prince of Orange—The proposed Alliance broken off—The Princess of Wales leaves the Kingdom—Imperial and Royal Visit to England—Case of Lord Cochrane—Finances—State of Ireland—Congratulatory Address to the Prince Regent on the Restoration of Peace—Prorogation of Parliament.*

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THE parliament of Great Britain, which assembled in the winter of 1813, principally for the purpose of voting those supplies by which the overthrow of the French empire under the Napoleon dynasty was essentially promoted, adjourned on the 20th of December, and was not re-assembled till the 21st of March in the following year, when the negotiations at Chatillon had failed, and when the allied armies were within a few days' march of their ultimate destination. Money was still wanted; and the first business of importance brought before the house of commons was a motion made by the chancellor of the exchequer, for a grant of two millions on account of the army extraordinaries, making, with three millions before voted, the sum of five millions. This grant, he stated, was much beneath the sum that would be required for the current year; but as the necessities of the state were urgent, it was deemed expedient to propose the present grant thus early, and to wait the development of events in order to regulate the amount of the further supply.

While the momentous occurrences, which took place in the month of April, were passing in rapid succession before an astonished world, the attention of the people of England was almost entirely absorbed by those public demonstrations of joy which prevailed in every city, town, and village of the empire; and the members of both houses of parliament partook so largely of the public exhilaration, that the business of parliament was for some time suspended.

The treaty between Sweden and Denmark, by which the kingdom of Norway was transferred to Sweden, under the guarantee of Great Britain, without the consent, and, as it now appeared, against the will of the Norwegians, detracted from the general satisfaction, and soon arrested the attention of parliament. On

the 29th of April, Lord Liverpool stated, in answer to a question from Lord Holland, that in the cessation of hostilities between France and the allied powers Norway was not included, but that, on the contrary, orders had been given at the admiralty to take measures for the blockade of the ports of Norway. In effect, that the ports of Norway were to be blockaded by Great Britain, in order to compel the inhabitants of that country, under the pressure of famine, to submit to unite themselves with a foreign power. Against a proceeding so abhorrent to the feelings of independence, a motion was made by Earl Grey in the house of lords, and by Mr. C. W. Wynne in the house of commons, for an address to the prince regent, entreating that the blockade of Norway by a British force should be raised; but in both houses the motion was rejected, and the Norwegians, unable to withstand the combined efforts put forth to coerce them into submission, ultimately passed under the Swedish yoke.

At a time when the British cabinet and foreign governments were more closely drawn together, and more intimately connected than at any former period; when all the nations of Europe were about to revive their commercial relations with each other, and to study the elements of a lasting peace; Mr. Wilberforce, rising in his place in the house of commons,* said, it appeared to him that there was no better or more acceptable mode of expressing our gratitude to that Providence which had brought us in safety and triumph through all our dangers and trials, than to do what in us lay to diminish the mass of human suffering, by recommending the abolition of the slave trade. When the present circumstances of Europe were taken into consideration, when it was considered what great provocations some of the allied powers had re-

* On the 3d of May.

ceived from France, and what noble revenge they had taken, by returning benefits for injuries, and good for evil, he felt the most sanguine hopes, that when they were made thoroughly acquainted with the nature of this horrid traffic, they would consummate their noble conduct by joining heartily in this great act of justice and humanity. The slave trade of France had been practically destroyed by the war, and therefore that country had nothing to give up in this respect. Spain was no longer in a situation to be afraid of adopting a measure that might give offence to the merchants of Cadiz; Portugal had signed an engagement with this country for the gradual abolition of the trade, but Portugal, he was sorry to say, still persisted in that shameful traffic; Sweden had already acquiesced in the proposition of our government; Denmark, much to its honour, had discontinued the trade for a long time; and America had declared against it. It would be a noble sequel to the glorious event which had just taken place in Europe, if a foundation were now laid for the future security, peace, and happiness of the inhabitants of Africa. He did not think the present motion necessary for the purpose of reminding ministers of the subject, but his object was to strengthen their representations, by showing to all foreign powers, that in abolishing the slave trade the British parliament had not acted from a mere transient fit of humanity and justice, but that they considered this as a subject of the most serious nature, and deserving of their unremitting attention. With these views he should move that a humble address should be presented to the prince regent, beseeching him to interpose the good offices and interference of government with the allied powers on the continent, to induce them to aid and assist in this desirable and humane object, by discontinuing and forbidding the same in their respective dominions. In these sentiments both sides of the house expressed their cordial concurrence; but all that the unanimous declaration of the British parliament, seconded by numerous petitions from the people of England, could effect in the cause of humanity, was an engagement on the part of his most Christian Majesty, "to unite all his efforts to those of his Britannic Majesty, at the approaching congress, to induce all the powers of Christendom to decree the abolition of the slave trade, so that the said trade shall cease universally, as it shall cease definitively, under any circumstances, on the part of the French government, in the course of five years."*

The distinguished services rendered by Field-marshal the Marquis of Wellington were duly appreciated by his country; and on the 3d of May, the prince regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, conferred upon this illustrious chief the dignities of Duke and Marquis of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, by the style and title of Marquis Douro and Duke of Wellington in the county of Somerset. To support the dignity thus conferred upon the duke, the sum of four hundred thousand pounds was voted to him by the unanimous consent of parliament, on the recommendation of the prince regent, in a message presented to both houses on the 10th of the same month, and which, added to the sum of one hundred thousand pounds voted on a further occasion, swelled the amount of the grants placed at the disposal of the duke to half a million sterling. Honours and emoluments were at the same time bestowed upon the duke's companions in arms: Sir John Hope was raised to the peerage under the title of Lord Niddry; Sir Stapleton Cotton was created Lord Combermere; Sir Thomas Graham, Lord Lynedoch; Sir Rowland Hill, Lord Hill; and Sir William Beresford, Lord Beresford; and the dignities of Lords Lynedoch, Hill, and Beresford, were accompanied by a grant of two thousand per annum each.

In addition to the honours conferred upon the Duke of Wellington by his prince, and the pecuniary grants presented to his grace by the senate, both houses of parliament resolved to offer to the hero of their country the highest tribute of respect and applause that can be bestowed upon a subject. On the 28th of June, his grace took the oaths and his seat in the house of peers, on which occasion the lord chancellor communicated to him the thanks of the house, voted on the preceding day, observing, "that in the instance of his grace was to be seen the first and most honourable distinction of a member of that house being, at his first introduction, placed in the very highest and most distinguished rank among their lordships in the peerage." These dignities, however, had not been bestowed lightly, but were the reward of unparalleled services, and merits, the nature and character of which would render the name of Wellington immortal. To these eulogiums the duke modestly replied, that the successes which had attended his humble but zealous efforts in the service of his country he had principally to attribute to the ample support which he had received from his prince, his government, and

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* See Additional Articles to the Definitive Treaty of Peace between France and Great Britain, dated May 30, 1814.—Vol. II. Book IV. Page 346.

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the country, and to the zealous co-operation and assistance which he had received from his gallant and meritorious companions in arms.

That nothing might be wanted to fill up the measure of the Duke of Wellington's honours, the house of commons appointed a deputation of its members to congratulate him on his return to his country; and his grace in reply assured the members of the deputation, that it would afford him the highest pleasure to return his thanks in person to the commons of England for the honour they had conferred upon him. Lord Castlereagh having reported from the committee the duke's answer, the 1st of July was appointed for the solemnity. At about a quarter before five o'clock on that day, the duke, dressed in his field-marshal's uniform, and decorated with his military orders, presented himself at the bar of the house, and bowing repeatedly and respectfully, all the members, uncovered, rose, and enthusiastically cheered his entrance. His grace then seated himself on a chair placed within the bar, and the members having resumed their seats, he rose, and thus addressed the house through the usual medium:—

"MR. SPEAKER,—I was anxious to be permitted to attend this house in order to return my thanks in person for the honour done me in deputing a committee of the house to congratulate me on my return to this country; after the house had animated my exertions by their applause, on every occasion that appeared to them to merit their approbation; and after they had recently been so liberal, in the bill by which they followed up the gracious favour of his royal highness the prince regent, in conferring upon me the noblest gift a subject has ever received; I hope I shall not be thought presumptuous if I take this opportunity of expressing my admiration of the great efforts made by this house, and by the country, at a moment of unexampled pressure and difficulty, in order to support, on a great scale, those operations, by which the contest in which we were engaged has been brought to so fortunate a conclusion. By the wise policy of parliament, government were enabled to give the necessary support to the operations carried on under my directions. The confidence reposed in me by his majesty's ministers, and by the commander-in-chief, the gracious favours conferred upon me by his royal highness the prince regent, and the reliance I had on the support of my gallant friends the general officers, and the bravery of the officers and troops of the armies, encouraged me to carry on the operations in which I was engaged in such a manner as to draw from this house those repeated marks of their approbation, for which I now return them my sincere thanks. Sir, it is impossible for me to express the gratitude I feel. I can only assure the house, that I shall always be ready to serve my king and country in any capacity in which my services may be considered useful or necessary, with the same zeal which has already acquired me the approbation of this house."

Loud cheers accompanied the delivery of this speech, and at its close, the speaker rising, uncovered, thus addressed the Duke of Wellington:—

"MY LORD,—Since last I had the honour of addressing you from this place, a series of eventful years has elapsed; but none without some mark and note of your rising glory. The military triumphs which your valour has achieved, upon the banks of the Douro and the Tagus, on the Ebro and the Garonne, have called forth the spontaneous shouts of admiring nations. Those triumphs it is needless on this day to recount. Their names have been written by your conquering sword in the annals of Europe, and we shall hand them down with exultation to our children's children. It is not, however, the grandeur of military success which has alone fixed our admiration, or commanded our applause; it has been that generous and lofty spirit which inspired your troops with unbounded confidence, and taught them to know that the day of battle was always a day of victory; that moral courage and enduring fortitude, which, in perilous times, when gloom and doubt had beset ordinary minds, stood nevertheless unshaken; and that ascendancy of character, which, uniting the energies of jealous and rival nations, enabled you to wield at will the fate and fortunes of mighty empires.

"For the repeated thanks and grants bestowed upon you by this house, in gratitude for your many and eminent services, you have thought fit this day to offer your acknowledgments; but this nation well knows that it is still largely your debtor. It owes to you the proud satisfaction, that amidst the constellation of illustrious warriors who have recently visited our country, we should present to them a leader of our own, to whom all, by common acclamation, conceded the pre-eminence; and when the will of heaven, and the common destinies of our nature, shall have swept away the present generation, you will have left your great name an imperishable monument; exciting others to like deeds of glory—and serving at once to adorn, defend, and perpetuate the existence of this country among the ruling nations of the earth.

"It remains only that we congratulate your grace upon the high and important mission on which you are about to proceed,* and we doubt not, that the same splendid talents, so conspicuous in war, will maintain, with equal authority, firmness, and temper, our national honour and interests in peace."

The duke then took his leave, all the members rising and cheering him as he retired; and it was ordered, in commemoration of the day when the house had had the happiness to witness within its walls the presence of a hero, never excelled at any period of the world, that the eloquent address of the speaker to the Duke of Wellington should be printed, and form a part of the annals of parliament.

Among the topics of parliamentary discussion during the present session, none excited so much general interest as the corn-bill, the proceedings concerning which were the subject of much agitation in the country, and produced a vast number of petitions. In the year 1804 the corn-laws were revised; and by an act passed in that year, the importation price of wheat was raised from fifty to sixty-three shillings per quarter; and the duty payable on importation, when wheat was at that price or higher, was two shillings and sixpence per quarter. By the same law, the exportation price of wheat

* As Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Court of France.

was advanced from forty-four to forty-eight shillings per quarter, and the duty payable on wheat exported at that price was continued at five shillings per quarter. In the session of 1812-13 a committee was appointed to inquire into the state of the corn laws, which had remained unaltered since the year 1804; and this committee, which consisted principally of members connected with Ireland, drew up a report relating rather to the agricultural state of that country, than to the general interests of the kingdom. On the 5th of May, in the present year, Sir Henry Parnell, the chairman of the corn committee of 1813, moved that the first of a series of resolutions prepared by him should be referred to a committee of the whole house; this resolution, which regarded only the exportation of corn, stated it to be "expedient that the exportation of corn, grain, meal, malt, and flour, from any part of the united kingdom, should be permitted at all times, without the payment of any duty, and without receiving any bounty whatever." This resolution being carried, a second was proposed, to the effect, "that the several duties now payable in respect to all corn, grain, meal, and flour, imported into the united kingdom, shall cease and determine, and the several duties in a schedule to be agreed upon shall be paid in lieu thereof." The schedule, after some emendations, fixed the duty for the importation of wheat at twenty-four shillings per quarter when the average price in this country was at or under sixty-three shillings per quarter; but when the price in England was eighty-six shillings or upwards, the duty, which was gradually decreased up to that sum, was wholly to cease. Wheat imported from the British colonies in North America was only chargeable with half the duty; and a similar scale was formed for other grain. The third resolution which, like the first and second, passed the committee, provided, "that all foreign corn, grain, meal, and flour, should be imported and warehoused free of all duty, until taken out for home consumption; and should at all times be exported free from all duty."

In a subsequent stage of this discussion it was determined to consider the subject of the exportation of corn separate from the duties regarding the importation; and a separate bill for allowing the free exportation of grain without duty or bounty, founded on the first resolution moved by Sir Henry Parnell, was prepared and passed into a law without any material opposition.

The other resolutions were doomed in their progress to encounter a very animated opposition both in and out of parliament; and on the

6th of June it was determined, on the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, in consideration of the number of petitions which had been presented against the proposed alteration in the corn-laws, that the petitions should be referred to the consideration of a select committee. This motion, which involved a postponement of the further consideration of the subject to the next session of parliament was carried by a large majority, and the further consideration of the report of the committee of the preceding year, was deferred to that day six months.

In the upper house of parliament, where the corn exportation bill had passed with as much facility as in the commons, a committee was also formed for inquiry into the state of the corn-laws; this committee, of which the Earl of Hardwicke was the chairman, brought up their report on the eve of the prorogation of parliament, stating, that the time had not been sufficient to justify the committee in coming to any final decision on the subject, and recommending that another committee should be appointed early in the next session of parliament.

The interest in the public mind which was so strongly roused in the year 1813 by the vindictive and unmerited persecution pursued towards the Princess of Wales, had begun to subside, when an interdict issued by the prince against the appearance of his royal consort at the queen's drawing-room again called into exercise the national sympathies in favour of her royal highness. A short time before the arrival of the royal visitors, by whose presence this country was honoured in the summer of the year 1814, and when, of course, it was to be expected that the levees and the drawing-rooms would be particularly splendid, the Princess of Wales received a letter from the queen,* acquainting her royal highness, "that she had received a communication from her son the prince regent, in which he states, that her majesty's intention of holding two drawing-rooms in the ensuing month having been notified to the public, he must declare that he considers that his own presence at her court cannot be dispensed with, and that he desires it may be distinctly understood, for reasons of which he alone can be the judge, to be his fixed and unalterable determination not to meet the Princess of Wales upon any occasion, either in public or in private." The queen, in conclusion, states, that she is thus placed under the painful necessity of intimating to the Princess of Wales the impossibility of her majesty's receiving her royal highness at her drawing-rooms.

To this cruel intimation the Princess of Wales replied in a letter to the queen,† that

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* Dated May 23, 1814.

† Dated May 24, 1814.

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though she could not so far forget her duty to her king and to herself as to surrender her right to appear at any public drawing-room to be held by her majesty, yet that she might not add to the difficulty and uneasiness of her majesty's situation, she should in the present instance yield to the will of his royal highness the prince regent, and should not present herself at the drawing-rooms of the next month." But lest it should be by possibility supposed, that the resolution of the prince regent never to meet the princess, his wife, upon any occasion, either in public or in private, conveyed an insinuation from which she shrunk, the princess addressed a letter to the prince,* demanding to know what circumstances could justify the proceeding which he had thus thought fit to adopt? "I owe it," said she, "to myself, to my daughter, and to the nation, to which I am indebted for the vindication of my honour, to remind your royal highness of what you know, that, after open persecution and mysterious inquiries, upon undefined charges, the malice of my enemies fell entirely upon themselves; and that I was restored by the king, with the advice of his ministers, to the full enjoyment of my rank in his court, upon my complete acquittal: since his majesty's lamented illness, I have demanded, in the face of parliament and the country, to be proved guilty or to be treated as innocent; I have been declared, what I am—innocent; and I will not submit to be treated as guilty. Sir, you may possibly refuse to read this letter, but the world must know that I have written it, and they will see my real motives for foregoing, in this instance, the rights of my rank: occasions however may arise (one I trust is far distant) when I must appear in public, and your royal highness must be present also. Can your royal highness have contemplated the full extent of your declaration? Has your royal highness forgotten the approaching marriage of our daughter, and the possibility of our coronation? The time you have selected for this proceeding is calculated to make it peculiarly galling; many illustrious strangers are already arrived in England, among others, as I am informed, the illustrious heir of the house of Orange, who has announced himself to me as my future son-in-law; from their society I am unjustly excluded; others are expected, of rank equal to your own, to rejoice with your royal highness in the peace of Europe; my daughter will, for the first time, appear in the splendour and publicity becoming the approaching nuptials of the presumptive heiress of this empire; this season your royal highness has chosen for treating me with fresh and unprovoked indignity, and of all his majesty's

subjects, I alone am prevented, by your royal highness, from appearing in my place to partake of the general joy, and am deprived of the indulgence in those feelings of pride and affection permitted to every mother but me."

The lamented indisposition of the king having deprived the Princess of Wales of her paternal protector, her royal highness was under the necessity of appealing to parliament against the persecution with which she was assailed from a quarter to which she had a right to look for nothing but kindness and affection. This appeal was made through the medium of the speaker of the house of commons, to whom her royal highness addressed a letter, animadverting on the dangerous nature of the "fixed and unalterable determination of the Prince of Wales never to meet her on any occasion, either in public or private;" and inclosing, for the information of the house, the correspondence which had passed on this occasion.

After the letters had been read, Mr. Methuen moved, "That an humble address be presented to his royal highness the prince regent, to pray his royal highness that he would be graciously pleased to acquaint the house, by whose advice he was induced to form the 'fixed and unalterable determination never to meet Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales upon any occasion, either in public or private.'"

To this motion the ministers of the prince objected, that it was not within the province of the house of commons to interfere in this case, and that the frequent family dissensions in the reigns of George I. and II. had exhibited many instances of the exclusion of members of the royal family from the court of the sovereign. The debate, which was carried on with closed doors, terminated in Mr. Methuen's consenting to withdraw his motion, from a hope that the rigorous proceeding announced against the Princess of Wales would not be acted upon at the approaching drawing-rooms. In this expectation the honourable gentleman was disappointed; but when the subject was again resumed on the 23d of June, Mr. Methuen, instead of insisting upon the indignity and injustice offered to the mother of our future sovereign, dwelt rather upon the necessity of increasing the establishment of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales! Stating, however, distinctly, that he had had no communication with her royal highness; and that he would be the last man to propose an increase of income, were its consequences to be the surrender of any of her rights.

Lord Castlereagh, seizing with avidity this

* Dated May 26, 1814.

view of the subject, observed, that it was the first time parliament had been told that an increased provision for her royal highness was the object which her friends had in view. His lordship proceeded to state that he had no objection to submit to the house, on a future day, a proposal on this subject; and in conclusion adverted to a fact not before generally known, namely, that there is in existence an instrument dated in the year 1809, signed by the Prince and Princess of Wales, and approved by his majesty, and to which his signature, as well as that of a large proportion of the ministers of the time, is applied, which provides for a distinct establishment for the princess, and admits the fact of the separation.

On the 4th of July, the house being in a committee, Lord Castlereagh rose to propose that such an increase should be made to the income of the Princess of Wales as would enable her to maintain an establishment more suited to her situation in this country; and he thought the most desirable measure would be to raise it to that point to which it would be advanced in the event of the death of the prince regent; his proposal therefore was, that the net annual sum of fifty thousand pounds should be granted to the Princess of Wales, and that the five thousand and seventeen thousand per annum which she at present enjoyed should be withheld from the prince regent's income. Mr. Whitbread thought the provision large, much larger than any of the friends of her royal highness could have contemplated if any such motive as the increase of the princess's allowance could have entered their mind, but for himself he disclaimed all such idea.

In a subsequent stage of this business Lord Castlereagh called the attention of the house to a letter received by the chairman of the committee from the Princess of Wales, in which she intimated that it would be more satisfactory to her if the vote of the committee for an allowance of fifty thousand per annum was reduced to thirty-five thousand. This suggestion, after some further discussion, was adopted, and a bill was accordingly introduced into parliament, and passed into a law, whereby the net annual allowance of the Princess of Wales was fixed at thirty-five thousand pounds.

The Princess Charlotte of Wales, it was generally understood, had espoused the cause of her mother in the unhappy dissensions which had so long existed in the royal family, and it was probably in some degree owing to this circumstance that she was kept much more retired and private than her rank and age seemed to require. Those who were appointed to superintend and direct her education were very often changed: and it was rumoured, that from these

and other causes, her situation was by no means agreeable. But although the young princess had thus been kept in a state of comparative seclusion, it was now determined that she should marry. The person fixed upon as her husband was the young Prince of Orange, who was recommended by his long residence in this country; by his acquaintance with the genius of our government, and with the habits and manners of the people, and by the connection between his house and the reigning family of Great Britain. In addition to these recommendations he was favourably known to the British public by the courage which he had displayed in the campaigns of the peninsula, under Lord Wellington. It does not, however, appear that he was ever very acceptable to his intended consort; but as mutual attachment is seldom deemed requisite in royal marriages, it was imagined that the alliance would proceed to its consummation. The real objections of the princess to her intended husband remain in obscurity, though she certainly expressed a strong unwillingness to leave the country, especially at a time when her mother required her countenance and consolation. This objection it was endeavoured to surmount, by a promise that her absence should be only for a short duration, and that on her return from Holland she should never be asked again to leave the country. In this arrangement her royal highness appeared to acquiesce, and the marriage settlements were nearly ready to be executed; when suddenly she expressed doubts as to the security tendered to her, that she should not be obliged to reside longer in Holland than she wished, and demanded that a clause should be inserted in the marriage contract prohibiting her from ever quitting the kingdom on any account, or for any time however short. To this proposal the Prince of Orange, who had pledged himself to the Dutch people to take the princess among them for a short time, could not consent, and the matrimonial negotiations were at an end.

One of the effects of this proceeding was to diminish the affectionate feeling between the Princess Charlotte and her royal father, and under such circumstances she naturally looked to her mother for protection and advice. This served still more to widen the breach; and all the principal persons about her royal highness were removed, either because they were suspected of forwarding her views, or because they either wanted the power or the inclination to exercise that influence over her, which was deemed necessary in order to render her more obedient to the will of her father. On the 12th of July, at the moment when the prince was engaged at Warwick-House, the residence of the Princess Charlotte, giving instructions to

those who had superseded her discarded attendants, the princess took an opportunity of leaving the house in a private manner, and throwing herself into a hackney coach, ordered the driver to convey her to her mother's residence at Connaught House. The Princess of Wales, much embarrassed by this unexpected visit, immediately drove to the house of parliament to consult her friends as to the proper course to be pursued; and the result was, that at three o'clock the following morning the Princess Charlotte was prevailed upon to accompany her uncle, the Duke of York, to Carlton-House. After remaining at that place for some time, she was removed to Cranbourn-Lodge, in Windsor Forest, where she was placed under the superintendence of the household recently appointed.

Soon after the removal of the Princess Charlotte of Wales to Cranbourn-Lodge, her royal mother asked, and very readily obtained, permission from the prince regent and his ministers to leave this country; but whether upon a visit to her continental connection, or with the intention of passing the remainder of her life at a distance from a country where she had experienced nothing but mortification and misery, is not clearly ascertained. On the 9th of August her royal highness embarked at Worthing in the *Jason* frigate, and after having paid a visit to her brother at the court of Brunswick, she proceeded to Italy, every-where receiving the honours due to her rank, and on the approach of winter fixed her residence at Naples.

Every friend to his country and to the cause of public morals must agree in lamenting that each succeeding year, instead of healing, tended only to exasperate the differences existing among the members of the royal family; and those who are accustomed only to the domestic peace and union which generally exist in the middle ranks of life, conceive it strange, that in a circle so exalted, and where example, either good or bad, is so influential, there should be so little disposition to exhibit to the nation a better model of conjugal affection for their imitation. At the present time, in particular, there were reasons for keeping in the back-ground these lamentable and degrading differences; but even the visit of the continental potentates and their illustrious associates was not sufficient to subdue, even for the moment, that deep-rooted aversion and hostility which had unhappily taken possession of the mind of the prince regent.

On Monday the 6th of June, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, the two sovereigns to whom Europe is so deeply indebted for their share in the overthrow of the military despotism which had enslaved France—and contemplated the subjugation of surrounding

nations, landed on the British shores, from the *Impregnable* and the *Jason*, under the command of the Duke of Clarence as admiral of the fleet. Their majesties were accompanied by the two eldest sons of the King of Prussia, Prince Frederick of Prussia, Prince Augustus, Marshals Blucher and Barclay de Tolly, Prince Metternich, Baron Humboldt, Counts Platoff, Tolstoi, Hardenberg, and Nesselrode, Baron Anstet, Prince Garldriske, General Czernicheff, and other illustrious heroes and statesmen, whose bravery and talents had rendered them conspicuous in the recent extraordinary events. The royal visitors entered London privately in the afternoon of Tuesday, the emperor taking up his lodgings at the Pulteney Hotel, in Piccadilly, and the King of Prussia in apartments prepared for him in the stable yard St. James's. In the evening of that day the sovereigns waited upon the prince regent at Carlton-House, and received from his royal highness a hearty welcome. At six o'clock Marshal Blucher arrived in St. James's Park, by the Horse-Guards, in the prince regent's open carriage; and in the course of the evening the gallant veteran was publicly invested by the prince in person with a beautiful medallion likeness of his royal highness, richly set with diamonds. The pursuits of the Emperor Alexander, like those of his sister the Grand Duchess of Oldenburgh, who had previously arrived in this country, afforded evident proofs of praise-worthy curiosity and good taste. His majesty manifested a perfect indifference for shew and ceremony, except upon occasions where they were absolutely necessary for the dignity of the throne. He has too lively a sense of his common nature, as one fellow-creature among many, and one that does not arrogate to himself any super-eminence, to be fond of the usual gorgeous attentions that are shewn to men of his rank. The first visit paid by the Emperor of Russia on his arrival in London was to Westminster-Hall, and the Abbey—the tombs of the illustrious dead. Day and night, during the residence of the royal party, their time was fully occupied by the vast variety of objects that solicited their inspection, and rewarded their gratifying toil. Levees, drawing-rooms, and royal audiences, were succeeded by the amusement of the opera, the theatre, and the parks. The national bank, the mint, the tower, the docks, and the royal arsenals, were all in succession resorted to and explored—not with the vacant eye of an indifferent spectator, but with that inquisitive exactness which indicated an intention to make the institutions of other nations subservient to the happiness and prosperity of their own.

On the 14th of June, the prince regent and his royal guest honoured the city and university

of Oxford with a visit. Previously to their arrival a programma was drawn up, and issued by the chancellor and heads of houses, according to which all under-graduates and bachelors, all masters of arts, proctors, doctors, heads of houses, and noblemen, in short, all the university went out, each in his proper costume, and ranged themselves in lines on each side of the High Street, from St. Mary's Church to the west end of Magdalen-Bridge, to which the seniors were nearest. The yeomanry were stationed between the gownsmen and the footway, which was thus left open for the numerous spectators; and the windows of all the houses in High-Street were crowded with ladies. Soon after ten o'clock an *avant-courier* announced the approach of the prince regent, and after the lapse of about half an hour his royal highness was succeeded by the Emperor Alexander and his amiable and accomplished sister, who were soon succeeded by the King of Prussia and his two sons. The prince regent, having assumed his academic robe, came forth from his rooms in Christ Church, followed by the allied sovereigns, with the princes and nobles in their train. The morning was occupied in visiting and inspecting the colleges, halls, and churches; and in the evening a splendid banquet was prepared in Radcliffe's Library. About two hundred sat down to dinner, fifty of whom were considered as the prince's party, and occupied that part of the table nearest to his royal highness. The tables were loaded with elegant plate; and the dresses of the company were superb, many gentlemen being in court dresses or regimentals, and wearing loosely over them the scarlet academic robe. The beauty of the interior of the building, the ample convenience for the spectators, the rank of the guests, and the unique and classical effect of the academic robes, gave to the *coup d'œil* an effect that was scarcely ever equalled. About eleven o'clock at night the party separated in order to see the brilliant illuminations which at that hour blazed universally through the streets of Oxford.

Before eight o'clock the following morning the ladies' seats in the theatre, which accommodate six hundred, were completely filled. The upper gallery and the orchestra contained at least nine hundred under-graduates and bachelors; and the area received the masters of arts, bachelors of law, &c. and the strangers admitted by tickets. Soon after ten o'clock the prince regent, preceded by the chancellor and the other officers of the university, appeared, uncovered, upon the threshold, and in an instant peals of applause rang through the lofty domes. Next to his royal highness came the emperor, and after him the King of Prussia, in their robes as doctors of law. Then followed the

Duchess of Oldenburgh, accompanied by the Duke of York, the foreign princes and nobles, and the honorary members of the university; the heads of houses and doctors formed the rest of this beautiful and unique procession. As soon as silence could be obtained, the chancellor, Lord Grenville, opened the convocation in his usual dignified and impressive manner. The public orator ascended the rostrum, from whence he addressed the regent and his princely guests in a Latin oration. The regius professor of civil law then delivered a panegyric upon the two great monarchs, whose moderation had been displayed in the midst of victory, and on each of whom the degree of doctor in civil law, by diploma, had been conferred. The chancellor next proposed a diploma degree to the Duke of Wellington, and honorary degrees to Prince Metternich, the Prime Minister of the Emperor of Austria; Count Lieven, the Russian Ambassador, and to Prince Blucher. The three latter were accordingly introduced, and presented by the regius professor of civil law. Eight original congratulatory addresses, in verse, were then recited, and after the chancellor had dissolved the convocation, the procession withdrew from the theatre in the same manner in which it was entered. The royal party honoured the corporation of Oxford with a visit in the council chamber, and the prince regent conferred on the town clerk, William Elias Taunton, Esq. and Joseph Lock, Esq. the mayor, the honour of knighthood. At one o'clock they visited the observatory, and at two partook of an elegant breakfast at All Souls' College. After breakfast, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, and their party, left the university on a tour to Blenheim and Stowe, highly gratified with their visit to this venerable seat of learning.

On the return of the Emperor Alexander to London he repaired to St. Paul's Cathedral, where he witnessed, with evident emotion, the annual assemblage of six thousand of the charity children belonging to the different parishes of the metropolis.

On the 18th an entertainment was given by the corporation of the city of London to the Prince Regent and the Monarchs of Russia and Prussia, in a style of splendour and magnificence never exceeded in this country. To give effect to the scene, the royal procession went in state from Carlton-House to the Guildhall, with the full splendour of the British court. The streets east of Temple-Bar were lined with nearly eight thousand soldiers; the houses were filled and covered with tens of thousands of spectators; and to such a pitch was the public curiosity to witness this splendid pageant excited, that the windows in particular situations, where the procession could be viewed to advantage, were

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disposed of for the day at the enormous price of twenty or thirty guineas each. On the arrival of the procession at the Guildhall the royal guests were ushered into the council chamber, which had been splendidly fitted up, and a canopy and throne erected for the occasion. The regent being seated on the throne, the recorder delivered an address of the lord mayor and corporate body of London upon his royal highness's visit to the city, which was graciously received. Here the royal and noble visitors promenaded for some time in familiar conversation, and the prince, to evince his respect for the city of London, and his personal esteem for the lord mayor,* created that magistrate a baronet. Dinner being announced, the royal party proceeded to the hall; the Prince Regent, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, taking their seats under a grand state canopy in the centre of the table, at which were seated one and twenty personages of the blood royal, including the Grand Duchess of Oldenburgh. The appearance of the hall was splendid beyond description, and the constellation of British beauty which occupied the spacious gallery appropriated to the use of the ladies exclusively, shed an exquisite fascination over this magnificent scene.

On the following day, the Emperor of Russia, accompanied by the Duchess of Oldenburgh, attended an assembly of a very different description, but of a nature quite as accordant with the simplicity of his manners, and the contemplative turn of his mind; after attending the service of the Greek church, he proceeded to the meeting of the society of friends in St. Martin's Lane! In the course of the day he received deputations from "The British and Foreign Bible Society," the "Society of Friends of Foreigners in Distress," and the "Humane Society;" of the latter of which his imperial majesty is a member, in consequence of having restored to life a Polish peasant, apparently dead by drowning.

On the 20th of June, the day on which the proclamation of peace was made in the metropolis, a military review of all the regiments in London and its environs, in honour of that happy event, took place in Hyde-Park. At half past eleven o'clock a royal salute of twenty-one cannons announced the approach of the royal party, and another discharge of twenty-one guns gave intimation of their arrival on the ground. The prince regent, preceded by a small detachment of Cossacks, headed by the Hetman Platoff, was attended on one side by the Emperor of Russia, and on the other by the King of Prussia, followed by Marshal Blucher, and a most magnificent staff, superbly

attired. The different lines were soon arranged, and the royal party passed down them, the bands playing "God Save the King." The numerous regiments then passed in review, and this splendid military spectacle was closed by a *feu-de-joie*. In the evening the King of Prussia went to the house of lords, and witnessed the ceremony of passing bills by commission.

The military review was succeeded by a grand naval exhibition, such as, of all the nations of the world, England alone could display. On the 22d of June the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia took their leave of London, and repaired to Portsmouth, at which place the prince regent arrived in his travelling carriage on the evening of that day. Early in the morning of the 23d the royal standard floated in the air over the public buildings of Portsmouth, and the troops were drawn out in front of the Government-House. About eleven o'clock the illustrious company walked from the house of Commissioner Grey, in the Dock-Yard, to the place of embarkation, where the whole naval procession, headed by the Duke of Clarence, as admiral of the fleet, was ready to receive them. The admiralty barge, with its characteristic ensign, came first; and was followed by the royal barge, with the royal standard; and two other barges, one hoisting the Russian flag of yellow, with the black spread eagle; the other of white, with the sable eagle of Prussia. Into these vessels the regent, the emperor, the Duchess of Oldenburgh, the King of Prussia, his sons and relatives, many German Princes, and the suites of the royal personages, stepped in succession. The procession, headed by men-of-war's barges, commanded by captains, and accompanied by innumerable private vessels, passed along the line of men-of-war, amidst a general salute of forty-two guns from each ship; the ships' yards were all fully manned, and the loud cheerings of the crews, and of the countless company in the surrounding boats, emulated the roar of the cannon. The Duke of Clarence had gone on board the Impregnable, where the procession stopped, and went on board. The royal visitors, after having explored the ship, partook with the ship's company of their grog and mess with great affability, and afterwards sat down to a sumptuous collation in the cabin. The prince regent, elevated by the display of his country's greatness, witnessed by foreign monarchs, on Britain's own element, declared this to be the grandest sight he had ever beheld. The Duchess of Oldenburgh particularly expressed her delight, and bore the shock of firing with much fortitude. The amiable and meditative Frederick William was wrapped in the

* William Domville, Esq.

sublimity of a spectacle so new to him; and Alexander seemed to dwell upon it with ecstasy. Leaving the Impregnable, salutes were again fired, after which the whole party repaired to the Government-House, where a grand banquet was given by the regent to one hundred and fifty persons, and the dominion of night was overcome in Portsmouth by the general illuminations, which to the neighbouring heights exhibited a scene splendid beyond description.

The Prince Regent, the Duke of York, and the King of Prussia, with the Prussian and other princes, repaired early on the following morning to the Emperor of Russia, at his lodgings in the Dock-Yard, and from thence proceeded to view the various naval establishments. The numerous objects of curiosity and utility in the yards occupied the whole of the forenoon, and about two o'clock the royal barges, with the rest of the grand aquatic procession, left the King's Stairs, in the same order as on the preceding day, to pay another visit to the fleet in the roads. The fleet formed a line of seven or eight miles in extent, in front of the Isle of Wight, and the Royal Sovereign yacht received the Prince Regent and the King of Prussia, while the Emperor Alexander, attended by the Lord High Admiral, went again on board the Impregnable. The royal visitors were received with a general salute, after which the ships slipped their cables, and were immediately under sail, with a brisk north-east gale. The Royal Sovereign yacht led the van, and they speedily cleared St. Helen's, and were quite out at sea. About five o'clock the whole of the line of battle ships and frigates hove to by signal. On their return the firing was renewed, so as to afford, in some respects, the idea of a naval engagement. In the visit of the 23d the ships lay at anchor with their sails down, but they now displayed before the assembled sovereigns the proudest boast of this sea-girt isle—a British fleet in a state of activity. In the course of the night and morning many private vessels had come in from various parts of the coast, so that the number had considerably increased; and the oldest boatmen in the harbour never witnessed before so great a number of vessels collected, or so fine a sight at Portsmouth. The salutes on the departure of the royal party from the fleet were very imposing on shore and in the harbour; and the discharge of all the artillery round the works of Portsmouth and Portsea, and on the different batteries at Haslar, and along the coast, followed by ten *feux-de-joie* of the many thousand military drawn up, chiefly on the ramparts, was tremendous. Under these thundering demonstrations the sovereigns retired to their several residences, while the multitudes assembled filled the royal ears with cries of "Wel-

lington." In the absence of the royal party, the duke, drawn in triumph through the streets by the populace, had arrived at the Government-House, attended by Lord Stewart (late Sir Charles Stewart), and was in readiness to receive the prince regent on his return. At night the town was again illuminated, with additional splendour, and the effect was heightened by the brilliant illumination of the Prince, of ninety-eight guns, at her moorings, in the roads. On the 25th of June the allied sovereigns left Portsmouth for Dover, where they embarked on the 27th for Calais, amidst the thundering of cannon, and the enthusiastic cheers of the people.

The impression made upon the English nation by this royal visit was deep and will be lasting. The Emperor Alexander in particular, by his personal qualities, as well as by his exalted rank, attracted universal regard. Fortunately the events of his reign have contributed to assist his natural disposition. The native benevolence of his heart must wonderfully quicken the reflection, that the success of his arms and his negotiations have had a signal share in restoring peace to long distracted Europe. The homage he received in England was directed as much to the man as to the sovereign, and his discriminating mind felt the tribute, while his heart perhaps acknowledged it as one of the most grateful rewards to which his services for the human race are entitled. The first days of this sovereign's reign were signalled by judicious efforts to ameliorate the condition of his vast empire; and his visit to England will, unquestionably, tend to promote this generous design, which it seems to be the business of his life to pursue. The King of Prussia is of a character less fascinating. His reign has been one of unprecedented difficulties; and he is constitutionally rather of a solid than a brilliant disposition. The long calamities of his kingdom, and an irreparable domestic loss, have confirmed that air of thoughtfulness and reserve which marked his countenance even at an early age. His domestic virtues have ever been conspicuous; but the compass and structure of his mind are not of that order which impart to a sovereign the requisite qualification for steering the vessel of the state through the boisterous ocean of a revolutionary period.

After the departure of the royal visitors, and when the public mind had begun to resume its wonted sobriety, the parliamentary session, which had suffered a temporary interruption, was resumed; and on the 26th of June, the speaker of the house of commons informed that assembly, that he had received a letter from Lord Cochrane, protesting his innocence of certain charges exhibited against his lordship, and of which he had, on the 8th of the present

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month, been convicted in the court of King's Bench.*

When the matter came under consideration on the 5th of July, the house of commons adjudged, by a majority of one hundred and forty to forty-four voices, that Lord Cochrane should be expelled from that assembly; but the electors of Westminster, under the persuasion of the perfect innocence of their representative, re-elected his lordship, not only without opposition, but in triumph.

The sentence pronounced upon the accused, which, besides fine and imprisonment, comprised the most infamous punishment inflicted by the laws of England—public exposure on the pillory, was generally considered as severe in the extreme; and when applied to Lord Cochrane, a man who, besides hereditary rank, had acquired honours and distinctions in the service of his country, seemed to shock the feelings even of those who were most convinced of his participation in the crime. Against so rigorous an infliction parliament was preparing to raise its voice, when Lord Castlereagh announced to the house of commons, that the

crown had taken steps to interpose its mercy, and that the punishment of the pillory would not be inflicted either upon Lord Cochrane or the other parties.

The national income and expenditure, subjects at all times so interesting to the public, and the progress of which will be traced in the annual financial summary, given in that portion of this work devoted to the domestic history of Great Britain,† were, on the 13th of June, brought under the consideration of the house of commons. On the present occasion the chancellor of the exchequer contented himself with stating the several sums necessary to be raised for the service of the year, the ways and means to defray those charges, and the terms on which the loan had been contracted for. The whole amount of the joint and separate charges for England he stated at £67,517,478; and for Ireland, at £8,107,094, making the total expense of the year £75,624,572. This estimate was certainly very high for the expense of what might be regarded as a peace establishment! But it was to be recollected, that the first part of the year had been passed in a state of war, and of

* The charges preferred against Lord Cochrane were, that he, along with Captain Random de Berenger; the Hon. Andrew Cochrane Johnson, his lordship's uncle; Richard Gathorne Butt, a stock broker; Ralph Sandom, a spirit-merchant, at North-Fleet; Alexander McRae; John Peter Holloway; and Henry Lyte; had conspired to defraud the members of the stock exchange, by circulating, on the 11th of February last, false news of Bonaparte's defeat and death, to raise the funds to a higher price than they otherwise would have borne, to the injury of the public, and for the benefit of the conspirators. Of this offence Lord Cochrane, and the other defendants, were found guilty; his lordship, however, with a firmness and constancy that guilt can rarely assume, continued, after his conviction, to declare his intire ignorance of the plot and conspiracy imputed to him, and earnestly implored a new trial. This indulgence the rules of the court did not allow; and on the 21st of June, his lordship, along with Mr. Butt, was sentenced to pay a fine of £500 to the king, to be imprisoned twelve months, in the custody of the Marshal of the Marshalsea, and during that time to stand one hour in, and upon, the pillory, in front of the Royal Exchange. The same sentence was pronounced on Captain de Berenger, with the exception of the fine; and Sandom and Lyte were ordered to be imprisoned twelve months. Mr. Cochrane Johnstone, and Mr. Alexander McRae, failed to appear.

† FINANCES.

PUBLIC INCOME of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1814.

Branches of Revenue.	Gross Receipts.			Paid into the Excheq.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Customs	10,325,550	19	10½	7,015,968	19	11½
Excise	20,805,852	14	1½	18,039,713	19	2½
Stamps	5,638,155	17	10½	5,344,486	13	11
Land & Assessed Taxes	7,884,841	3	11½	7,433,496	18	4½
Post-Office	1,938,517	10	6	1,403,000	0	0
Miscel. Permanent Tax	76,719	6	11	68,089	10	7½
Hered. Revenue	115,489	10	5½	40,311	1	5
Extraord. Resources.						
{ Customs	3,818,272	14	9½	3,275,358	5	4½
{ Excise	6,227,240	13	4	6,073,538	4	5½
{ Property Tax	14,320,436	17	9½	13,967,402	2	6½
Miscel. Income	8,297,033	14	1½	8,264,900	0	7½
Loans, including £6,000,000 for the service of Ireland...	35,050,574	17	9	35,050,574	17	9
Grand Total.—	£114,498,686	1	6½	£105,976,790	14	3½
Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, March, 1814.				(Signed) R. S. LUSHINGTON.		

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1814.

Heads of Expenditure.	Sums.		
	£.	s.	d.
Interest	24,065,665	16	0½
Charge of Management	238,827	17	7
Reduction of National Debt	15,621,352	13	4
Interest on Exchequer Bills	2,081,529	10	6
Civil List	1,595,350	6	11½
Civil Government of Scotland	115,176	4	8½
Payments in anticipation, &c.	391,086	1	11½
Navy	21,996,624	9	4½
Ordnance	3,404,527	11	11
Army	18,500,985	11	0
Extraordinary Services & Subsidies	22,262,951	0	0
Ireland	4,700,416	13	4
Miscellaneous Services	4,010,349	18	4½
Deductions for Sums forming no part of the Expenditure of Great Britain	118,872,813	13	1½
Grand Total.—	£115,968,610	16	10½
Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, March, 1814.			
(Signed) R. S. LUSHINGTON.			

exertion beyond any former period; and that we had still a powerful enemy to contend with. To meet the charges upon the public revenue, the taxes and the loans of the year for England would produce £67,708,545. The exports of the past year had very considerably exceeded those of the most flourishing year at any former period. The total amount of the loan for 1814 was twenty-four millions, being £18,500,000 for England, and £5,500,000 for Ireland, and from the terms upon which the loan had been negotiated, it might be calculated that the public would remain charged with the yearly interest upon it of £4. 12s. 1d. per cent. At the close of this statement the usual resolutions were read and agreed to, after a remark from Mr. Ponsonby, that the public interest demanded that the property tax should not be collected after the 5th of April next.

In a subsequent discussion ministers were asked whether they did not acquiesce in the public opinion, that in consequence of the termination of the war with France, the property and income tax should cease? To this view of the subject there seemed at first some inclination to demur, and it was apprehended, that as we were still at war with America, it would be urged that the tax did not legally expire. But a mere perusal of the terms of the act was sufficient to prove, that the war in which the country was engaged at the time when the tax was imposed, and not any future war, was meant; and ministers, after some delay, declared, that the tax must expire on the 5th of April ensuing. Apprehensions however were still entertained that the tax might be renewed, and the inconclusive replies given by government to the inquiries made on that subject excited a very deep and general alarm throughout the country. The first place which took measures to petition parliament against the renewal of the tax was the city of London; and the example of the metropolis was so generally followed, that the voice of the people, which, when distinctly and perseveringly raised, must always be heard, finally prevailed.

The state of the sister kingdom had for some time been such as to call for the adoption of additional measures for securing the public tranquillity, and on the 8th of July, Mr. Peel, Chief Secretary for Ireland, rose to propose the renewal of a measure, which had received the sanction of parliament in 1807. The clause of the insurrection act, which it was now intended to revive, provided, that in case any part of the country should be disturbed, or be in danger of becoming so, two justices of the peace should be empowered to summon an extraordinary sessions of the county, which should consist of seven magistrates; that the lord-lieutenant, in

council, on receiving a report from the magistrates so assembled, stating that the district was in a state of disturbance, and that the ordinary law was inadequate to the preservation of the public peace, should be empowered to issue a proclamation, commanding all resident within the same district to keep within their houses from sun-set to sun-rise; that no person should be suffered to remain drinking in a public-house after nine o'clock at night; and further, if any persons should be detected out of their houses at the prohibited times, without being able to show good cause, they should be liable to be transported for the term of seven years. It was also required that the lord-lieutenant should order a special session of the peace to be held, at which the persons offending against this law should be tried, and if necessary, the trial by jury should in these cases be dispensed with. Other provisions sanctioned the employment of the military; enabled the magistrates to pay domiciliary visits; and to break open doors if denied admission. The right honourable gentleman allowed that these measures would infringe upon the liberties of the subject, but in his opinion—an opinion formed upon extensive information, the present state of Ireland required them, and the house had to decide upon a choice of evils. It was by no means the intention of government to have recourse to this act on ordinary occasions, but only when all other means of quieting disturbances failed. He then referred to the information that had been received of the outrages that were perpetrated in different parts of Ireland. In Queen's county the *Caravats* were nightly levying contributions from the little farmers, and seizing arms and ammunition where-ever they could be found. A set of savages, called *Carders*, were active in the county of Westmeath, and kept the frightened inhabitants in constant dread of assassination, and of having their cabins burnt over their heads. These men derived their name from the operation of applying wool cards, with which they tore the flesh from the bones of the objects of their inhumanity, for no other offence perhaps than for giving a higher rent to the landlords than others, or for refusing to join the lawless banditti. These atrocities were not practised by one sect against another, but catholics and protestants were alike exposed to their horrors.

The bill introduced by Mr. Peel was warmly discussed in its several stages, but it ultimately passed both branches of the legislature, and at the close of the session obtained the royal assent.

Never perhaps in modern history was any war concluded by a treaty which was so generally approved as that which, in the present year, restored peace to Europe. The long protracted

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and excessive burthens of the war had rendered every one capable of feeling for the general interests of his country, impatient to see its close; and if this impatience was most lively in the breasts of those who had, in all its stages, used their efforts to put a period to the effusion of blood; they, on the other hand, who were attached to the administration by which it was actually concluded, could not fail to regard the peace as a subject of applause. Hence, when the topic was introduced in both houses of parliament, it gave rise rather to conversations and explanations than to debates.

Two days previous to the prorogation of parliament Lord Lonsdale moved an address to the prince regent, thanking his royal highness for the communication of the treaty with France, and assuring him of the approbation with which that treaty was regarded by their lordships as safe and honourable to all. On the following day a similar motion was made in the house of commons by Lord Lascelles, and in both houses the proposed address passed unanimously. If there was any difficulty in cordially concurring in the address, it arose from the article concerning the slave trade, and on the motion of Mr. Wilberforce, a clause was inserted in the address expressive of an assurance, "that no effort would be wanting on the part of the prince regent to give the fullest and speediest effect which the circumstances of the negotiation at the approaching congress might allow, to the wishes so repeatedly declared by this house for the total abolition of the slave trade."

On the 30th of July, the prince regent repaired in state to the house of lords, and being seated on the throne, congratulated parliament

on the full accomplishment of all the objects for which the war had been undertaken, or continued, and the final deliverance of Europe, by the combined exertions of this nation and its allies, from the most oppressive tyranny under which it had ever laboured. The restoration of so many of the ancient governments of the continent afforded, he said, the best prospect of the permanence of that peace which had so happily been restored; and his efforts at the approaching congress might be relied upon for completing the settlement of Europe upon principles of justice and impartiality. Lamenting, as he did, the continuance of hostilities with the United States of America, he was sincerely desirous of restoring peace on conditions honourable to both; but till this object could be attained, parliament would see the necessity of employing the means placed at their disposal for prosecuting the war with increased vigour. His royal highness, in conclusion, thanked the house of commons for the liberal provision they had made for the service of the year, and assured both houses, that full justice was rendered throughout Europe to that manly perseverance which, amidst the convulsions of the continent, had augmented the resources, and extended the dominion, of the British empire, and had proved in its result as beneficial to other nations as to our own. These distinguished advantages, his royal highness said, were to be ascribed, under Providence, to that constitution which it had now for a century been the object of his family to maintain unimpaired, and under which the people of this realm had enjoyed more of real liberty at home, and of true glory abroad, than had ever fallen to the lot of any other nation.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CONGRESS AT VIENNA: Members of the Congress—Its Objects—Projected Incorporation of the Kingdom of Saxony with Prussia—Declaration of Frederick Augustus protesting against the Injustice of this Measure—The Subject left open to further Discussion—Poland—Hanover assumes the Rank of a Kingdom, under the House of Guelph—Confederation of the Swedish Cantons—Victor Emanuel, King of Sardinia, re-established on his Throne—Return of Pope Pius VII. to his Capital—Conduct of Ferdinand VII. on re-ascending the Throne of Spain—Incorporation of the Belgic Provinces with Holland under the Sovereign Prince of the Netherlands—Restoration of a General Peace.

THE storm of the French revolution now seemed to have spent itself; and the long agitated states of Europe approached to a state of repose. Five and twenty years had effected great changes; an immense mass of discordant interests were to be reconciled, and the congress of Vienna, which had for its object the arrangement of a political futurity,* might be considered as the harbinger of a new æra in Europe. The business of this august assembly was not individual, but national; Germany, France, Poland, and Italy, all presented their claims for adjustment, and in the capital of the Huns was to be planted either the seeds of a lasting peace, or the germ of future wars. On the 25th of September, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, made their solemn entry into Vienna; but so multifarious were the previous arrangements which it was judged proper to submit to a commission, called the *Preparative*, that it was not till the 1st of November that the formal installation of the Congress took place. The royal personages

congregated on this occasion consisted of the BOOK IV.
Emperors of Russia and Austria, and the Kings of Prussia, Denmark, Wirtemberg, and Bavaria, with ambassadors from England, Russia, Austria, Prussia, France, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Italy, and the minor states of Germany.†

Three days after the opening of the congress, Prince Repnin, the Russian Governor of Dresden, notified, in a proclamation to the Saxon authorities, that in virtue of a convention, concluded on the 28th of September, at Vienna, his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, in concert with Austria and England, had directed, that the administration of the kingdom of Saxony should be placed in the hands of his Majesty the King of Prussia. As a preliminary step, the government of the country was to be consigned to persons provided with proper powers by his Prussian Majesty, in order thus to operate the union of Saxony with Prussia, which would soon take place in a manner more formal and solemn. It was further announced, on the same authority, that it was not the intention of Frederick Wil-

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* See Treaty of Paris, Article XXXII. Vol. II. Page 346.

† LIST OF THE DIPLOMATIC PERSONAGES CONSTITUTING THE CONGRESS AT VIENNA.

For England.—Lord Castlereagh, Messrs. Cooke, Planta, Ward, Merry, Montague, and Morier.

For Russia.—Count Nesselrode, Minister for Foreign Affairs; the Russian Counsellors Von Anstett, Schroeder, and Bulgakoff.

For Austria.—Prince Metternich.

For Prussia.—The Chancellor Prince Hardenberg; the Prussian Counsellors, Von Humboldt, Von Stein, Zerboni di Posetti, Von Stageman, Von Jordan, and Lieutenant-general Von Knessebeck.

For France.—Prince Talleyrand.

For Spain.—The Chevalier Gomez Labrador, with his two Secretaries, Messrs. Machado and Bustillo; Don Perez de Castro.

Sicily, Sardinia, and Naples.—Count S. Marzano, from Sardinia; the Prince of Rocco Romana, and the Duke of Campo Chiaro, from Naples; Cardinal Gonsalvi, from the Pope; the Commander Ruffo, and the Duke of Sero Capriola, for Sicily.

States of Lombardy.—The Marquis Malaspina di Sanazaro, Deputy from Pavia; the Marquis Luigi Cavriani, from Mantua; Count Giuseppe Pietro Porro, from Como; Marquis Luigi Dati; and Count Morticelli Strada, from Cremona; Count Silvio Martirugo, and Mr. Giacinto Mompiacci, from Brescia.

Minor German States.—Mr. Von Gagorn, for Orange Nassau; Mr. Von Gartner, as Envoy from thirty-six German Princes; the Duke of Saxe Weimar; the Prince of Salm Kyrburg; Major Von Zobel, for Saxe Cobourg; the Electoral Prince of Mecklenburg Strelitz; Mr. Von Marshal, for the duchy of Nassau; Mr. Gunther Von Berg, for the principality of Schaumburg; Mr. Von Kirchbæuer, for Hohenzollern Seigmaringen; the Baron Von Oerzen, for Mecklenburg Strelitz; Count Munster, for Hanover; and the Senator Hach, for Lubec.

For Saxony.—Count Von Elding, Mr. Von Gersdorf, and Counsellor Von Gortz.

For Bavaria.—Field-marshal Prince Wrede.

For Wirtemberg.—Count Von Gorlitz, Counsellor Von Degen, Secretary Pfeiffer, and Count Von Sonthheim.

For Switzerland.—Messrs. Laharpe and Renger.

liam to incorporate Saxony with his estates as a province, but to unite it to Prussia, under the title of the kingdom of Saxony; to change nothing in its constitution; but to preserve it for ever in its integrity under the Prussian monarchy.

The appearance of this document produced in the mind of his Majesty Frederick Augustus, King of Saxony, feelings of grief and astonishment; and on the 4th of November he issued a declaration from Frederickfeld, in which he appealed to the magnanimity and justice of the allied sovereigns, and announced his firm resolution never to separate his fate from that of his people. "The conservation and consolidation of legitimate dynasties," says the Saxon declaration, "was the grand object of the war which has been so happily terminated: the coalesced powers accordingly repeatedly proclaimed, in the most solemn manner, that, far removed from every plan of conquest and aggrandizement, they had only in view the restoration of the rights and liberties of Europe. Saxony, in particular, received the most positive assurances that her integrity would be maintained. The integrity essentially includes the conservation of the dynasty for which the nation has publicly manifested its constant attachment, and the unanimous wish to be re-united to its sovereign. "It is therefore before the congress of Vienna, and in the face of all Europe," says the declaration in conclusion, "that we protest against the intention manifested by the court of Prussia, of provisionally occupying our Saxon states, and at the same time publicly reiterate the declaration, communicated some time ago to the allied courts, that we will never consent to the cession of the states inherited from our ancestors, and that we will never accept of any indemnity or equivalent that may be offered to us."

Staggered by this energetic remonstrance, and aware that the crime of adhering to Bonaparte, for which the King of Saxony was to be deprived of his hereditary dominions, had, in turn, been committed by all the sovereigns assembled at Vienna, the congress began to pause; and the courts of Austria and Great Britain, though they had agreed to the provisional occupation of Saxony by Prussian troops, considered its final possession as still open to discussion and future arrangement.

The grand object professed by the congress of Vienna, was to restore Europe as nearly as possible to the condition in which it stood previous to the French revolution; not only to protect the smaller states against the ambition and power of France, but to prevent the recurrence of future wars, and to bestow upon the inhabitants of the great political community of the most enlightened quarter of the globe, a greater

portion of national and individual security, independence, and happiness, than it had ever hitherto enjoyed. Having traced all the calamities of Europe to that spirit of ambition by which Napoleon had been actuated, and which had led him to seize upon and to partition neighbouring states at his pleasure; it was to be hoped that Russia, Prussia, and Austria, would now have done away with that first example of despoliation which had served as an excuse for many of his acts of injustice, and that they would have restored Poland to her national independence. From the partition of that country in the years 1793 and 1795, consequences had resulted, not only to those who had participated in the spoil, but to all the kingdoms and states by which they were surrounded, which were little anticipated at the time when that event took place, and which seemed to establish the opinion, that there is a political, as well as a moral, retribution. It became therefore the incumbent duty of the sovereigns to whose dominions the territory of Poland was annexed, to do away completely with every vestige of an act of injustice which had infused its deadly poison so deeply and so widely; to seize with avidity the opportunity presented by the congress of Vienna, to prove that they warred not against the person, but against the principles of Napoleon; and to show that they were resolved to make all the atonement in their power for this great political error, by a practical confession of their misdeeds in the restoration of Poland. Such an act of magnanimity all Europe would have applauded, and its fame would have extended to future ages. On these grounds, as well as on many others, it was desirable to invest Poland with a real independence; but this object, if it ever engaged the attention of the congress of Vienna, failed to terminate in any practical result.

One of the first acts of the congress was to recognize a new regal title annexed to the British crown, and to confirm to Hanover, the rank of a kingdom. On the 12th of October, Count Munster, the Hanoverian minister of state, presented a note to the Austrian and other ministers, assembled at Vienna, for the purpose of conveying the declaration of the Prince Regent of Great Britain and Hanover, regarding the title which he had thought it necessary to substitute for that of Elector of the Holy Roman Empire. The title of elector, it was observed, had been rendered unsuitable to present circumstances, by the sixth article of the treaty of Paris, by which it was agreed—"that the states of Germany should remain independent, and joined in a federal union." On this ground, several of the powers concurring in the treaty had invited the prince regent to renounce the ancient title, and in its stead to assume the title of king,

by which the arrangements required for the future welfare of Germany would be facilitated. The declaration proceeded to observe, that all the ancient electors, and the house of Wirtemberg, having erected their states into kingdoms, the prince regent could not derogate from the rank which Hanover had held under the house of Brunswick Lunenburgh, one of the most ancient and illustrious in Europe, before the subversion of the German empire; and that he had, therefore, resolved to erect his provinces, formerly the country of Hanover, into a kingdom, and to assume for its sovereign the title of King of Hanover. As an act of grace, the prince regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of the new king, invested the provinces with the power of forming themselves into a general diet by means of representatives, and appointed the 15th of December as the day on which the high council of the nation should, for the first time, assemble. Thus, in Hanover, as in several other parts of Europe, the events which produced, as well as those which contributed, to destroy the French revolutionary spirit, have conferred lasting advantages on the people, and have convinced rulers that both their interest and their duty consists in benefiting and enlightening their people, and in confiding to them a due participation in the management of public affairs.

While the greater part of the subordinate states of the European continent were waiting in suspense, and under provisional occupation, the decision of the congressional assembly convened at Vienna, the Swiss confederacy was employed in settling, at a national diet, the terms on which they were hereafter to exist as an independent community. On the 8th of September the federal compact was signed at Zurich by the deputies of all the nineteen cantons; and by this constitution the principle was acknowledged, that there should no longer be any subject in Switzerland, or in other terms, that no particular class of citizens of a canton should enjoy exclusive rights or privileges.

In Italy, the territories formerly possessed by the sovereign house of Sardinia were restored to Victor Emanuel; and by a protocol, signed in the congress of Vienna, on the 14th of December, the territory forming, before the French revolutionary wars, the venerable republic of Genoa, was definitively united to the states of his Sardinian Majesty. The annexation of all the other districts in the north of Italy to the Austrian dominion followed almost as a matter of course; and the republic of Venice, so long the mistress of the Adriatic, seemed doomed to become a maritime dependency of the house of Austria.

Of all the sovereigns whom the subversion of the French empire under the Napoleon dy-

nasty restored to their dominions, no one appears to have resumed his authority with a firmer resolution to exercise his prerogatives to their former extent than Pope Pius VII. In his proclamation, issued at Cezena, on the 5th of May, previously to his return to Rome, his holiness applied to himself the ancient title of "God's Vicar on earth," and spoke of his temporal sovereignty as essentially connected with his spiritual supremacy. On resuming his functions, one of his first acts was the public restoration of the order of jesuits; and a few days afterwards followed the promulgation of an edict for the reinstatement of the monastic communities. Thus, after an interregnum of five years, the papal power again resumed its wonted activity; but neither the character of the sovereign pontiff, nor the spirit of the times, warrants the expectation, that the See of Rome will again be restored to its former influence in the affairs of Europe.

Although the return of Ferdinand VII. to his kingdom was hailed by the general voice of the Spanish nation, yet it soon became obvious that this unanimity was only external, and that two discordant parties existed, the one consisting of those who supported the political reforms that had taken place, and the other of those who either decidedly opposed, or who only gave them a feigned and hollow countenance. Scarcely had Ferdinand entered Spain before it was discovered to which party he meant to attach himself. The re-establishment of civil and religious tyranny, if possible, more complete and firm than it had existed before the invasion of the French, was his favourite object; all the labours of the cortes for the liberty of their country were overthrown; and those men who had been most instrumental in achieving the liberation of Spain, and to whom consequently both the sovereign and the people owed the greatest obligations, were treated with cruelty and injustice. By a strange perversion of every feeling of gratitude and honour, the restored monarch seemed decidedly of opinion, that Spain had been polluted by those statesmen and warriors who stood forth in his cause; while he took into his confidence many of those who had betrayed him into the hands of Napoleon, and nominated to the head of his ministry the Duc de San Carlos, the person who signed the treaty of Valency. To crown this abhorrent tyranny, a decree was published at Madrid, dated the 21st of July, re-establishing the supreme council of the inquisition, and all its other tribunals, in all their power, ecclesiastical and civil, according to the ordinances in force in 1808! And what was the conduct of the Spanish nation under these circumstances? Did they manfully assert their liberties? Did that genuine and enlightened

love of independence, for which they had obtained credit while resisting the tyranny of Bonaparte, rouse them to resist the tyranny of Ferdinand, or loudly to express their disapprobation of his proceedings? Far from it: they in general applauded all his measures, and hailed the suppression of the cortes, and the re-establishment of the inquisition, with as much fervour as they had displayed on the restoration of their king. To complete the ingratitude of Ferdinand, he imputed the schisms of his subjects to the "sojournment of foreign troops of different sects among them," and interposed all the obstacles in his power against the introduction of British produce and manufactures into his kingdom. Such conduct, though revolting to every generous and enlightened mind, may not be without its advantages; the Spanish colonies in South America are advancing in their way to independence, and it is scarcely probable that they should surrender their infant liberties into the hands of such a government as that established in the mother country by King Ferdinand.

Hitherto the Prince of the Brazils has not returned to Portugal; but in the mean time, that country under the regency government, seems disposed to derive benefit from her past sufferings; and the Brazils are advancing, though with a slow and hesitating step, in political and commercial importance.

In the grand settlement of Europe, which became the object of the allied powers, after they had expelled from his throne the person whose ambitious plans had so long been employed in overthrowing all former barriers, there were few points more important than the adjustment of the future condition of the ten Belgic provinces, usually distinguished by the name of the Catholic Netherlands. Modern history is filled with the wars and negociations of which the disputed possession of these rich and fertile countries formed the source; they were among the first conquests of the French from the house of Austria in the revolutionary wars; and they had been declared integral parts of the French empire. When France was to be reduced to her former limits, and Holland restored to its pristine independence, the disposal of the Catholic Netherlands became a matter of immediate urgency. On the principle of restitution there could be no doubt but that they reverted to the Austrian dominion; and provisional possession of them was confided to an Austrian general, as military governor.

But the Emperor Francis, like his imperial predecessor, wished to divest himself of a detached territory which had long been rather a burthen than an advantage, and the future defence of which could only be secured by a strong and expensive line of fortresses. It is therefore probable that a change in the occupation of these provinces had come early under deliberation in the councils of the allied powers, and on the 1st of August a proclamation was put forth by Baron de Vincent, the Austrian governor, by which the people were informed that Belgium was to be given up into the hands of the Sovereign Prince of the Netherlands. "This union, says the general, "cemented as it is by a common origin, and a reciprocity of interests, and secured by the firmest guarantees that human power can impart, will be rendered indissoluble." The same sentiments were reiterated in a proclamation issued by the Prince of Orange, who assured his new subjects that the destination of these provinces was only a part of a system by which the allied sovereigns intended to insure to the nations of Europe a long period of prosperity and repose. The country as far as the Maese was now evacuated by the Russian and Prussian troops. English corps, and Germans in British pay, poured into Brussels and the principal towns of the Netherlands; and it became manifest that Great Britain meant to take upon herself the chief share in securing the Belgian frontier till the final adjustment of the affairs of Europe. In the course of the same month, a treaty was formed by the plenipotentiaries of the Prince Regent of England and the Sovereign Prince of the Netherlands, by which it was stipulated that Great Britain should retain the Cape of Good Hope, Demarara, Essequibo, and Berbice; and that Batavia, and all the rest of the conquests made from the Dutch, during the late war, namely, Surinam, Curaçoa, and St. Eustatia, should be restored to them. Ceylon, as being ceded to England before the war, to remain in her possession.

To consummate the important history of the year 1814—one of the most momentous epochs in the annals of the world, peace was concluded on the 24th of December between Great Britain and America, and for the first time during a period of a quarter of a century, with the exception of the feverish truce of Amiens, a general peace prevailed in both hemispheres, and the temple of Janus was for the present closed.

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in this country with a vaunting confidence, that gave increased poignancy to the disappointment and disasters which Great Britain was doomed in the prosecution of her naval campaigns to endure. The military force of the United States, though numerically formidable,* was principally of an irregular kind, without discipline, unaccustomed to the hardships of war, and destitute of that patient endurance and subordinate spirit, without which armies, however strong, are always liable to become the mutinous depositories of panic.

The United States of America have always had their full share of party spirit—the inseparable concomitant of a free government; and a war so differently affecting the different parts of the Union, could not fail to call forth those violent political contentions for which that republic is so much distinguished. At Boston, the declaration of war was made the signal of a general mourning; all the ships in the harbour displayed flags half mast high; and in that, as in other cities of the northern states, public meetings of the inhabitants were held, at which a number of resolutions were passed, stigmatizing the approaching contest as unnecessary and ruinous, and as tending to a connection with France destructive to American liberty and independence. Immediately after the declaration of war a party was formed, called the “peace party,” which combined nearly the whole of the federalists throughout the United States, and by whom a steady, systematic, and energetic opposition, principally directed against the national finances, was maintained to the latest period of the war. The demands of this party for the restoration of peace were as loud and imperious as had been their cry for war in the years 1806-7, and their conduct at the two

periods appears totally irreconcilable to any principle of patriotism and consistency.

With the democratic party, and in the southern states, in particular, where swarms of privateers were preparing to reap a rich harvest among the West India islands, the popular sentiment was decidedly in favour of war; and of all the cities of America in this interest, Baltimore perhaps stood in the first rank in zeal and in violence. A journal, published in that place, entitled the “Federal Republican,” had rendered itself obnoxious by its opposition to the measures of government, and menaces had been repeatedly thrown out against its conductors. On the night of the 27th of July a mob assembled before the house of the editor, which was defended by his friends with so much gallantry that the assailants from without were several times repulsed. At length, towards midnight, a party of military, attended by the mayor, were brought to the spot, under the command of General Stricker, to whom Generals Lee and Langan, who had both assisted in defending the editor's house, surrendered themselves, along with four and twenty other persons, and were conducted to the town gaol as a place of security. The mob now dispersed, and this ebullition of popular phrenzy would probably have subsided, had not a journal, opposed in principle to the Federal Republican, had the baseness to fan the dying embers, by calling upon the insurgents not to let their victims escape without executing vengeance upon them. Roused again to action by this incendiary publication, the mob re-assembled, broke open the gaol, and attacked the objects of their fury. In the midst of the commotion several of the prisoners succeeded in escaping from the hands of their persecutors, but others, less fortunate, were

* MILITARY FORCE.

Nearly the whole of the session of congress preceding the declaration of war by America, was occupied in preparations for hostilities: on the 11th of January, 1812, an act was passed for raising ten regiments of infantry, two regiments of artillery, and one regiment of light dragoons; to be enlisted for five years; the infantry to amount to 20,000, the artillery to 4,000, and the cavalry to 1,000 men. On the 6th of the following month, an act, authorising the President of the United States to accept the service of certain volunteer corps, not exceeding 50,000, passed into a law; and by an act of congress, passed the 10th of April, detachments from the militia to the amount of 100,000 were voted in the following proportions:—

New Hampshire ... 3,500	New York.....13,500	Virginia.....12,000	Ohio..... 5,000
Massachusetts .....10,000	New Jersey 5,000	North Carolina 7,000	Tennessee 2,500
Connecticut 3,000	Pennsylvania.....14,000	South Carolina 5,000	
Rhode Island 500	Delaware 1,000	Georgia 3,500	Total.....100,000
Vermont..... 3,000	Maryland 6,000	Kentucky 5,500	

The regular army of the United States, upon the declaration of war, consisted of eleven regiments of the old peace establishment, estimated at five hundred men each.

In the naval department, acts were passed for repairing and building frigates, and for making the necessary appropriations for the defence of the maritime frontier; other acts, apportioning the sums to be applied to the support of the army, the navy, and the irregular troops, all passed in succession; to meet which demands, Mr. Gallatin, the minister of finance, in submitting the budget to congress on the 12th of January, recommended a loan of ten millions of dollars for the current year.

assailed with clubs and knives, and left without signs of life at the outside of the prison. General Langan, a veteran, upwards of seventy years of age, who had fought the battles of his country by the side of his friend General Washington, was dragged to the door of the prison, and inhumanly butchered on the spot. General Lee, a distinguished partizan officer in the revolutionary war, was dangerously wounded; and several others of his federal companions shared a similar fate. It is due to the Americans to add, that this outrage, which in atrocity exceeded the horrors perpetrated by the mobs of Birmingham and Manchester about the period of the breaking out of the war between Great Britain and France, was regarded with indignation in every other part of the United States.

The first military effort made by America was directed against the British province of Upper Canada. Early in the year a body of militia, amounting to two thousand five hundred men, had been placed under the command of General Hull, and on the 12th of July the American army crossed the river Detroit, and erected the standard of the United States in Upper Canada. The general of the invading army, on his arrival at Sandwich, issued a proclamation to the British colonists, inviting the militia to return to their homes, and promising to the peaceable inhabitants the "blessing of peace, liberty, and security."* This proclamation, which expressed the utmost confidence of

success, threatened a war of extermination in case of the employment of the Indian tribes, which appear to have been the objects of General Hull's peculiar dread and apprehension. The Indians were however already engaged in hostilities with the subjects of the United States, and on the 17th of July intelligence was received of the capture of Fort Michilimachinack, the most northern military post in the United States, by a combined operation of the British, the Canadians, and the savages.

After passing the line of demarkation, by which the British settlements in North America are separated from the territory of the United States, General Hull advanced against Fort Amherstburg, or Malden, the garrison of which consisted of about 600 men, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel St. George. Here the American general received his first check, and was three times repulsed in his attempt to cross the Canard river. General Sir George Prevost, the British governor in chief, with a laudable display of promptitude and skill, had made all the arrangements in his power for the defence of Upper Canada, and the command of the force destined for this purpose, consisting of thirty royal artillery men, two hundred and fifty regular troops of the 41st regiment, four hundred Canadian militia, and six hundred Indians, was conferred on Major-general Brock. It might have been supposed that such a force would have proved totally inadequate to meet the American army; but the defective compo-

* PROCLAMATION.

"INHABITANTS OF CANADA!

"*Head-quarters, Sandwich, July 12, 1812.*

"After thirty years of peace and prosperity, the United States have been driven to arms. The injuries and aggressions, the insults and indignities of Great Britain, have once more left them no alternative but manly resistance or unconditional submission. The army under my command has invaded your country; the standard of the Union now waves over the territory of Canada. To the peaceable unoffending inhabitants it brings neither danger nor difficulty. I come to find enemies, not to make them. I come to protect, not to injure you.

"Separated by an immense ocean and an extensive wilderness from Great Britain, you have no participation in her councils, no interest in her conduct. You have felt her tyranny; you have seen her injustice; but I do not ask you to avenge the one, or to redress the other. The United States are sufficiently powerful to afford every security, consistent with their rights and your expectations. I tender you the invaluable blessing of civil, political, and religious liberty, and their necessary result, individual and general prosperity; that liberty which gave decision to our councils, and energy to our conduct, in a struggle for independence, which conducted us safely and triumphantly through the stormy period of the revolution—the liberty which has raised us to an elevated rank among the nations of the world; and which afforded us a greater measure of peace and security, of wealth and improvement, than ever fell to the lot of any people. In the name of my country, and the authority of government, I promise you protection to your persons, property, and rights; remain at your homes; pursue your peaceful and customary avocations; raise not your hands against your brethren. Many of your fathers fought for the freedom and independence we now enjoy. Being children therefore of the same family with us, and heirs to the same heritage, the arrival of an army of friends must be hailed by you with a cordial welcome. You will be emancipated from tyranny and oppression, and restored to the dignified station of freedom. Had I any doubt of eventual success, I might ask your assistance, but I do not. I come prepared for every contingency—I have a force which will break down all opposition, and that force is but the van-guard of a much greater. If, contrary to your own interest, and the just expectations of my country, you should take part in the approaching contest, you will be considered and treated as enemies, and the horrors and calamities of war will stalk before you. If the barbarous and savage policy of Great Britain be pursued, and the savages are let loose to murder our citizens, and butcher our women and children, this war will be a war of extermination. The first stroke of the tomahawk—the first attempt with the scalping-knife, will be the signal of one indiscriminate scene of desolation. No white man found fighting by the side of an Indian will be taken prisoner—instant death will be his lot. If the dictates of reason, duty, justice, and humanity, cannot prevent the employment of a force which respects no rights, and knows no wrong, it will be prevented by a severe and relentless system of retaliation. I doubt not your courage and firmness—I will not doubt your attachment to liberty. If you tender your services voluntarily, they will be accepted readily. The United States offer you peace, liberty, and security. Your choice lies between these, and war, slavery, and destruction. Choose then; but choose wisely; and may he who knows the justice of our cause, and who holds in his hand the fate of nations, guide you to a result the most compatible with your rights and interests, your peace and happiness. By the general,

"A. P. HULL."

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sition of the enemy's troops, and the want of energy and skill in their commander, soon displayed themselves in a manner that portended their final overthrow. The talents of General Hull were totally unequal to the enterprise he had undertaken. Ignorant of the situation and movements of the British force which were coming to relieve the fort to which he had laid siege, and continually harassed and bewildered with various and contradictory reports concerning the different tribes of the hostile Indians, indecision and distrust began to prevail in the camp; the plan of attacking Amherstburg was abandoned, and on the 8th of August the Americans retreated to Detroit, the capital of the Michigan territory, without even the appearance of an enemy to pursue them.*

On the arrival of Major-general Brock at Amherstburg, on the 18th, he found that Colonel Proctor had begun to erect batteries opposite Fort Detroit, and although opposed by a well directed fire from seven twenty-four pounders, the works were continued without intermission. The force at the disposal of the British general being all collected in the neighbourhood of Sandwich, they passed the river in the course of the 15th without molestation, and advanced on the following morning to Spring Well, an advantageous position three miles west of Detroit. The Indians, who had in the mean time effected their landing two miles below, moved forwards and occupied the woods, about a mile and a half to the west of the British position. Having learned that General Hull had dispatched Col. M'Arthur, one of his best officers, with a detachment of five hundred men, to escort a supply of provisions from the river Raisin, General Brock decided on an immediate attack, and advanced with a resolution to carry Detroit on the land side, while the Indians penetrated the camp. When the head of the British column had arrived within about five hundred yards of the American lines, orders were given by General Hull for the whole of his troops to retreat to the fort, and for the artillery not to open on the assailants. A white flag, hung from the walls, indicated the wish of the American general to capitulate, and the terms were soon agreed upon. By this capitulation, so glorious to the arms of Great Britain, but so disgraceful to the American army, not less than two thousand five hundred men became prisoners of war, and thirty-three pieces of brass and iron ordnance fell into the hands of the victors.

In endeavouring to appreciate the motives, and to investigate the causes, which led to this decisive, but bloodless, victory, it is impossible

to find any solution of the mysterious surrender of General Hull in the relative strength of the contending armies. In numbers, the Americans were far superior to their enemies; and their supply of ammunition, and provisions, was by no means exhausted.† General Hull, the commander-in-chief, in following the course he pursued, acted entirely upon his own responsibility; and when his conduct came to be investigated before a court-martial, he was found guilty of neglect of duty, unofficer-like conduct, and cowardice, and adjudged to be shot; but in consideration of "his revolutionary services, and his advanced age," the court recommended him to mercy; and the president, while he expressed his approbation of the sentence, thought proper to remit its execution.

The British arms were destined to attain yet higher honours in the defence of Canada. The season was far advanced before the Americans could collect a sufficient force upon the Niagara frontier to attempt offensive operations; but in the month of October, General Van Rensselaer, of the New York militia, fixed his head-quarters at Lewestown, between the Lakes Ontario and Erie, with a force under his command amounting to about four thousand men, of which fifteen hundred were regular troops, and the remainder the militia contingents of the neighbouring states. Early on the morning of the 18th, a division of the enemy's troops, under General Wadsworth, embarked near the falls of Niagara, and made an attack upon the British position of Queenstown. Although the day had not yet dawned, this post was defended with undaunted gallantry by the two flank companies of the 49th regiment, animated by the presence of their gallant chief, Major-general Brock, whose valuable life was on this occasion devoted to his country's service. The British position fell with their ever-to-be-lamented general; but reinforcements of regular troops, militia, and Indians, having been sent up from Fort George, under the direction of Major-general Sheaffe, who now assumed the command of the army, a movement was made on the enemy's left, while a body of artillery, under the able direction of Captain Holcroft, supported by a body of infantry, engaged him in front. This operation was further aided by the judicious position which Norton, the Indian chief, had taken on the woody high ground above Queenstown. A communication being thus opened with Chippaway, a junction was formed with farther succours which had been ordered from that station. The crisis of the battle was now approaching, and a powerful

* Dispatch from Colonel Cass to the Hon. William Eustis, the American Secretary at War.

† Report of Colonel Cass to the Secretary at War.

reinforcement dispatched to the aid of General Wadsworth, from the American side of the river, might have secured the victory; but to the utter astonishment of the commander-in-chief, he found that the ardour of the "unen-gaged troops" had entirely subsided, and all his solicitations, though seconded by the efforts of Lieutenant-colonel Bloom, and Mr. Justice Peck, could not prevail upon his insubordinate levies to embark to the assistance of their companions in arms.* Finding that no reinforcements would pass the river, and being well aware that the brave men on the heights were exhausted, and nearly out of ammunition, boats were sent by General Van Rensselaer to cover the retreat of the troops under General Wadsworth, but the boats were dispersed, and so many of the boat-men had fled panic-struck, that only few of the vessels quitted the shore.* At three o'clock in the afternoon a vigorous attack was made upon the enemy's lines, and after a short, but animated conflict, victory again ranged herself under the British banners. The surrender of General Wadsworth, with a force of nine hundred men, to an army inferior in numbers, is the best eulogium that can be pronounced upon the plan of attack adopted by Major-general Sheaffe, and upon the zeal and undaunted gallantry that animated every officer and soldier in his army. The loss of the British army in the battle of Queenstown, although continued for upwards of eight hours, did not exceed one hundred men in killed, wounded, and missing; while the loss of the Americans, including deserters, may without exaggeration be estimated at two thousand.

The other operations on the Canadian frontiers, and upon the lakes of North America, during the present year, were attended by no decisive results, nor are they of sufficient importance to claim a place in general history. During the campaign of 1812 the American armies of the north-west and the centre, under Generals Hull and Rensselaer, had sustained signal defeats, while the army of the north, under General Dearborn, had suffered the season to pass in comparative inactivity. The avocations of a peaceful industry, continued without intermission for nearly thirty years, are little suited to the sanguinary pursuits of war, and it soon became perfectly manifest, that whatever might be the native courage of the Americans, their generals were destitute of experience, and

the officers and soldiers required discipline and subordination.† As might have been expected, all the efforts of such armies to conquer the dominions of his Britannic Majesty in Canada, and the tendency of all the belligerent operations which had hitherto taken place on the frontier, served only to inspire the British with increased confidence, and to involve the enemy in disaster and disappointment.

The loss and disgrace incurred by the surrender of the American generals, and the defeat of their armies, were considered only as the harbingers of their further humiliation on that element which had long been the theatre of their adversary's triumphs. In the vaunting language of the day, the government, and the people of the United States were to be humbled and brought to a sense of their own insignificance by the blockade of their coasts, the bombardment of their cities, and the destruction of their commerce. The commanders of their 'pigmy navy,' it was triumphantly and tauntingly said, would instantly fly from a force equal to their own; and the day was anxiously, but confidently, anticipated when an American and a British frigate should meet on the ocean.

At length the British and American seamen had an opportunity of displaying their skill and bravery. The ships which met on the 19th of August, off the coast of Labrador, were the *Guerrière*, Captain Dacres; and the *Constitution*, Captain Hull; the former rated at thirty-eight guns, but mounted forty-nine; and the latter rated at forty-four guns, but mounted fifty-six. At two o'clock in the afternoon, the *Constitution* bore down upon the *Guerrière*, and at five the frigates came to close action. After an exchange of broadsides, the *Constitution* placed herself within pistol shot of her antagonist, when Captain Hull ordered a brisk fire to commence from all her guns, which were double-shotted, and so well directed, that in fifteen minutes the mizen-mast of the *Guerrière* went by the board. The enemy then placed herself in a situation to rake the British frigate, and his grape shot and riflemen swept the deck. Captain Dacres, perceiving his perilous situation, endeavoured to clear himself of his opponent, and with this view the marines and boarders were ordered from the main-deck, but no sooner were these orders given, than the captain received a violent contusion in his back, and Mr. Grant, who commanded the fore-castle,

* Letter from General Van Rensselaer to General Dearborn, dated Lewistown, October 14, 1812.

† At the crisis of the battle of Queenstown a large proportion of the militia force answered the orders of their general by claiming the privileges of the constitution; and peremptorily refused to cross the imaginary line which separated the United States from the British dominions, alleging that by the laws of their country they were required only to serve within the limits of the Union!

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was carried below severely wounded. The battle had now raged for nearly two hours, and the fore and main-masts of the *Guerrière* were shot away, and the vessel, thus dismantled, was reduced to a mere unmanageable hulk. The wreck was no sooner cleared than the sprit-sail gave way; and the ship rolled so deep in the sea that her main-deck guns were under water. It now became obvious that all further resistance must prove unavailing; and Captain Dacres, after a short consultation with his few remaining officers, determined to spare the lives of his valuable crew by hauling down his colours, which necessity had obliged him to lash to the stump of the mizen-mast. The hull of the *Guerrière* was so much shattered that a few more broadsides would have sent her to the bottom. Fifteen of her crew were killed, and sixty-three wounded, among the former of whom was Lieutenant Read, and among the latter all the principal officers in the ship. The loss of the *Constitution* amounted only to seven killed, and seven wounded.* Not the least imputation rested on the British commander or his ship's company; they fought with a heroism deserving of a better fate; and yielded only to unavoidable casualties; and to the irresistible superiority of physical strength. It was soon discovered that the *Guerrière* was so much injured that all attempts to tow her into port would be unavailing; and Captain Hull, having previously ordered all the prisoners to be brought on board his own ship, consigned his prize to the flames. The conduct of the Americans towards their prisoners was that of the brave towards the brave; the wounded were treated with every mark of care and attention; and the lacerated feelings of the British sailors were soothed by the sympathy of their generous adversaries, who now considered them rather as their guests than as their enemies.

It is impossible adequately to describe the triumph of the Americans on the occasion of this their first naval victory—a victory achieved over the lords of the ocean—over those who till now had claimed that element as their own, and had driven from it all who dared to dispute their maritime rights and dominion. The captain and the crew of the *Constitution*, when they landed at Boston, were received by their grateful fellow-citizens with every mark of honour and distinction; a splendid entertainment was given to Captain Hull and his officers; and in all the principal towns through which he passed, after his return, the war became more popular, and the spirit of marine enterprise more animated and enthusiastic. The legislature of New York, the council of the city of Albany

and Savannah, the house of representatives of Massachusetts, and the congress of the United States, voted their unanimous thanks to the captain of the *Constitution* and his officers and crew; and as a further testimony of the estimation in which their services were held, congress voted the sum of fifty thousand dollars to Captain Hull and his crew, as an indemnification for the loss they had sustained by the destruction of their prize after the battle. In England, the capture of the *Guerrière* created astonishment not unmixed with dismay; by many, Captain Dacres was censured for not having gone to the bottom with his ship instead of striking his colours, as if the humiliation of the country would have been lessened by such a prodigal and unavailing expenditure of the lives of the most gallant of her sons. Others, though they deeply lamented the occurrence, did not regard it as a disgrace to British valour, when the relative force of the conflicting frigates was fairly taken into the consideration. The *Constitution* was the superior of the *Guerrière* in every respect; she was a larger vessel; better prepared both for sailing and for action; her guns, as has been already seen, were more numerous in the proportion of fifty-six to forty-nine; her weight of metal gave her a still further advantage; and while her number of men amounted to four hundred and seventy-six, the *Guerrière*, on coming into action, could only muster at quarters two hundred and forty-four men, and nineteen boys. Still, with all these advantages, had she been a French frigate, she probably would have been captured, and assuredly she would not have captured her antagonist. Of this both nations were sensible; so that the result of the action decisively proved, not that the Americans were our masters, but that they were more nearly on a level with us on our own element than any European enemy.

The balance of success in the naval war continued to preponderate on the side of the Americans, and the fate of the *Guerrière* proved, unfortunately, not a solitary case. Besides the numerous captures made by their privateers, actions took place between ships of war, which tended to establish their claims to rank with the British, and to augment the confidence already inspired by the success of their maritime tactics. On the 18th of October, his majesty's armed brig the *Frolic*, Captain Thomas Whinyates, conveying six valuable merchant-ships from Honduras to England, while in the act of repairing damages to her masts and sails, received in a violent gale on the preceding night, desecrated an American brig, which gave chase to the convoy. At eleven o'clock in the forenoon this

* American Account.—Captain Dacres states the loss of the enemy at nine killed, and twelve wounded.

vessel, which proved to be the *Wasp*, Captain Jacob Jones, bore down upon the *Frolic*, and the two brigs came to close action, off the island of Bermuda. The superior fire of the British guns gave every reason to suppose that the contest would speedily terminate in their favour. This expectation was favoured by the main-top mast of the *Wasp* being shot away in a few minutes after the battle commenced, and falling with the main-top sail yard across the fore-top sail braces, her head became unmanageable during the rest of the action. To counteract the effects of this disaster, the Americans shot a-head of the *Frolic*, raked her, and then resumed their position on her larboard bow. The fire of the *Wasp* was now obviously attended with great success, and the braces of the *Frolic* being shot away she became unmanageable. After laying some time exposed to a most destructive fire, which she was unable to return, the enemy boarded, and hauled down the British ensign in forty-three minutes after the discharge of the first shot. On passing from the bowsprit to the fore-castle, the Americans were surprised to see not a single man alive on the deck of the *Frolic*, except the seamen at the wheel, and three officers; and of the whole crew, consisting originally of one hundred and ten men, all, except twenty, were numbered among either the killed or the wounded. The *Frolic*, it appears, mounted sixteen thirty-two pounders, four twelve pounders on the main deck, and two twelve pound carronades; while the *Wasp* mounted only sixteen thirty-two pounders, and two twelve pound carronades: the superiority in number of cannon was therefore on the side of the British, and the number of men was nearly equal; but the violent storm of the preceding day had crippled the *Frolic*, and it is to this cause that Captain Whinyates, in his official letter to Sir John Borlase Warren, the admiral of the station, attributes the disastrous result.

On the afternoon of the same day, his majesty's ship, *Poictiers*, of seventy-four guns, commanded by Captain Sir John Beresford, hove in sight, and after re-capturing the *Frolic*, and making a prize of the *Wasp*, carried both the rival brigs into Bermuda. On the return of Captain Jones to the United States he was every where received with demonstrations of gratitude and admiration. The legislature of Delaware appointed a committee to wait upon him with their thanks, and to express the pride and pleasure they felt in recognizing him as a native of their state; the congress of the United States passed an unanimous vote of thanks to the captain, his officers, and his crew, for their distinguished gallantry and success, accompanying their vote by twenty-five thou-

sand dollars as a compensation for the loss they had sustained by the re-capture of the *Frolic*; and as a still more substantial testimony of approbation, the captain was immediately appointed to the command of the *Macedonian* frigate.

Other naval triumphs yet awaited the Americans; and the complaints of the British nation respecting the mode in which this war was conducted were augmented by the intelligence of the capture of another frigate, under circumstances very similar to those which took place on the capture of the *Guerrière*. Early in the morning of the 25th of October, the *Macedonian* frigate, Captain John Surman Carden, being in latitude 29° N. 29° 30' W. descried a ship, which proved to be a frigate of the first class, under American colours, commanded by Captain Decatur. At nine o'clock in the morning the vessels were brought into action, and the *Macedonian* being to windward, had the advantage of engaging at her own distance. After the battle had raged about half an hour Captain Carden came to close quarters. In this situation it was soon discovered that the superior force of the enemy was, if possible, more advantageous to him than it had been before, and the only hopes of the British commander rested upon some fortunate occurrence, which might turn the engagement in his favour, or at least afford him an opportunity of escape. With this hope the battle was continued for upwards of two hours, and until the British frigate became a "perfect wreck—an unmanageable log." The mizen-mast was shot away by the board, the top-mast carried off by the caps, the main yard shivered in pieces, and the rigging completely destroyed; all the guns on the quarter-deck and fore-castle were disabled and filled with wreck except two; several shot had struck the vessel between wind and water; a large proportion of the crew were killed or wounded; and the enemy, who was comparatively in good order, was preparing to place herself in a raking position. In this disastrous situation Captain Carden was reduced to the painful extremity of surrendering his majesty's ship. Every effort that gallantry and skill could effect had been put forth, and no other alternative remained. To have continued the action longer would have been a wanton sacrifice of the lives of his brave crew; the *Macedonian* could no longer fight, and had become a mere target to receive the enemy's fire.

The noble and animating conduct of the brave crew of the *Macedonian* rendered them dear to their country even in misfortune. The first lieutenant, Hope, was severely wounded in the head towards the close of the action, and carried below, but no persuasion of his

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fellow sufferers, nor any representation of the dangerous nature of the wound, could keep him from his post; after a slight dressing had been applied to his wound he again rushed upon deck, and displayed, says his captain, that greatness of mind, and those persevering exertions, which may be equalled, but never can be excelled. The loss of the British was very severe; thirty-six men were killed, and the same number severely wounded, many of them without hopes of recovery, in addition to which thirty-two were slightly wounded, constituting an aggregate number exceeding one-third part of the whole crew. The masts, hull, and rigging of the American frigate had suffered considerably, but not at all in comparison with the *Macedonian*, and her loss in killed and wounded amounted only to five of the former, and seven of the latter.*

The mere superiority of force on the part of the Americans will not fully account for all the circumstances of the capture of the *Macedonian*. The United States frigate seems to have been manœuvred and fought with a high degree of skill, as well as bravery; in all engagements between English and French ships, where the latter were superior in force to the former, the success of the English depended as much upon the display and exercise of skill and seamanship as on superior bravery, and these advantages generally decided the contest in a short time after its commencement. But in the action now under consideration, as well as in that between the *Guerrière* and the *Constitution*, the seamanship displayed by the Americans was at least equal to that exhibited by the British; and when to this is added the disparity of force between the two frigates, the result of the battle may be satisfactorily accounted for. With France, Spain, or any of the European powers, the superiority of force on the part of the enemy has seldom stood in the way of victory, but in engagements with American vessels it was

found that nothing short of an equality of force could secure and maintain the renown of the British navy. The reception of Captain Carden on board the United States was truly characteristic—on presenting his sword to Captain Decatur, the gallant American observed, that he could not think of receiving the sword of an officer who had that day proved that he knew so well how to use it; but instead of taking his sword he should be happy to take him by the hand. The congress of the United States, and other public bodies, emulated each other in awarding manifestations of public esteem to Captain Decatur and his crew, and the spirit of naval enterprise was cherished and inflamed by the honours and distinctions showered down by a grateful country on the heads of her heroic defenders.

The naval campaign of the present year was closed by another American victory. On the 29th of December, the *Java* frigate, Captain Lambert, being off the coast of Brazil, on her passage to the East Indies, perceived a strange sail, which was soon found to be the American frigate the *Constitution*, now under the command of Commodore William Bainbridge. After some time spent in nautical manœuvres, for the purpose of obtaining advantageous positions, the two frigates came into action about two o'clock in the afternoon, and the fire of the Americans was directed with so much skill and precision against the masts and rigging of the *Java* as to carry away the bow-sprit and the jib-boom, and to disable her from preserving the weather gage. The contest having raged for upwards of an hour much to the disadvantage of the British, Captain Lambert endeavoured to extricate himself from the raking fire of the enemy by ordering his ship to be laid on board; but at this critical moment, when the disasters of the day might have been retrieved, his foremast was shot away, and the main-top mast went over board, leaving the ship totally unmanageable,

* The *Macedonian* was one of the finest frigates in the British navy; inferior, indeed, in size and weight of metal, to the *Endymion*, and the *Cambrian*, but superior to them in every other particular. Though rated at only thirty-eight, she mounted forty-nine guns, and had not been more than two years off the stocks. Her adversary, the United States, like the *President* and the *Constitution* frigates, was built with the scantling of a seventy-four gun ship, mounted thirty-two long twenty-four pounders, and twenty-two forty-two pound carronades, with howitzer guns on her tops, and a travelling carronade in her under deck. The seamen of their frigates form the *élite* of the American navy, and such is the combined power of space and air between the decks, that those of the first class can accommodate 500 men, and the United States had on board at the time of the action 478. These details are drawn principally from Captain Carden's dispatches; but it is proper to state that the Americans assert that their carronades are not forty-two but thirty-two pounders; and the following comparison between the United States and the *Macedonian* frigates is drawn from their naval records:—

UNITED STATES	—Length of deck—176 feet;	breadth of beam—48 feet;	burthen—1,405 tons.
MACEDONIAN	—166 —	—48½ —	—1,325 —

"Each vessel," they add, "has fifteen ports on each side on the main deck; the United States carries twenty-four, and the *Macedonian* eighteen pounders thereon; the carronades of each on the quarter-deck and fore-castle are of the like calibre; and the only further difference is, that the United States had five more of them."

and the principal part of her starboard guns rendered useless by the wreck under which they were buried. To aggravate the misfortunes of the *Java*, her gallant captain, who had hitherto directed and animated the crew by his skill and valour, received a dangerous wound in his breast, and was obliged to quit his station. The command, in consequence of this event, devolved on Lieutenant Chads, who discharged his arduous duty in a manner worthy of his commander. But it was too clear, that all the efforts made to prevent the British frigate from falling into the hands of the Americans would be unavailing. Her guns were so much covered that not more than two or three of them could be fired; while the enemy, comparatively little disabled either for manœuvring or fighting, and fully sensible of the crippled state of the *Java*, continued to pour into her hull a destructive and well-directed fire. At five minutes past four o'clock, the *Java's* fire being completely silenced, and her colours no longer visible, Commodore Bainbridge concluded that she had struck, and shot a-head to repair his rigging; but while engaged in this service it was discovered that the British colour still waved from the stump of the mizen-mast. This discovery was no sooner made than the *Constitution* bore down again upon her, and having got close under her bows, was preparing to rake her with a broadside, when Lieutenant Chads, feeling that he could not be justified in squandering the blood of his crew in a resistance now become so utterly hopeless, surrendered his frigate with extreme reluctance into the hands of the enemy.

It was soon perceived that the crew of the *Java* had fought their ship with so much gallantry that she was not in a condition to be preserved as a trophy of American victory; and Commodore Bainbridge, having removed her crew and stores with all the expedition that his slender means would afford, ordered her to be destroyed. The loss on both sides was very great, but that of the *Java*, from the circumstances of the engagement, was the most severe. Captain Lambert survived the loss of his ship only six days, and by the returns made to the admiralty by Lieutenant Chads, it appeared that twenty-two of his crew were killed, and one hundred and two wounded. On the same authority it is stated, that the *Constitution* had ten men killed, and forty-six wounded; but the American accounts reduce their own loss to nine killed, and twenty-five wounded, among the latter of whom was the commodore himself. The disparity of force between the *Java* and the *Constitution* was nearly the same as between the *Constitution* and the *Guerrière*; and it is to this cause, no doubt, that the success of the Americans is principally to be attributed.

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Those who regarded these repeated naval triumphs of the enemy with the most gloomy and desponding apprehensions, predicted from them the utter annihilation, in the breasts of our seamen, of that proud confidence which had hitherto been so eminently serviceable in leading them on to victory. But more sanguine politicians drew an opposite inference, and maintained that British seamen, instead of being discouraged by disaster, would be stimulated to fresh exertion, and would anxiously await the moment that should present the opportunity to wipe off the stain cast upon their laurels: that in future they would go into battle with American ships, certainly with a more just and better regulated estimate of the skill and bravery to which they were opposed, but at the same time, with a more fixed and glowing determination that the sceptre of the ocean should not be wrested from their grasp—and happily for the country such was the fact.

During the interval between the breaking out of the war and the close of the year 1812, the elections took place, and the federalist party, in common with the people of Great Britain, cherished the expectation that the power and influence of Mr. Madison, and the war party in America, were nearly at an end. It was supposed that the disgraceful and disastrous issue of the campaign in Canada, which was imputed to the ignorance and neglect of government, would shake the stability of his power; but this expectation, like many of the other conjectures formed in this country, without adequate local knowledge, and without a clear view of the character of the people of the United States, proved altogether fallacious. The disasters in Canada, instead of rendering the war more generally and decidedly unpopular, changed the dislike which had been entertained for it in the northern States into a determination to prosecute the contest with increased vigour. The honour of the country, it was conceived, was now interested; and it was held to be the incumbent duty of all not to sue for peace in the moment of defeat. Even those who condemned the war at its commencement, and who passed resolutions foretelling the disasters that would follow in its train, now that those disasters, or others equally severe, had occurred, became eager for the prosecution of hostilities. From this wayward disposition on the part of some, from the exultation of others in the triumphs which America had obtained at sea, and from other causes not so easily ascertainable, the democratic interest was strengthened, and on the 2d of December the re-election of Mr. Madison was secured.

No sooner had the American government declared war against Great Britain, than Mr.

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Monroe, the secretary of state, addressing a letter to Mr. Russel, the *chargé des affaires* at the court of St. James's, dated the 20th of June, stating that the war had been resorted to from necessity, and of course with reluctance, and commissioning him to apprise the British government that the government of America looked forward to the restoration of peace with much interest, and a sincere desire to promote that blessing on conditions just, equal, and honourable to both parties; that it was in the power of Great Britain to terminate the war upon such conditions; and that it would be highly satisfactory to the President of the United States to concur in any arrangement to that effect. The causes of complaint against the British government were represented as numerous and weighty; but the orders in council, and other blockades, were considered of the highest importance; and Mr. Russel was authorised to negotiate an armistice by sea and land, on the conditions that the orders in council should be repealed—the impressment of American seamen discontinued—and those already impressed restored; and as an inducement to the British government to discontinue their practice of impressment, Mr. Russell was further instructed, to give a positive assurance that a law would be passed, to be reciprocal, to prohibit the employment of British seamen in the public or commercial service of the United States. On the arrival of these instructions, Mr. Russell hastened to execute the important duties which now devolved upon him; and on the 21st of August, he addressed a letter to Lord Castlereagh, proposing an armistice, upon the terms specified in the above instructions; assuring his lordship at the same time, that the proposed arrangement for prohibiting the employment of British seamen, would prove more efficacious in securing to Great Britain her subjects than the practice of impressment, so derogatory to the sovereign attributes of the United States, and so incompatible with the personal rights of her citizens.

Lord Castlereagh, in his answer to this dispatch, bearing date the 29th of the same month, informed the American ambassador, that the prince regent felt himself under the necessity of declining to accede to the propositions contained in his letter of the 24th instant, as being on various grounds absolutely inadmissible. In making this communication his lordship announced that measures had already been taken to authorise the British admiral on the American station to propose to the United States an immediate and reciprocal revocation of all hostile orders, with the tender of giving full effect, in the event of hostilities being discontinued, to the provisions of the edict for repealing the orders in council, upon conditions therein spe-

cified. On the proposition submitted by Mr. Russell, relating to impressment, his lordship observed, that he could not refrain from expressing his surprise that the government of the United States should have thought fit to demand that the British government should desist from its ancient and accustomed practice of impressing British seamen from the merchant ships of a foreign state, preliminary even to the suspension of hostilities, and simply on the assurance that a law should hereafter be passed to prohibit the employment of British seamen in the public or commercial service of that state. His lordship further remarked, that the "British government now, as heretofore, was ready to receive from the government of the United States, and amicably to discuss, any proposition which professed to have in view, either to check abuse in the practice of impressment, or to accomplish, by means less liable to vexation, the object for which impressment had hitherto been found necessary; but they could not consent to suspend the exercise of a right, upon which the naval strength of the empire mainly depends, until they were fully convinced that means could be devised, and would be adopted, by which the object to be attained by the exercise of that right could be effectually secured."

On the receipt of Lord Castlereagh's letter announcing the determination of the prince regent not to accede to the proposition for a suspension of hostilities on the conditions proposed in Mr. Russell's note of the 21st of August, the American ambassador signified to the British government his intention to embark immediately, in the ship *Lark*, for the United States; and on the following day an admiralty order for the protection of that vessel, as a cartel on her way to America, with the requisite passports for his free embarkation, were transmitted to Mr. Russell from the office of the secretary of state.

While this diplomatic correspondence was passing in England, a negotiation contemplating a similar object was commenced in America. On the 30th of September, Sir John Borlase Warren, the British admiral on the Halifax station, addressed a letter to Mr. Monroe, apprising him of the revocation of the orders in council, and informing the American secretary that he had the commands of the prince regent to propose, on the one hand, "that the government of the United States should instantly recall their letters of marque and reprisal against British ships, together with all orders and instructions for any act of hostility whatever against the territory of his majesty, or the persons or property of his subjects;" and to promise, on the other, if the American government acquiesced in the preceding proposition, "that

instructions should be issued to all the officers under his command to desist from corresponding measures of war against the ships and property of the United States, and that he would transmit without delay corresponding instructions to the several parts of the world where hostilities might have been commenced." This overture was subject to the qualification, that should the American government accede to the proposal for terminating hostilities, the British admiral was authorised to enter into an arrangement with the United States, for the revocation of the laws interdicting the commerce and ships of war of Great Britain from the harbours and waters of the United States; and was accompanied by an intimation that, in default of such revocation within a reasonable period to be agreed upon, the British orders in council, repealed conditionally by an edict of the 23d of June last, would be revived.

In reply to this dispatch, Mr. Monroe, in a letter dated from Washington, the seat of government, on the 23d of October, after adverting to the failure of Mr. Russell's negotiations, states, that "experience had sufficiently evinced that no peace between the two countries could be durable unless the question regarding the important interest of impressment were settled." "The claim of the British government," says the American secretary, "is to take from the merchant vessels of other countries British subjects. In the practice, the commanders of British ships of war often take from the merchant vessels of the United States, American citizens. If the United States prohibit the employment of British subjects in their service, and enforce the prohibition by suitable regulations and penalties, the motive for the practice is taken away. It is in this mode that the president is willing to accommodate this important controversy with the British government, and it cannot be conceived on what ground the arrangement can be refused." "He is willing that Great Britain shall be secured against the evils of which she complains; but he seeks, on the other hand, that the citizens of the United States should be protected against a practice, which, while it degrades the nation, deprives them of their rights as freemen, takes them by force from their families and their country into a foreign service, to fight the battles of a foreign power, perhaps against their own kindred and country." A suspension of the practice of impressment Mr. Monroe considered as the necessary consequence of an armistice; but it was by no means intended that Great Britain should suspend immediately the exercise of a right on the mere assurance of the American government that a law would be afterwards passed to prohibit the employment of British seamen in the service of

the United States. All that was meant, as the supplementary instructions sent to Mr. Russell on the 27th of July distinctly explained, was, that a clear and distinct understanding with the British government on the subject of impressment, comprising in it the discharge of men already impressed, should take place; but it was not held necessary that the several points should be specially provided for in the convention stipulating the armistice. The American secretary, in conclusion, intimated, that if the suspension of the British claim to impressment during the armistice, interposed any difficulty in the way of an accommodation of the existing differences, there could be no objection to proceed without the armistice to an immediate discussion and arrangement of an article on that subject.

The powers invested in Sir J. B. Warren were not sufficiently extensive to allow him to enter on the question of impressment; and thus, by the punctilious tenacity of the rival states, the sword was prevented from being returned to the scabbard.

In the annual exposition submitted by the President of the United States to the senate and house of representatives assembled in congress on the 4th of November, the message adverted to the negotiations undertaken for the purpose of arresting the progress of war without waiting the delays of a formal and final pacification; but while a faint expectation was held out that they might result favourably, Mr. Madison held it to be unwise to relax any of the measures of government on that presumption. The expedition into the Michigan territory, confided to the command of General Hull, was represented as a measure of precaution and forecast, with a view, in the first instance, to its security, and in the event of a war, to such operations in Upper Canada as would intercept the hostile influence of Great Britain over the savages; obtain the command of the lake on which that part of Canada borders; and maintain co-operating relations with such forces as might be most conveniently employed against other parts. This expedition, though favoured with the prospect of an easy and victorious progress, terminated unfortunately, and the cause of these painful reverses was under the investigation of a military tribunal. A distinguishing feature of the operations which preceded and followed the surrender of General Hull and his army, was the use made by the British of the merciless savages under their influence, in violation of the laws of honourable warfare—contrary to the benevolent policy of the United States—and against the feelings sacred to humanity. The misfortune at Detroit was not without consoling effects; the loss of an important post, and of the brave men surrendered with it, inspired every-where new ardour and devotion; every citizen was eager to fly to arms to protect his brethren against the blood-thirsty savages let loose by the British on an extensive frontier; and Brigadier-general Harrison, with an ample force under his command, was proceeding on his destination towards the Michigan territory. On the Niagara frontier, a detachment of the regular and other forces, under the command of Major-general Van Rensselaer, impelled by their military ardour, made an attack upon a British post, and were for a time victorious; but not receiving the expected support, they were compelled to yield to reinforcements of British regulars and

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savages. On the lakes, preparations were making to secure a naval ascendancy, so essential to a permanent peace with, and a controul over the savages. Among the incidents of the measures of war, the president was constrained to advert to the refusal of the governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut to furnish the requisite detachments of militia towards the defence of the maritime frontier; and to intimate, that if the authority of the United States to call into service, and command the militia for the public defence, could thus be frustrated, the public safety might have no other resource than those of large and permanent military establishments, which are forbidden by the principles of a free government. On the coasts and on the ocean the war had been as successful as the circumstances, from its early stage, could promise: Great Britain had become sensible of the difference between a reciprocity of captures, and the long confinement of them to their own side. Commerce had been much protected by a squadron of frigates, under Commodore Rogers; and in the instance of the frigate Constitution, under the command of Captain Hull, in which skill and bravery were more particularly measured with the British, the American flag enjoyed an auspicious triumph.

Between France and America affairs retained the posture which they held at the period of the last communication to the congress. Notwithstanding the authorised expectation of an early and favourable issue of the discussions on the *tapis*, they had been procrastinated to the latest period; and the only intervening occurrence meriting attention was the promulgation of a French decree, purporting to be a definitive repeal of the Berlin and Milan decrees. The proceeding, although made the ground of the repeal of the British orders in council, was rendered by its time and manner liable to many objections. The president, in continuation, then shortly adverted to the relations between the United States and the other governments of Europe and Africa; and represented the Indian tribes, not under foreign instigation, as remaining at peace, and receiving the civilizing attentions which had proved so beneficial to them.

Recurring to the measures to be taken for the vigorous prosecution of the war, the president recommended an arrangement, on the subject of the pay and term of enlistment, more favourable to the private soldier. The revision of the militia laws was also suggested; and while it was announced, that of the additional ships authorised to be fitted for the public service, two would be shortly ready to sail, a further enlargement of the naval force of the United States was recommended. On the subject of finance, the receipts into the treasury during the year ending on the 30th of September last, were stated to exceed sixteen millions of dollars, which had been found sufficient to defray all the demands on the treasury to that day, including a necessary reimbursement of nearly three millions of the principal of the public debt; but in the receipts into the treasury a sum of nearly 8,850,000 dollars, received on account of loans, was included. It was not to be concealed that the country had difficulties to encounter, but at the same time it abounded with animating considerations, and the spirit and strength of the nation were considered by the president as equal to the support of all its rights; consoled as the people were by the reflection, that the war in which they were engaged was, on their part, a war of neither ambition nor vain glory; waged not in violation of the rights of others, but for the maintenance of their own.

Such was the view of the contest between the United States of America and Great Britain taken by the president in the month of November, 1812. On the 30th of the same month the parliament of Great Britain assembled, and the

prince regent, in addressing the lords and commons on the same subject, said:—

“The declaration of war by the government of the United States of America, was made under circumstances which might have afforded a reasonable expectation that the amicable relations between the two nations would not be long interrupted. It is with sincere regret that I am obliged to acquaint you, that the conduct and pretensions of that government have hitherto prevented the conclusion of any pacific arrangement. Their measures of hostility have been directed against the adjoining provinces, and every effort has been made to seduce the inhabitants of them from their allegiance to his majesty. The proofs, however, which I have received of loyalty and attachment from his majesty's subjects in North America are highly satisfactory. The attempts of the enemy to invade Upper Canada have not only proved abortive, but by the judicious arrangements of the governor-general, and by the skill and decision with which the military operations have been conducted, the forces of the enemy assembled for that purpose in one quarter have been compelled to capitulate, and in another have been completely defeated. My best efforts are not wanting for the restoration of peace and amity between the two countries; but until this object can be obtained without sacrificing the maritime rights of Great Britain, I shall rely upon your cordial support in a vigorous prosecution of the war.”

From these documents, both emanating from the first magistrates in the states, it appears, that in each of the hostile countries, the original cause of the war, and the responsibility of its continuance, was imputed to the enemy. But when the angry passions in which this contest was engendered have subsided, an impartial posterity will probably adjudge—that although the existence of the British orders in council, and the impressment of American seamen, justified the United States in declaring war against Great Britain, in the first instance; yet, when the former of these evils was removed, and when an offer to suspend hostilities by sea and land was made through the medium of the British authorities in America, in order to adjust the still existing differences, it was the duty of the American government to have accepted the pacific overture. Since the revocation of the orders in council there was in reality no principle at issue between the two countries. The limits of the right of blockade stand fixed by the law of nations upon grounds that admit of no serious dispute. With regard to the impressment of seamen, America did not deny that Great Britain had a right to reclaim her own subjects: and the English government did not pretend to have any right to impress any who were really and truly American citizens. The whole quarrel then was about the means of asserting these rights; and had the ministers of both countries, as Mr. Burke expresses it, sought for peace in the spirit of peace, there is no reason to suppose that two nations, of the same kindred, speaking the same tongue, and bound to each other by a common interest, would have remained for a single month in a state of open hostility.

CHAPTER II.

AMERICAN WAR (Continued)—*Seat of War*—*Objects of the hostile Armies*—*Surrender of General Winchester's Corps*—*The Enemy's Position at Ogdenburgh carried*—*Surrender of York to the Americans*—*Capture and Re-capture of Forts George and Erie*—*Nocturnal Surprise of the American Army under Generals Candler and Winder*—*Surrender of Colonel Boerstler*—*Unsuccessful Attack on Sacket's Harbour*—*Russian Offer of Mediation announced by the President of the United States*—*Siege of Fort Meigs*—*Defeat of the British Squadron on Lake Erie*—*Defeat and Dispersion of the British Army under General Proctor*—*Destruction of the Enemy's Settlements on Lake Champlain*—*Repulse of the American Army of the North, under General Hampton*—*Defeat of the Army of the Centre, under General Wilkinson*—*Total Failure of the Expeditions against Montreal*—*Capture of the American Forts on the Niagara Frontier*—**NAVAL CAMPAIGN**: *Battle between the Hornet and the Peacock*—*Capture of the Chesapeake*—*Capture of the Argus*—*Loss of the Boxer*—*Blockade of the American Ports, and Destruction of the Towns on the Coast*—*Creek War*—*Rejection of the Russian Offer of Mediation by Great Britain.*

THE war between Great Britain and the United States of America, though affording none of those scenes of imposing grandeur which in some measure compensate to the mind the contemplation of human misery, was nevertheless full of interest; and the novelty of some of its principles, with the political considerations it involved, fixed the attention more forcibly perhaps than the perpetual recurrence of similar events in the conflicts between long established governments.

The widely extended scene of military operations in America lay principally upon the Canadian frontier, extending from the state of Vermont, on the southern confines of Lower Canada; to the Michigan territory, at the western extremity of Upper Canada. At the opening of the campaign of 1813, the American army of the west was placed at the foot of Lake Erie,

under General Harrison; the army of the centre, under Generals Wilkinson and Dearborn, in the vicinity of the falls of Niagara, between Lakes Erie and Ontario; and the army of the north, under General Hampton, on the banks of Lake Champlain.* The object of these forces was to invade the two Canadas; and the duty which devolved upon Sir George Prevost, the governor-general, or British viceroy, and the armies under his command, was to resist their incursions, and to preserve the integrity of his majesty's North American dominions. For this purpose, the defence of the Detroit frontier was confided to Colonels Proctor and Vincent; while General Sheaffe, acting under the more immediate direction of the governor-general, was charged with the defence of Lower Canada.

After the surrender of General Hull no operation of importance took place on the

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* The lakes of America, to which reference must so often be made in the history of the present war, form in extent a species of inland ocean, and are navigable for ships of large burthen. *Lake Superior* is esteemed the largest body of fresh water in the world, being four hundred miles long, and one thousand five hundred and twenty miles in circumference. Forty rivers pour forth their contributions into its vast expanse, and the waters are again discharged into Lake Huron through the straits of St. Mary. Next to Superior *Lake Huron* claims the pre-eminence. It is two hundred and fifty miles long, and one thousand one hundred miles in circumference, studded to the north with islands, and abounding with commodious harbours. *Lake Michigan* extends from the straits of Michilimackinac to about forty-two degrees north latitude, being nearly three hundred miles in length, and at the broadest part seventy-five miles in width. Detroit river forms the southern part of the communication between Huron and Erie, and was the scene of several important military operations during the war. *Lake Erie* is about two hundred and sixty miles long, and in some parts, seventy miles wide; it is the shallowest of the great lakes, and the navigation is the most difficult. The communication between Erie and Ontario is formed by the river Niagara, down which the water flows out of Erie with a fine majestic current, about a mile in width. About a mile below Chippaway the bank appears to recede from the river, and the current is increased to an awful velocity. The fall continues for about half a mile, and when arrived at the crisis, called the table rock, it sinks one hundred and seventy-six feet below the surface of the earth. In a deep channel, the work of ages, it continues to run with increased vehemence for upwards of nine miles, during which it falls about one hundred and fifty feet, when the current, bursting from beneath the rocks, opens to the breadth of half a mile, and holds a placid course between Queenstown and Lewistown, till the congregated discharges of all the Upper Lakes are received by Lake Ontario. The Niagara is thirty feet deep; and the water flows at the rate of three miles an hour; discharging about 128,000,000 of gallons every minute!—a quantity that might seem incredible, was it not a well ascertained fact, that the river Mississippi discharges 96,000,000 of gallons every second! *Lake Champlain*, which has no communication with the great lakes, is only, in comparison of them, a narrow slip of water; it is about one hundred miles long, situated between the states of New York and Vermont, having its outlet by the Sorrel, and like the Ontario, finds in the river St. Lawrence an ample receptacle for its redundant streams.

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Detroit frontier till the month of January, 1813, when the American General Winchester, commanding the right wing of General Harrison's army, marched to the attack of Detroit, and concentrated his troops at the village of Frenchtown, on the river Raisin. On the 22d, the Americans, amounting to about one thousand men, were attacked by a combined British and Indian force, consisting of about five hundred regulars and militia, and six hundred Indians, under the command of Colonel Proctor. The attack commenced early in the morning, on the right wing of the American army, and was made with so much vigour and effect, that after a contest of about a quarter of an hour they were driven across the river, where their retreat was cut off by a large body of Indians stationed in their rear. The left wing, being fortified behind a picket fence, sustained three separate charges, but finding themselves at length exposed to a concentric fire, their general, who had been taken prisoner by a Wyandot chief early in the day, agreed to capitulate, and his whole corps was surrendered prisoners of war. In this short, but sanguinary engagement, the number of killed and wounded on the part of the Americans amounted to about five hundred, and their loss in prisoners to an equal number. Of the British troops, twenty-four only were killed, but one hundred and fifty-eight were wounded. The slaughter made by the Indians on the retreating division of the enemy was terrible; scarcely one of them survived the battle.*

After the defeat of the right wing of the American army, under General Winchester, General Harrison retreated to Fort Meigs, and occupied himself unceasingly in strengthening that position; while the brigade under General Cooks was actively employed during the remainder of the winter in fortifying Upper Sandusky.

The frequent predatory incursions of the Americans on the Canadian border, near the river St. Lawrence, induced Sir George Prevost, who arrived at Prescott on the 21st of February, to direct an attack to be made upon the enemy's position at Ogdenburgh. On the 22d, Major Macdonnel, of the Glengarry light infantry fencibles, at the head of about five hundred regulars and militia, crossed the river, upon the ice, about seven o'clock in the morning. The right, commanded by Captain Jenkins, of the Glengarry regiment, was directed to hold the enemy's left in check, and to interrupt his retreat, while Major Macdonnel moved on with the left column towards his position in the town, where he had posted his heavy field artillery. The depth of snow, in some degree, retarded the

advance of both columns, and exposed them, particularly the right, to a heavy cross fire from the batteries of the enemy; but pushing on rapidly, the left column soon gained the right bank of the river, and after encountering a few discharges of artillery, obliged the enemy's infantry to seek refuge in the houses or in the woods. During these transactions Captain Jenkins gallantly led on his column, exposed to the heavy fire of seven guns, which he bravely attempted to take by the bayonet, though covered by two hundred of the enemy's best troops. On advancing to the charge his left arm was broken to pieces by a grape shot; still undauntedly running on with his men, he almost immediately afterwards was deprived of the use of his right arm by a discharge of case shot; disregarding all personal considerations, he continued nobly to advance, cheering his men, to the assault, till, exhausted by pain and loss of blood, he became unable to move; his company, however, continued gallantly to advance, under Lieutenant M'Auley; but the reserve of militia not being able to keep up with the regulars, they were compelled to give way, nearly about the time that Major Macdonnel gained the height. The enemy, hesitating to surrender at the summons of the major, his eastern battery was carried, and a detachment, under Captain Eustace, gallantly rushed into the fort, while the Americans, retreating to the opposite entrance, abandoned their works, and escaped into the woods. The gallantry and self-devotion of Captain Jenkins was the theme of universal admiration, and Sir George Prevost, in transmitting the report of this brilliant achievement to his government, earnestly recommended the mutilated hero to the favour and protection of his prince. In the battle of Ogdenburgh, which lasted little more than an hour, the enemy lost eleven pieces of cannon, all his ordnance, marine commissariat, and quarter-master-general's stores; four officers, and seventy privates, were taken prisoners; and two schooners, and two gun-boats, together with the barracks of Ogdenburgh, were consigned to the flames.

The American army of the centre, at the commencement of the campaign, consisted of about seven thousand men; four thousand of whom were stationed in the vicinity of Sacket's harbour, and the remaining three thousand at the head of the Niagara river, near Cape Buffalo. On the 22d of April, a corps of their best troops, amounting to sixteen hundred, under General Dearborn, embarked on board the flotilla, commanded by Commodore Chauncey, at Sacket's Harbour, and in the morning of the 27th arrived off York, on the northern bank of

* Colonel Proctor's Dispatches, dated Sandwich, January 25, 1813.

Lake Ontario. The debarkation of the invaders was vigorously opposed by Major-general Sheaffe, at the head of seven hundred British, and one hundred Indian troops; but the superior numbers of the enemy enabled him to surmount every difficulty, and to make good his landing without any material loss. No sooner had the whole of their troops gained the banks of the lake, than they advanced through an intervening wood to the open ground, and after carrying one of the British batteries by assault, moved in columns towards the main works. At this moment their progress was arrested by the accidental* explosion of a large magazine; an immense quantity of stones flew in every direction, and General Pike, to whom the command of the advancing column was confided, became one of the numerous victims of this dreadful casualty. Nor were the British troops wholly exempt from its effects; forty at least of their number fell before a force which neither skill nor bravery could resist. General Sheaffe, finding all further resistance unavailing, withdrew from the city with his regular troops towards Kingston, and left the commanding officer of the militia to treat with General Dearborn for the surrender of the capital of Upper Canada. The loss of the American army in the battle of York amounted to three hundred and twenty, including thirty-eight killed, and two hundred and twenty-two wounded, by the explosion. The British loss may be estimated at four hundred, of which number three hundred, at least, became prisoners.

The next object of General Dearborn's expedition was the capture of Forts George and Erie, and on the 8th of May the American troops evacuated the capital of Upper Canada, and proceeded to the Niagara frontier. At nine o'clock in the morning of the 27th the American flotilla appeared off Fort George, and the debarkation of the light troops immediately commenced. The landing of the troops was vigorously resisted by Colonel Vincent, the British commander; but the numerical superiority of the assailants, combined with that coolness and intrepidity which experience imparts, and of which the Americans had already begun to shew several examples, overcame all opposition. It now became obvious that the place would soon become untenable; and Colonel Vincent, having spiked his guns, and destroyed his magazines, abandoned Fort George to the enemy, but

not till he had sustained a loss of upwards of three hundred men. The capture of Fort Erie speedily succeeded the fall of Fort George; but these conquests were only transient, for before the end of the month of June the superiority of the British fleet, under Sir James Yeo, became so decided, that the Americans in their turn were obliged to relinquish all the posts they had acquired on the left bank of the Niagara.

An action, greatly to the credit of the British troops, occurred on the 6th of June, at Burlington Heights, near the head of Lake Ontario, where Colonel Vincent was posted with his division. The fall of Forts George and Erie had left the Americans at liberty to pursue their successes, and General Candler and Winder, at the head of three thousand five hundred infantry, and two hundred and fifty cavalry,† advanced from Forty Mile Creek for the purpose of attacking the British position. Colonel Vincent, aware of the vast superiority of force with which he was menaced, dispatched Lieutenant-colonel Harvey with two light companies to reconnoitre the enemy's position, and from his report, was led to determine upon a nocturnal attack on the American camp. A force not exceeding seven hundred men was destined to this enterprise. About two o'clock in the morning the picket was forced, and the attack commenced. The scene was truly appalling; the yells of the Indians, mingled with the roar of the cannon and musketry, were calculated to shake the iron nerves even of veteran troops. The British, having preconcerted their measures, charged repeatedly, and with considerable effect; while the Americans, surprised at the dead of night, and incapable of distinguishing friend from foe, fought to great disadvantage. The result was that the enemy was driven from his camp, and Generals Candler and Winder, with more than one hundred officers and privates, were made prisoners. The British afterwards marched back to their cantonments, carrying with them three guns and a brass howitzer, captured in the battle; and the Americans, still greatly superior in number, after re-occupying their camp, in order to destroy their incumbrances, commenced a precipitate retreat.

The last operation on this scene of hostility, previous to the final retreat of the Americans, was undertaken by Lieutenant-colonel Boerstler, having under his command a force amounting to

* This explosion is represented in General Dearborn's dispatches to the American Secretary at War as a preconcerted measure; no evidence, however, is given in support of the charge; and in the absence of all proof, we are bound to consider this imputation on the character of the British army as calumnious and unfounded.

† Colonel Vincent's Dispatches.—Colonel Burn, of the American service, states, that their number in the field did not exceed 1000.

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While the American army, under General Dearborn, and the flotilla, under Commodore Chauncey, were employed in the expedition against York and Fort George, a plan of combined operations was arranged by Sir George Prevost with Commodore Sir James Yeo, for the purpose of reducing the garrison of Sacket's Harbour, and taking possession of that place. In pursuance of this object, a fleet of between thirty and forty boats assembled in Kingston Harbour; and at ten o'clock on the night of the 28th of May, the expedition, headed by the commodore's ship, sailed for Sacket's Harbour. It was the intention of Colonel Baynes, to whom the military command of the expedition was confided, to have landed in the cove formed by Horse Island; but on approaching to that place it was discovered that the enemy had lined the neighbouring woods with infantry, and that a field-piece was planted on the shore to give effect to their resistance. The boats were now directed to pull round to the opposite side of the island, where a landing was effected in good order, and with little loss, though in the face of a corps of the enemy. The advance was led by the grenadiers of the 100th regiment, with a spirit of gallantry which no obstacle could arrest. A narrow causeway, in many places under water, and about four hundred paces in length, which connected the island with the main land, was forced and carried, and a six-pounder, by which it was defended, taken. The gun-boats, which had covered the landing, afforded material aid by firing into the woods; but the American soldiers, secure behind their trees, were only to be dislodged by the point of the bayonet. A vigorous charge now took place, and the enemy fled with precipitation from their block-house and fort. But here the energies of the troops became unavailing. The enemy having turned the heavy ordnance of his battery to the interior defence of his post; the British force first paused, and then re-embarked; having failed in the principal object of the enterprise, and sustained a loss in killed, wounded, and missing, amounting to two hundred and fifty-nine men.*

One of the distinguishing characteristics of a popular form of government, consists in the necessity under which the executive power is placed to account to the country for the burthens and sufferings to which they become subject in a state of war; and to shew that no measure, compatible with the national honour and safety, is left unattempted to procure the restoration of peace. This policy was steadily pursued by the President of the United States; and when the negotiations for an armistice between the belligerents had failed, he availed himself with avidity of the offer made by a neutral power—the common friend of both Great Britain and America, to mediate the existing differences. His decision on this point was communicated to congress at the opening of their extra session on the 25th of May; on which occasion the president's message informed them, that at an early day after the close of the last session of congress, an offer was formally communicated from the Emperor of Russia of his mediation, as the common friend of the United States and Great Britain, for the purpose of facilitating a peace between them. "The high character of the Emperor Alexander," continued the president, "being a satisfactory pledge for the sincerity and impartiality of his offers, the proffered mediation was immediately accepted; and as a further proof of the disposition of the United States to meet their adversary in honourable experiments for terminating the war, it was determined to avoid intermediate delay, incident to the distance of the parties, by a definitive provision for the contemplated negotiation." For this purpose, three citizens, of the first consideration in the United States, were provided with the requisite powers to conclude a treaty of peace, and dispatched to the Russian capital, to negotiate with persons clothed with like powers on the part of Great Britain. The issue of this pacific manifestation on the part of the United States time alone could decide; but it was deemed highly probable that the sentiments of Great Britain towards the imperial mediator would produce a ready acceptance of his pacific services. In the subsequent parts of the president's message the subject of the impressment of American seamen is again discussed, and a vigorous prosecution of the war strenuously recommended.

The extra congress, which concluded its sittings in August, conducted the public business with unaccustomed dispatch, and with a degree of unanimity strongly illustrative of the truth, that however reluctant a nation may be to involve itself in the burthens and embarrassments of war, the government, when the contest is

* Dispatch addressed by Colonel Baynes to Sir George Prevost, dated Kingston, May 30, 1813.

actually commenced, and continued under an impression that the honour and safety of the state are involved in its issue, will always be able to command the national resources. The establishment of a system of war taxes capable of defraying the interest of the existing debt, and of providing for the interest of future loans, was the principal business of the assembly; and though considerable difference of opinion existed as to the fittest objects of taxation, the majority of the representatives of the people gave their support to the measures proposed by the committee of ways and means. A further loan was authorised of seven millions five hundred thousand dollars, for the service of the present, and for the first quarter in the ensuing year; and a variety of acts were passed relative to the prosecution and conduct of the war. All these measures served to mark the progress of a new state towards the condition of an old belligerent, and to shew that the inhabitants of the new world were not beyond the sphere of that perpetual hostility in which the greater portion of Europe had been so long involved.

As the season advanced the operations of the campaign on the margin of the lakes became more active and important. On the Detroit frontier, where, till now, success had almost invariably attended the British arms, a striking reverse of fortune took place, and the Americans, in their turn, became the victors. After the defeat and capture of General Winchester, the British troops, under Colonel, now General, Proctor, advanced at the head of a force of about one thousand regulars and militia, and twelve hundred Indians, to the river Miami, in expectation of reaching the army under General Harrison, which had taken post in Fort Meigs, near the foot of the Rapids. From the incessant and heavy rains, during which the British batteries were erected opposite the fort, it was not till the morning of the 1st of May that the siege of Meigs could be commenced. The enemy, who occupied several acres of commanding ground, strongly defended by block-houses, well furnished with ordnance, had so completely intrenched himself as to render unavailing every effort to carry his position. On the morning of the 5th, while the fate of the fortress yet hung in suspense, an American officer arrived at Meigs with a detachment of men from General Clay's division, bringing to the garrison the welcome intelligence, that that general, with his whole force, amounting to thirteen hundred men, was descending the river, and was at that moment but a few miles distant. Conceiving that the British army was now in his

power, General Harrison dispatched orders to land one half of the advancing force on the side of the river opposite to the fort, and to co-operate with him in an attempt to force the British batteries, and to spike their cannon. Colonel Dudley, the officer charged with the execution of this movement, advanced with so much vigour, that in a few minutes he was in possession of the batteries of the besiegers, and had taken some prisoners; but his troops, elevated unduly with their success, continued the pursuit till they were finally drawn into an ambush; and their whole number, with very few exceptions, was either killed or taken. Colonel Dudley, who was among the slain, displayed the most heroic firmness, and killed one of the Indian warriors after he had received his mortal wound. The officers and men of the 41st regiment, who, led on by Captain Muir, charged and routed the enemy after they had seized the batteries, maintained the long-established reputation of the corps; and the courage and activity displayed throughout the whole scene of action by the Indian chiefs and warriors, contributed essentially to the successful issue of the engagement. The loss of the Americans, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was estimated at between one thousand and twelve hundred men, a principal part of whom were not volunteers, but consisted of the Kentucky quota.*

Brilliant as had been the success of the British army on this occasion, it soon became evident that their position of the Miami must be speedily abandoned. One half of the Canadian militia quitted their standard soon after the battle of the 5th; and the Indian warriors, following the custom of their country, after any battle of consequence, returned to their villages, with their wounded, their prisoners, and their plunder, to revel in the spoils of war, and to gratify their savage thirst for blood by immolating a portion of their captives. Before the ordnance could be withdrawn from the batteries, General Proctor found his twelve hundred Indian auxiliaries reduced to less than twenty, and his army so much weakened, that on the morning of the 9th he was obliged to raise the siege, and to retreat to his former station at Sandwich.

On the 20th of July, General Proctor, having given way to the clamour of his Indian allies, again advanced towards the head of Lake Erie; and on the 2d of August made an attack on Fort Stephenson, near the mouth of the river Sandusky, where the Americans had collected a small force, under Major George Croghan. Finding the enemy determined to defend the

* Dispatch from General Proctor to Sir George Prevost, dated Sandwich, May 14, 1813.

fort, General Proctor resolved to carry the place by assault; the Indians, however, not relishing this species of warfare, withdrew themselves out of the reach of the enemy's fire; and although his majesty's troops displayed the greatest bravery, they were repulsed after a short but animated struggle, with the loss of about one hundred men, and obliged once more to return to Sandwich. The failure of the British troops at Fort Stephenson, and the indications of disaffection exhibited by the Indians on that occasion, had encouraged an attempt on the part of the Americans to detach from the British army their native allies; and with this view, a deputation of chiefs in the interest of the enemy were dispatched to hold a *talk* with their brethren; but the contempt with which their proposal was received, and the determination expressed by the Indians in the British interest, to adhere to the cause of their great father in England, extinguished these hopes, and put an end to the negotiation.*

In the autumn of the present year, the tide of victory set in with a strong current in favour of the American arms. Whatever might be the numerical superiority of the Americans on land, it seemed reasonable to expect that on another element Great Britain would always retain the ascendancy, and that the ample resources of her naval power would enable her at all times to contend successfully with the enemy on the frontier lakes of Canada. The importance of this preponderance had become so manifest to the governor-general, that he had made repeated applications for reinforcements, but it was not till the month of October that shipping suitable for this service arrived at Montreal. In the mean time the British, or rather the Canadian fleet, commanded by Captain Barclay; and the American fleet, under the command of Captain Perry; met near the head of Lake Erie.† In the morning of the 10th of September, the American squadron, while lying at anchor in Put-in-Bay, discovered the British fleet, and immediately got under way to give them battle. At ten o'clock in the forenoon both fleets formed in line, and cleared for action. The lightness of the wind occasioned them to approach slowly, and prolonged the awful interval of suspense till mid-day. On the approach of Captain Perry's ship, the *Lawrence*, a heavy fire was opened upon her from the *Detroit*, which, from

the shortness of her guns, she was at first unable to return. The American captain, without waiting for his lighter vessels, kept steadily on his course, and approached so near that it seemed to be his intention to board. For some time the battle was decidedly in favour of the British; their shot pierced the side of the *Lawrence* in all directions, and her decks were strewn with the dead, while the wounded, in considerable numbers, were carried below. Perceiving the hazard of his situation, the American commodore advanced still further, and ordered the other vessels to follow, for the purpose of closing with the British fleet. For two hours the contest was continued with unabated vigour; and Captain Perry at length, finding the *Lawrence* incapable of further service, determined to transfer his flag to the *Niagara*, which was at that moment warmly engaged. Soon after the commodore's flag began to wave on the *Niagara*, the *Lawrence*, being rendered totally incapable of further defence, struck her flag. No sooner had Captain Perry taken his station on board the *Niagara* than a signal was made for close action; and passing a-head of the British ships, in order to break their line, he gave them a raking fire with his starboard guns, and laid his ship along-side of the *Detroit*. The smaller American vessels having, in the mean time, advanced within grape and cannister shot distance, and kept up a well directed fire, the *Queen Charlotte* struck, and all the other British vessels were obliged to submit to the same fate.

The engagement, which was gallantly contested, lasted three hours, and the victory on the part of the enemy was decisive. The loss on both sides was severe; and of the crew of the *Lawrence*, scarcely any individual, except the captain, escaped the shower of shot with which she was for upwards of two hours assailed. The return made by Captain Perry of the killed and wounded on board his fleet, amounted to one hundred and twenty-three; the British loss, as stated by Captain Barlow, was forty-one killed, and ninety-four wounded, among the former of whom was Captain Finnis, of the *Queen Charlotte*, and his first lieutenant; and among the latter Captain Barclay himself. This gallant veteran—veteran in service, though not in years, had already lost an arm while fighting the battles of his country. During the present engagement he was twice carried below to re-

* Dispatch from Sir George Prevost to Earl Bathurst, dated St. David's, August 25, 1813.

† According to the American accounts, the British fleet consisted of the brig *Detroit*, of twenty guns; the *Queen Charlotte*, of eighteen; the *Lady Prevost*, of fourteen; the *Hornet*, of ten; and one sloop and a schooner, of three guns each. On the same authority it is stated, that the American fleet consisted of the *Lawrence* and the *Niagara*, of twenty guns each; and seven smaller vessels, carrying an average of two guns each. Captain Barclay, without entering into the detail, represents the American squadron as greatly superior in strength to his own, and says, that there were not more than fifty British seamen on board his vessels.

ceive dressings for his wounds, one of which deprived him of his other hand. While under the hands of the surgeon the second time, an officer came down, and told him that they must strike, as the ships were cut to pieces, and the men could no longer be kept to their guns; but Captain Barclay, unwilling to listen to counsel to which his ears were so little accustomed, demanded to be conveyed on deck, and after taking a survey of his fleet, and finding that all hopes of success had vanished, consented, with extreme reluctance, to strike to the enemy. The American commodore, no way inferior to his rival in valour, fought with a degree of gallantry that acquired for him the admiration and gratitude of his country; and consummated his bravery by so much kindness and humanity towards his prisoners, that Captain Barclay, in the generous frankness of his soul, declared, that the conduct of Perry towards the captive officers and men, was sufficient of itself to immortalize him. This victory, which, it must be confessed, was of high importance to the American cause, was extolled throughout the United States in language the most hyperbolic; and their public writers, under the influence of a glowing imagination, did not hesitate to remark, that "the peal of war, which has once sounded on Erie, will, probably, never again be heard on that lake. The last roar of cannonry, that died along her shores, was the expiring note of British domination. These vast internal seas will, perhaps, never again be the separating space between contending nations; but will be embosomed within a mighty empire; and this victory, which decided their fate, will stand unrivalled and alone, deriving lustre and perpetuity from its singleness."

The capture of the British squadron on Lake Erie was the precursor, and in some degree, the cause, of the relinquishment of the Michigan territory, and the abandonment of all the posts in Upper Canada, beyond the Great River. Early in September, General Harrison began to concentrate his force, near the mouth of the Miami, and once more to prepare for a descent on Canada. On the 17th of that month, Governor Shelby, with a reinforcement of four thousand volunteers, arrived at the American head-quarters; and on the 20th, General M'Arthur's brigade joined the main army. Colonel Johnson's regiment of cavalry remained at Fort Meigs, but had orders to approach Detroit by land, and to advance, *pari passu*, with the commander-in-chief, who was to move

in boats to Malden. Commodore Perry was actively engaged in transporting the troops and baggage to their destination; and on the 27th General Harrison's army debarked three miles from Malden. On advancing to that place, instead of the regimentals of the British, and the war whoop of the Indians, a group of well-dressed females presented themselves, and on behalf of themselves and the inhabitants implored mercy and protection. It was now discovered that Malden had been abandoned by General Proctor, who had determined to fall back for the purpose of taking a station on the river Thames. Sandwich and Detroit, thus abandoned to their fate, fell successively into the hands of the invaders; but before General Proctor quitted these places he had taken the precaution to dismantle the ports, and to destroy the public buildings and stores of every description.

On the 2d of October General Harrison had completed his arrangements for advancing in pursuit of the retreating British troops, and on the morning of the 5th the hostile armies came in contact at the Moravian village, situated on the right bank of the Thames, about forty miles from its entrance into Lake Clair. The British force, which was advantageously drawn up in line of battle, on the banks of the river, was estimated at five hundred men, supported by about twelve hundred Indians. The numerical strength of the American army was nearly double this amount, including one thousand irregular cavalry. The right division of the American army, consisting principally of horse, advanced to the charge with great impetuosity, and in an instant the British lines were broken, and the enemy formed in their rear. This sudden and unexpected manœuvre was decisive of the fate of the day. On the left of the enemy's position the contest was more serious, but not less successful. Colonel Johnson, who commanded the Americans on that flank, encountered a steady resistance on the part of the Indians, who, by their gallant conduct, rescued themselves from the disgrace at Fort Stephenson. Tecumseh, one of the most distinguished of their chiefs, and the brother of the prophet, was personally opposed to Colonel Johnson, and was advancing upon him with an uplifted tomahawk, when the colonel, observing his approach, drew a pistol from his holster, and laid his brave adversary dead at his feet.* At the moment of the fall of Tecumseh, the Indians, who

* This celebrated aboriginal warrior fell in the forty-fourth year of his age. He was of the Shawannoe tribe. In stature, he was above the middle size; extremely active; and capable of sustaining fatigue in a very extraordinary degree. His carriage was erect and lofty—his motions quick—his eye penetrating—his visage stern, with an air of *hauteur* in his countenance, arising from an elevated pride of soul. His rule of war was neither

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till now had maintained their ground with great bravery, gave way; and General Proctor, perceiving that all was lost, ordered his troops to disperse, and sought his own safety in flight. Among the trophies taken by the Americans in the battle of the Thames, were six brass field-pieces, which had been surrendered by General Hull, and on two of which were inscribed, "Surrendered by Burgoyne at Saratoga."

The American army, having effected the object of their expedition, returned to Detroit, but before their departure they destroyed Moravian village, attempting to palliate this enmity on the ground that the Indian inhabitants had been among the foremost in massacring the Americans at the river Raisin; and on the further plea, that the town, if spared, would have afforded a convenient shelter for their British allies during the winter. While General Harrison was advancing to the Thames, the Ottawas, and the other Indian tribes, proposed to General M'Arthur to suspend hostilities, and to agree to "take hold of the same tomahawk with the Americans, and to strike all the enemies of the United States whether British or Indian." These proposals were of course agreed to, and the Indians were left at liberty, according to the American accounts, either to take up arms in behalf of the United States, or to remain neutral.

General Proctor, after his retreat from Moravian village, repaired to Ancaster, on the Grand River, where he collected the shattered remains of his army, amounting to about two hundred men, and from thence marched to Burlington Heights, the head-quarters of General Vincent.

Signal as the success of the enemy had been on the Detroit frontier, all his efforts to establish himself in Lower Canada proved unavailing, and served only to involve him in loss and disaster. On the 31st of July, the Ontario fleet, under Commodore Chauncey, consisting at that period of twelve sail, and carrying a military force, under Lieutenant-colonel Scott, made its appearance off York; but, after throwing open the public jail, and destroying the store-houses of some of the private inhabitants, they again evacuated the town, and took to their vessels. The attention of the enemy was soon drawn from these predatory excursions to the defence of their own settlements; and a number of naval officers and seamen were dispatched from Quebec, on board a flotilla of gun-boats,

for the purpose of co-operating with a small, but chosen body of troops, under Lieutenant-colonel Murray, in various demonstrations on Lake Champlain. On the 29th of July the objects of this service were fully accomplished by the total destruction of all the enemy's arsenals, block-houses, and stores of every description, at Plattsburgh, Swanton, and Champlain Town; and the conflagration of the extensive barracks at Saranac, capable of containing four thousand troops. This important service was performed with a degree of promptitude and regularity highly honourable to the officers directing the expedition, and without the loss of a single man.

The success of the Americans on the shores and on the waters of Lake Erie, had created that excess of exultation which often finds in defeat and disappointment its appropriate punishment. Upper Canada, it was said, had fallen, and the same fate awaited the other parts of the dominions of his Britannic Majesty in North America. The preparations by which these magnificent projects were to be realized, appeared not altogether inadequate to their fulfilment, and it was publicly announced, that the two armies under Generals Wilkinson and Hampton, consisting of from eight to ten thousand men each, would take up their winter-quarters at Montreal. These troops, however, were formidable only in numbers, and possessed no qualities which could enable them to stand the shock of armies under British discipline.

The attack on Lower Canada was to be made by a combined operation of the armies of the north and of the centre, and while the former, under General Hampton, marched on Montreal from Lake Champlain, taking the route of the Chateaugay; the latter, under General Wilkinson, was directed to sail down the St. Lawrence for the same destination. On the morning of the 21st of October, General Hampton crossed the line of separation between the British dominions and the United States, and commenced his movements along the banks of the river. After some days spent in completing his arrangements and bringing up his stores and artillery, he advanced on the 25th in front of the British position, which he found supported by a wood of some miles in extent, formed into an entire abatis, and filled by a succession of breast-works, well supplied with ordnance.* Early in the forenoon of the 26th the American light

to give nor to accept quarter. He had been in almost every battle with the Americans, since the breaking out of the war; had received several wounds, and always sought the hottest of the fire. His ruling passion was glory—wealth was beneath his ambition, and although his plunderings and subsidies must have amounted to a large sum, he died poor. The Americans had a kind of ferocious pleasure in contemplating the contour of his features, which was majestic even in death; but some of the Kentuckians disgraced themselves by committing indignities on his dead body.

*Dispatch from General Hampton to the Secretary at War, dated Four Corners, November 1, 1812.

troops and cavalry were discovered advancing on both banks of the Chateaugay. Lieutenant-colonel De Salaberry, who had the command of the advanced picquets of the British army, composed of the light infantry company of the Canadian fencibles, and two companies of voltigeurs, stationed on the north side of the river, made so excellent a disposition of his little band, as to check the advance of the enemy's principal column, led by General Hampton in person, and accompanied by Brigadier-general Izard; while the American light brigade, under Colonel M'Carty, was in like manner arrested in its progress on the south side of the river, by the spirited advance of the right flank company of the third battalion of the embodied militia, under Captain Daly, supported by Captain Bruyer's company of Chateaugay chasseurs. In the course of the day the enemy rallied repeatedly, and returned to the attack, but all their efforts proved unavailing; and on the approach of evening they were obliged finally to retire, being foiled on all points by a handful of men, who, by their determined bravery, maintained their position in the face of an enemy twenty times their number.

The governor-general, having fortunately arrived on the scene of action shortly after the appearance of the enemy, witnessed the gallant conduct of the troops on this glorious occasion, and had the satisfaction to award, on the spot, that praise which had become so justly their due. From the report of prisoners taken from the enemy in the affair of Chateaugay, it appeared that the American force consisted of seven thousand infantry, and two hundred cavalry, with ten field-pieces; while the British advanced force, actually engaged, did not exceed three hundred!* The entire loss of both armies, in killed, wounded, and missing, according to the official dispatches transmitted to their governments by the hostile generals, was estimated at seventy-five men, of which the British lost only twenty-five; and the Americans not more than double that number. After this memorable repulse the American commander called a council of war, at which it was determined, with more calculating prudence than military enterprise, that under existing circumstances, it was not prudent to renew the attack; but that on the contrary, the army should "immediately return, by orderly marches, to such a position as would secure their communication with the United States, either to retire into winter-quarters, or to be ready to strike below."

The American troops engaged in the ex-

pedition under General Wilkinson were not more fortunate in the enterprise upon which they had now entered than their compatriots of the northern army. Early in the month of October, General Wilkinson, at the head of an army of ten thousand men, embarked at Fort George, on board the Ontario flotilla, consisting of upwards of three hundred vessels, and having entered the St. Lawrence on the 2d of November, arrived on the 6th within a few miles of the port of Prescott. The powder and stores were here landed on the Canadian side of the river, to be transported by land, under cover of the night, beyond the British batteries; and all the troops were debarked to march at the same hour to a bay two miles below Prescott. The vigilance of the British troops, to which the enemy bears repeated testimony, was not to be surprised; and in this attempt to pass the fortress of Prescott, the American armada was doomed to sustain a heavy and destructive cannonade;† while the army on shore, under the command of Brig.-general Boyd, was briskly assailed by the garrison with shot and shells. The advance of the enemy, subsequent to the passage of Prescott, was retarded by the menacing position of the British army, which hung upon his rear, and by the difficulties of the navigation of the St. Lawrence, which exposed his flotilla to continually increasing dangers. Having anticipated the probability of the American government sending its whole force from Lake Ontario towards Montreal, the British governor-general had ordered a corps of observation, consisting of the remains of the 49th regiment, the second battalion of the 89th, and three companies of voltigeurs, with a division of gunboats, the whole under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Morrison, of the 89th regiment, to advance from Kingston, and to follow the movements of General Wilkinson's army. On the 11th, this corps of observation was attacked at Williamsburg by a part of the American force, under General Boyd, consisting of two brigades of infantry, and a regiment of cavalry. About half past two the action became general, when the enemy endeavoured, by moving forward a brigade from the right, to turn the British left, but was repulsed by the 89th forming in potence with the 49th, and both corps moving forward, occasionally firing by platoons. Finding himself unsuccessful on the left, the next efforts of the enemy were directed against the right, but he was received in so gallant a manner by the companies of the 89th, under Captain Barnes, and by a well-directed fire

* Dispatch from Sir George Prevost to Earl Bathurst, dated Montreal, October 30, 1813.

† Dispatches from Sir George Prevost.

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from the artillery, that he quickly retreated, leaving one of his guns in the hands of the British. Colonel Morrison, in his turn, now became the assailant, and the enemy concentrated his force to prevent his advance; but such was the steady countenance and well-directed fire of the troops, and the artillery, that about half past four the Americans gave way on all sides, and abandoned their strong position. By a judicious movement made at this moment by Lieutenant-colonel Pearson, their light infantry, which had been left to cover their retreat, was dislodged, and the British detachment for the night occupied the ground from which the enemy had ignobly suffered themselves to be driven. Colonel Morrison, in his report of the battle of Williamsburg, very justly remarks, that every man did his duty; and that no stronger evidence can be given of their merits than that which is found in the fact that the army of the victors did not exceed eight hundred men; while that of the vanquished amounted to from three to four thousand.* The loss of the Americans in killed and wounded amounted to three hundred and thirty-nine,† including upwards of one hundred prisoners. On the side of the British, the loss, in relation to the number engaged, was heavy, and amounted to one hundred and eighty, including twelve missing.‡ Sir George Prevost, in his dispatches relating to the repeated attempts of the Americans to invade his majesty's Canadian dominions, dwells with exultation on the loyalty and active zeal displayed by all classes of the inhabitants; and General Wilkinson bears ample testimony to the same important fact, by asserting, that the hostility of the male inhabitants of the country was active and universal.

The American army, depressed by their disasters, re-embarked the whole of their forces on the 13th, and crossed the St. Lawrence to St. Regis and Salmon River, on their own shores, not leaving a man on the Canadian territory, except such as were prisoners. On the preceding day, General Wilkinson, who had been confined to his bed during the principal part of the voyage down the St. Lawrence, received a dispatch from General Hampton, in which that officer declined to join his troops to the army of the centre, on account of the limited supply of provisions, intimating, however, that he should retire to Plattsburg, with the intention of opening a communication between the two armies

lower down the river. This letter General Wilkinson considered as a refusal on the part of General Hampton to co-operate; and at a council of war, consisting of the principal officers of his army, it was determined, "that the attack on Montreal should be abandoned for the present season," and that the army should go into winter-quarters. It would be an useless expenditure of time to enter into the controversy between these two generals; but it was strongly surmised in the United States, that the battles of Chateaugay and Williamsburg had abated their military ardour, and that in reality their dissensions might be traced to this cause.

The signal defeats experienced by the American armies in Canada having relieved both provinces from the pressure of the invaders, the attention of the British army, under Major-general Vincent, and Lieutenant-general Drummond, was directed to the Niagara frontier; and on the 10th of December, Colonel Murray was ordered to advance, for the purpose of checking a system of plunder organized by the enemy against the loyal inhabitants of that district. Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, the British force arrived in the neighbourhood of Fort George in time to compel the enemy, under General McClure, to abandon the whole of the British side of the Niagara frontier; but not till that general had stained the character of his country by the wanton conflagration of the town of Newark, which, under the pretence of securing the American frontier, but in violation of the laws of nations, he reduced to a heap of ashes.

The enemy, no longer secure within his own dominions, abandoned Lewestown on the advance of Major-general Riall, leaving in the place a considerable supply of small arms and ammunition, with about two hundred barrels of flour.

Early in the morning of the 19th of December, Colonel Murray, at the head of a detachment of the 100th regiment, the grenadier company of the royals, and the flank companies of the 41st regiment, advanced to Fort Niagara, where, having surprised the sentries on the glacis of the fortress, the watchword was obtained, and the place carried in a few minutes, with the trifling loss of six men killed, and five wounded. The loss of the garrison was much more considerable, sixty-five of their number were killed, fourteen wounded, and three hundred and forty-four made prisoners.§ By this

* General Wilkinson, in his Dispatch to the Secretary at War, dated French Mills, November 16, 1813, states, rather loosely, that the American force engaged did not exceed 1,800 men; while the strength of the British is estimated at 1,500, or 1,600, exclusive of the militia.

† General Wilkinson's Dispatches.

‡ Colonel Morrison's Official Report.

§ Colonel Murray's Report to General Drummond, dated Fort Niagara, December 19, 1813.

gallant achievement, twenty-seven pieces of cannon, three thousand stand of arms, a number of rifles, and the store-houses, well stocked with clothing, and camp equipage of every description, fell into the hands of the victors. Captain Leonard, of the artillery service, to whom the command of the garrison had been intrusted by General M'Clure, had, on the evening before the assault, retired to his country residence, at a distance of two miles, and a royal salute, announcing the surrender of the fortress, gave this officer the first intimation of the surrender of the garrison committed to his charge.

On the same day that the fortress of Niagara was carried by Colonel Murray, Lewistown surrendered without resistance to the forces under Major-general Riall. During the night of the 30th that general crossed the Niagara, for the purpose of attacking the enemy at Black Rock and Buffalo, at the head of a detachment, consisting of four companies of the king's regiment, the light company of the 89th, two hundred and fifty of the 41st regiment, and the grenadiers of the 100th regiment; with a small body of militia volunteers, and a number of Indian warriors. At day-break on the following morning, the king's regiment, and light company of the 89th, moved forward; the grenadiers of the 41st and the 100th regiment being in reserve. On the approach of the British troops the enemy opened a very heavy fire of cannon and musketry on the royal Scots, under Lieutenant-colonel Gordon, who was directed to land above Black Rock, for the purpose of turning his position, but who, owing to the boats in which the troops were embarked having grounded, was not able to land in sufficient time to accomplish that object. The king's and the 89th, having, in the mean time, gained the town, commenced a spirited attack upon the Americans under General Hall. The position, which was strong, was for some time supported with much bravery; but such was the gallant and determined advance of the British troops, that he was at length driven from his batteries, and pursued to the town of Buffalo, about two miles distant. General Hall, finding his force now swelled to upwards of two thousand men, again attempted to arrest the progress of the advancing columns; but finding all his efforts ineffectual, his troops fled in disorder, and betook themselves to the woods. Eight pieces of ordnance, and one hundred and thirty prisoners, fell into the hands of the British, and the enemy's loss in killed and wounded was estimated at from three to four hundred.

General Riall now proceeded to execute the

ulterior objects of the expedition; and Colonel Robinson was detached to destroy a sloop and two schooners, part of the Ontario flotilla, which lay a little below the town. The town itself, the inhabitants having previously abandoned it, and the whole of the public stores, consisting of a considerable quantity of clothing, spirits, and flour, which the British army had not the means of conveying away, were then set on fire, and totally consumed. A similar fate awaited Black Rock; and on the evening of the same day that village was consigned to the flames.

These terrible inflictions were not deemed sufficient to retaliate the destruction of the town of Newark; and in obedience to the further instructions of General Drummond, Lieut.-colonel Gordon, with a detachment of the 19th and 89th regiments, moved down the river to Fort Niagara, and destroyed the remaining cover of the enemy upon this frontier.* A dreadful scene of desolation now presented itself; all the towns and villages on the American side of the communicating river between Lakes Erie and Ontario were destroyed, and the concluding scenes of the campaign of the present year, assumed the character of a war of extermination—a species of contest abhorrent to every civilized mind, and fit only for the savage auxiliaries of the two exasperated belligerents.

Amidst partial reverses, the campaign of the present year had proved glorious, by land, to Great Britain; on the ocean, the skill and bravery of the hostile nations were more equally balanced, but the ascendancy inclined, unquestionably, to that power who had so long reigned the unrivalled mistress of the waves. Her successes were, however, by no means unchequered even on this element; and the first action on the ocean between British and American vessels, in the year 1813, terminated decidedly in favour of the latter power. On the 24th of March, the American brig *Hornet*, Captain Lawrence, and the English brig *Peacock*, Captain William Peake, met at sea, off Demarara, and at half past five o'clock in the afternoon they passed within range of each other's guns, and exchanged broadsides. Observing the British captain in the act of wearing, Captain Lawrence bore up and received his starboard broadside, after which he approached close on the starboard quarter, and in that position kept up such a heavy and well-directed fire, that in less than fifteen minutes, the *Peacock*, being rendered unmanageable, was obliged to strike her flag. With much difficulty, the Americans succeeded in bringing their prize to anchor; but before the prisoners could be removed she went down, carrying with her thirteen of her own crew, and

* Report made by General Riall to General Drummond, dated near Fort Erie, January 1, 1814.

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three of the American sailors. Captain Peake, and four of his crew, were found dead on board the sinking vessel, and thirty-three others were wounded. The loss of the Americans was trifling in comparison, and in the return made by Captain Lawrence to the secretary of the navy, it is stated, that the number of killed and wounded did not exceed five men, of whom one only was killed. The Peacock is represented as one of the finest vessels of her class in the British navy, and in size, guns, and crew, the combatants were nearly equal. On the return of Captain Lawrence to America he was received with every possible mark of distinction; and as a testimony of the estimation in which his talents and bravery were held by his government, he was appointed to the command of the Chesapeake frigate, then lying in the port of Boston.

The time now approached in which the British flag was to recover a large share of its accustomed honours from that foe with whom its glories had suffered a temporary eclipse. Ever since the month of February, Captain Broke, of the Shannon, had been cruising in the Bay of Boston, in company with the Tenedos, in hopes that the Chesapeake would come out of the harbour; but the enemy not choosing to encounter two British frigates, Captain Broke directed the Tenedos to cruise at a distance from the coast, and not to rejoin him till after the expiration of a month. In order that Captain Lawrence might be informed of the separation of the vessels, and be induced in consequence to put to sea, the Shannon stood close into Boston light-house, and hoisted the British colours. The challenge, conveyed by this posture of defiance, Captain Lawrence was not slow to accept; and at mid-day, on the 1st of June, the Chesapeake weighed anchor, and stood out of the harbour, to decide, as it were, by single combat, the contest between the two nations in maritime prowess.

About twenty-five minutes after five o'clock the two frigates were within musket shot of each other; and it is scarcely possible to conceive a more interesting and awful moment. The engagement, which was about to commence, had few features in common with the usual routine of sea fights; there was, on the contrary, something chivalrous in the situation of the combatants; each commander, as well as the respective crews, had offered themselves as the champions of their country's glory and honour; and by this feeling it may be supposed that the Americans were more particularly influenced, as the engagement was about to commence within sight of their own shores, which were lined by the inhabitants, who could observe with ease all the vicissitudes of a combat so in-

teresting. Captain Broke and his crew, on their part, must have experienced feelings little less stimulating to heroic enterprise: they had sought an opportunity of proving to the world, that the sun of England's naval glory was not yet set; they had not merely to sustain, they had in some measure to retrieve and win back, the glory and honour of their country; they had to prove themselves worthy of that country which had given birth to Nelson; and they did prove themselves worthy of this high distinction. The Chesapeake frigate, on her advance, was manœuvred with so much skill as to call for the admiration of the British captain; and three American ensigns waved from her masts, on one of which was inscribed, "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights." At half past five the enemy placed himself on the starboard side of the Shannon, and the battle began. After the exchange of two or three broadsides, the enemy's frigate fell on board the Shannon, and they became locked in each other's rigging. Captain Broke, observing that the enemy were flinching from their guns, determined to bring the battle to an immediate and glorious issue, and gave orders to prepare for boarding. Placing himself at the head of his gallant bands, appointed to that service, they instantly rushed upon the enemy's decks, impelling every thing before them with irresistible fury. The enemy made a desperate but disorderly resistance; and the firing was continued at all the gangways, and between the tops; but in two minutes they were driven sword in hand from every post; the American flag was hauled down, and the proud old British union floated triumphantly over it. In another minute the enemy ceased firing from below, and called for quarter; and the whole service was achieved in fifteen minutes from the commencement of the action.

No terms can adequately express the merits of the valiant officers and crew of the Shannon: the calm courage they displayed during the cannonade, and the tremendous precision of their fire, could only be equalled by the ardour with which they rushed to the assault. Nor was the courage of the Americans much less conspicuous; their brave captain, who received a musket ball through his body, in the heat of the action, exclaimed as he was carried below, "Don't give up the ship;" and his principal solace, while suffering the most excruciating pain from his wounds, was derived from the hope that his colours should never be struck. But at the moment when these orders were sent up by the surgeon, every officer on the upper deck was either killed or wounded, and the struggle had ceased. In the very moment of victory Captain Broke was severely wounded in his head by a sabre, while exerting himself to save two Ame-

icans from the fury of his men. Of his gallant seamen and marines, he had twenty-three slain, and fifty-six wounded; while the loss of the enemy amounted to forty-seven killed, and ninety-three wounded. From a comparative view of the strength of the two frigates, it appears that the Shannon mounted fifty-three guns, while the Chesapeake had only forty-nine; but if the superiority in guns was on the side of the English, the Americans enjoyed a still higher advantage in her number of men, and the Chesapeake had to oppose her full complement of four hundred and forty seamen against the three hundred and thirty with which the Shannon entered the action.

The wounds of Captain Lawrence proved mortal four days after the battle; when his body was shrouded in the colours of his ship, and conveyed to Halifax for interment. His funeral obsequies were celebrated with appropriate ceremonies; his pall was supported by the oldest captains in the British service then at Halifax, and the naval officers crowded to yield the last honours to a man whom they considered now no longer in the light of a foe, but as an honour to his profession. There is a generous sympathy in the brave that knows no distinction of crime or nation. They honour in each other that of which they feel proud in themselves. The group that congregated round the grave of Captain Lawrence presented a scene worthy of the heroic days of chivalry. It was a complete triumph of the nobler feelings over the savage passions of war. The conflict of arms is ferocious, and triumph frequently does but engender more deadly hostilities; but the contest of magnanimity calls forth the nobler feelings of the soul, and the contest is over the affections.

The capture of the Chesapeake, under such animating and glorious circumstances, could not fail, in some degree, to re-establish in the minds even of the desponding, their confidence in British naval valour and skill; and an engagement which took place in the month of August, though not of so brilliant a nature, nor brought to so speedy an issue, contributed to the same effect. On the morning of the 14th of August, Captain Maples, of his majesty's sloop Pelican, while cruising in St. George's Channel for the protection of the trade, observed an American vessel in full sail, which slackened on her approach, and prepared for action. As soon as the Pelican came alongside of her antagonist the seamen gave three cheers, and the action commenced. For forty-three minutes the en-

gagement was kept up with great spirit on both sides, and though during this time the Pelican evidently had the advantage, it was by no means of a decisive nature. Captain Maples, finding his crew anxious to come to close quarters, laid the Pelican alongside of his adversary, and gave orders to board her; but when the crew were in the act of executing the commands of their captain, the American struck her colours. The vessel proved to be the Argus sloop of war, Captain Allen, of twenty guns, and a complement of one hundred and twenty-seven men. Her commander fought his ship nobly, and was wounded early in the action so severely that he was obliged to suffer amputation of his left thigh, and died the day after the battle. In point of force the two sloops were nearly equal, and perhaps the circumstance which most strongly indicated the relative skill with which the battle was fought, was the loss on each side: on board the Pelican there were only two men killed, and six wounded; while on board the Argus the killed and wounded amounted to about forty.*

But the absolute superiority of the British by sea was not yet placed on so firm a footing as not to be liable, in their engagements with the Americans, to vicissitudes; and those who, from the result of the action between the Shannon and the Chesapeake, looked for victory as a matter of course, whenever the vessels were of equal force, were doomed to be disappointed. On the 5th of September, the American brig Enterprise, Lieutenant Burrows, and his Britannic Majesty's brig Boxer, Captain Blyth, met at the entrance to Portsmouth Bay, off the coast of the United States. The English captain, when he observed the American vessel standing towards him, fired a shot as a challenge, and hoisted three British ensigns, which he ordered to be nailed to the mast. About two o'clock the American captain, having obtained the weather gage, hoisted, in his turn, three ensigns, and fired a shot at the Boxer; this she did not deign to return till she came within half pistol shot, when her crew gave three cheers, and commenced the action by firing her starboard broadside. The action now became most obstinate; and at twenty minutes past three the American captain received a ball in his body, and fell; but he refused to be carried below, and raising his head, requested, even in the agonies of death, that his flag might never be struck. Nor was his adversary less distinguished for his heroic bravery. About ten

* Dispatch from Captain Maples to Vice-admiral Thornborough. In a letter from John Hawker, Esq. many years American Vice-consul in England, dated from Plymouth, August 19, 1813, and addressed to General Allen, the father of the captain, it is stated, that the loss on board the Argus amounted only to six killed, and twelve wounded.

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minutes after the American commandant received his mortal wound, Lieutenant M'Call, on whom the command of the vessel devolved, ordered his ship to be laid on board the Boxer, for the purpose of raking her with a starboard broadside. Captain Blyth had now fallen; and the situation of the vessels was such that the Enterprise could command any situation which it might be deemed advisable to take; while the Boxer could neither be manœuvred with skill, nor fought with advantage. The raking fire to which she was exposed continued to be poured into her till forty-five minutes past three, when her crew, finding further resistance unavailing, called for quarter, as their colours, being nailed to the mast, could not be hauled down. The loss of the Boxer was much more considerable than that of the American brig; and the hull, sails, and rigging of the former were nearly cut to pieces; while the latter, though injured in her spars and rigging, was left in a condition to have commenced another action of the same kind immediately. Soon after the arrival of the Enterprise and Boxer at Portland, the bodies of the two commanding officers, Captain Blyth, and Lieutenant Burrows, were brought on shore in barges, rowed at minute strokes by the masters of ships, accompanied by most of the boats and barges in the harbour, while minute guns were fired from the two vessels. A grand procession was then formed on shore, and the interment took place with all the honours that the civil and military authorities of the place, and the great body of people, could bestow.

In the early part of the year 1813, the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays were declared by the British government to be in a state of blockade, and a squadron, under the command of Admiral Warren, was stationed off the American coast, to seal up these great inlets of the United States. In the month of May, Rear-admiral Cockburn, with a light squadron under his command, was sent up the Chesapeake, to carry on a coasting warfare, and to render the government and the inhabitants of America sensible of the danger of reusing the indignation of the British nation. The villages of Frenchtown, Havre-de-grace, Georgetown, and Fredericktown, situated near the head of the Chesapeake, were seized upon and destroyed, and considerable injury was done to the enemy by these operations; but no vital point was reached, nor were any of the great objects of the war materially promoted. This desultory and piratical species of warfare, though always a favourite

topic of British declamation, seldom leads to any important result. Its successes are superficial and transient; and though the suffering and alarm it inflicts may in some measure dispose the minds of the people of a district to peace, even this effect must be greatly counteracted by the hatred and irritation which it is always sure to excite.

The Indian tribes in the Mississippi territory availed themselves of the rupture between Great Britain and America to indulge once more their strong propensity for war, and endeavoured to regain those territories which the events of former contests had wrested from them. Deaf to the warning voice of their most experienced chiefs, the Creek Indians procured supplies of arms and ammunition from the Spaniards in West Florida, and declared war against the United States. The first operations of the war took place near the Georgia frontier, and on the 30th of August Fort Mims was surprised by a large body of the savages, and the garrison, with about two hundred and sixty of the inhabitants, fell a sacrifice to their merciless hostility. Of the whole number of persons in the place, not more than thirty* escaped the scalping-knife, the flames, and the tomahawk.

To revenge this massacre, and to strike terror into the savages, a brigade of Georgia militia was detached, under the command of Brigadier-general Floyd; and the militia and volunteers of Tennessee, under the command of General Jackson, were employed in the same service. In the month of November battles were fought at Tallushatchee, Talladega, Hallibee-towns, and Autossee, in all of which, according to the accounts of their enemies, the Indians were defeated; numbers of their chiefs and warriors were killed, and their villages consigned to the flames. In all these engagements they fought with a fury peculiar to savages, and met and inflicted death without giving or receiving quarter.†

The sanguinary details of this war of extermination present little but a repetition of successes on the part of the Americans, and of misery and desolation in the devoted country of their adversaries. A contest so unequal could not be of long duration, and the battle of Tallapoosa, fought on the 27th of March, 1814, brought the war to a close by the destruction of almost all the warriors of the nation against which it was waged. On the morning of this decisive engagement General Jackson reached the crescent of the Tallapoosa, on the southern extremity of New Yonka, where the

* Letter from Judge Toulmin, dated September 7, 1813.

† See the Official Reports of the American Generals.

Indians had formed a kind of fortress, covering about a hundred acres of ground, and rendered, as they conceived, impregnable, by the benedictions of their prophets, and the skill of their warriors. The breast-work of this fortified peninsula was from five to eight feet in height, and the congregated warriors of Oakfuska, Oakehagu, New Youka, Hillabeea, the Fish Ponds, and Eufatua, formed its garrison. Having dispatched General Coffee to place himself in the rear of the enemy by securing the opposite banks of the river, the commander of the American army determined to take possession of the breast-work by storm. The regular troops, led on by Colonel Williams and Major Montgomery, were soon in possession of the advanced part of the works, when an obstinate contest, through the port holes, musket to musket, took place, and in which many of the Indian bullets became transfixed upon the bayonets of their adversaries. At length the assailants succeeded in scaling the works, and the event was now no longer doubtful. The Indians, although they fought to the last moment of their existence, and displayed that kind of bravery which desperation inspires, were entirely routed and cut to pieces. The margin of the river was strewn with their slain. Five hundred and fifty dead bodies laid upon the field, and from two to three hundred others were buried in the water. Not more than twenty escaped; and among the dead was found their famous prophet, Monahell, with two other prophets of less celebrity. The loss of the Americans in killed and wounded amounted to about two hundred, among the former of whom was Major Montgomery, and Lieutenants Sommerville and Moulton.

This action, which was continued for five hours, and till the exterminating sword could find no more victims, terminated the Creek war. The Tallapoosa king was made prisoner; Tostahatchee, King of Hickroy, afterwards surrendered himself; and Wetherford, their speaker, seeing that all further resistance was vain, ranked himself voluntarily among the captives.*

In the month of April a peace was concluded, and General Jackson withdrew his forces. The terms of the treaty were dictated by the United States, and proceeded upon the principle of indemnity for the past, and security for the future. The victors were to retain as much of the Creek country as would by its sale defray the expenses of the war; and to guard against future incursions from the tribes, the right of establishing military posts along the line of the whole frontier was conceded to them. It does not appear by any means clear, notwithstanding the confident assertions to the contrary, that this war, so disastrous to the Creeks, was instigated by the British government, and it is certain that not a single British officer or soldier was found in the Indian ranks.

The message of the American President at the opening of the congress, on the 7th of November, 1810, announced, that Great Britain had declined the offer made by the Emperor Alexander, to mediate the existing differences between that power and the United States; and under such circumstances, the president conceived, that a nation proud of its rights, and conscious of its strength, had no choice but in exertion of the one in support of the other. The door of negotiation was not, however, finally closed; for while Great Britain was disinclined to commit the decision of the question at issue to the mediation of a power that, in common with America, might be disposed to circumscribe her maritime claims, she professed a readiness to nominate plenipotentiaries to treat directly with the plenipotentiaries of the American government, and expressed an earnest wish that their conferences might result in establishing between the two nations the blessings and reciprocal advantages of peace.† This proposal, which was communicated by Lord Castlereagh to the American secretary of state on the 4th of November, was accepted by the government of the United States without hesitation, and Gottenburg, being neutral territory, was fixed upon as the place at which the plenipotentiaries should assemble.

* In a private interview with General Jackson, after the battle, the intrepid Wetherford thus addressed his conqueror:—"I fought at Fort Mims—I fought the Georgian army—I did you all the injury I could—Had I been supported I would have done you more. But my warriors are all killed—I can fight no longer. I am sorry for the destruction of my nation—I am now in your power—do with me what you please—I am a soldier."

† Dispatch from Lord Cathcart to the Count Nesselrode, dated Toplitz, September 1, 1813.

CHAPTER III.

AMERICAN WAR (Concluded) Objects of the Campaign of 1814—Repulse of the Americans at Odell-town—Operations on the Shores of the Lakes: Battle of Chippaway—Battle of Bridgewater—Repulse of the British at Fort Erie—Siege raised—Defeat of the British Flotilla on Lake Champlain—Disastrous Result of the Expedition under Sir George Prevost against Plattsburgh—Capture of the Essex Frigate—Loss of the Reindeer—Engagement between the Wasp and the Avon—Resolution taken by the British Government to destroy and lay waste the Towns and Districts upon the American Coast—Destruction of the Flotilla upon the Patuxent—Battle of Bladensburg—Destruction of the Public Edifices in Washington—Surrender of Alexandria—Unsuccessful Attack upon Bellair, and Fall of Captain Sir Peter Parker—Battle of Baltimore, and Fall of General Ross—Retreat of the British Army—Expedition to the Penobscot—President's Message—Financial and Military Arrangements—Meeting of the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and America at Ghent—Unsuccessful Attack on Fort Bowyer—Expedition against Louisiana—Advance of the British Army—Battle of New Orleans—Fall of Sir Edward Pakenham and Major-general Gibbs—The Expedition abandoned—Capture of Fort Bowyer—Capture of the President Frigate—Negociations at Ghent—Treaty of Peace concluded.

BOOK V. THE slow operations of diplomacy, combined with the great crisis in Europe, which
CHAP. III. had now arrived, and which absorbed the principal attention of the British government, doomed the United States of America to suffer for another year all the horrors of war. After the fall of Napoleon, it was held in this country, with a lamentable ignorance of the real state of the feelings and energies of the United States, that Britain, so long the undisputed mistress of the ocean, would soon be able to sweep from the seas the ships of America; and that those troops which had acquired so much glory when contending with the veteran armies of Europe, would no sooner show themselves on the western side of the Atlantic, than the panic-struck soldiers of the United States would be driven far within their own frontiers. These pleasing illusions were heightened by the hope that England would soon be able to dictate peace in the capital of the republic; or at least, that the splendour of British triumphs, and the pressure of American embarrassments, would induce and encourage the inhabitants of the northern states to form a separate government; under the protection of the crown of Great Britain, if not actually under the sway of her sceptre.

During the early part of the year 1814 the war with America was suffered to languish; but no sooner was Europe restored to peace, by the dethronement of Bonaparte, than the British government resolved to prosecute the contest with increased vigour, and to obtain in the field

a recognition of those maritime rights which had hitherto been so strenuously resisted in the cabinet. Two distinct modes of prosecuting the war seem to have been determined upon by the British ministry—first, an invasion of the coasts of the United States; and, second, after the protection of Canada had been secured, the conquest of so much of the adjoining territory as might, in the event of a future war, effectually guard that province from all danger. The peace of Paris was scarcely ratified before fourteen thousand of those troops which had gained so much renown under the Duke of Wellington, were embarked at Bourdeaux for Canada; and about the same time, a strong naval force, with an adequate number of troops, was collected, and dispatched for the purpose of invading different parts of the coast of the United States.

So early as the month of March, some movements had taken place in the American army of the north, under General Wilkinson, indicative of an intention to try once more the fortune of war on the Canadian territory; and on the 30th of that month, the position of Odell-town, under the command of Major Hancock, was attacked with considerable vigour; but the resistance made by the British commander was so spirited and judicious, that the assailants were repulsed with considerable loss, and obliged again to retreat to their position at Plattsburg.

Before the reinforcements from Europe arrived in America, an expedition was undertaken, under the command of General Drummond

and Commodore Sir James Yeo, against the fort of Oswego, on Lake Ontario. On the 6th of May preparations were made for commencing the attack, but it was soon discovered that the garrison had made their escape, and General Drummond took possession of the town and fort without opposition. After the barracks had been destroyed, and all the damage inflicted upon the works that was found practicable, the troops re-embarked, bringing away seven heavy guns, and a quantity of stores. Another attempt on a small scale, made on Sandy Creek, by Captain Popbam of the navy, in concert with Captain Spilsbury, proved unfortunate, and was attended with a loss of eighteen men killed, and fifty dangerously wounded, exclusive of prisoners.

A large American force, under Major-general Brown, crossed the Niagara river on the 3d of July, and advancing against Fort Erie, demanded the surrender of the garrison. Major Buck, to whom the command of the fort was confided, appears to have been very ill informed of the hostile movement by which he was assailed; and instead of atoning for his want of vigilance by a gallant defence, surrendered the fort at the first summons, himself, and one hundred and forty men, being made prisoners of war. After the fall of Fort Erie, General Brown advanced towards the British lines of Chippaway; but no sooner was Major-general Riall, who commanded the British troops in the neighbourhood, made acquainted with this movement, than he ordered the immediate advance of five companies of royal Scots to reinforce the garrison, while a detachment of the 100th regiment, with a body of militia, and a few Indians, moved forward for the purpose of reconnoitring the position, and ascertaining the number of the enemy. Early in the morning of the 5th several affairs of posts took place, and at four o'clock in the afternoon both armies were drawn up in battle array on a plain, about a mile to the west of Chippaway. The enemy, in expectation of being attacked, had taken up a position with his right, under General Scott, resting on an orchard, close to the river Niagara, and strongly supported by artillery; his left, under General Porter, rested on a wood, with a body of riflemen and Indians in front; and General Ripley's brigade placed in reserve. In a few minutes the British line advanced in three columns, the light companies of the royal Scots and the 100th regiment, with the 2d Lincoln, forming the advance, under Lieutenant-colonel Pearson, while the Indian warriors, posted on the right flank, occupied the woods. About half past four the Canadian militia and the Indians were sharply engaged with the enemy's riflemen and Indians, who at first checked their advance; but

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the light troops being brought to their support, the division under General Porter, consisting principally of the New York and Pennsylvania volunteers, gave way, and fled in every direction. After this success, General Riall ordered the king's regiment to move to the right, while the royal Scots, and the 100th regiment, were directed to charge the enemy in front. The steady bravery with which this charge was received by General Scott's brigade, gave the first intimation that the Americans had found, in the increased gallantry of their armies, a counterpoise against the veteran troops which Great Britain was at this moment pouring upon their shores. Two battalions of General Scott's brigade, with an enlarged interval between them, received the assailants in open plain, and prepared to take them in front and flank at the same time, while Captain Towson advanced to the front of the British left with three pieces of artillery, and took post on the river. The fire of the enemy's corps, accompanied by their artillery, produced a visible impression upon the British ranks, and the explosion of an ammunition waggon silenced the most efficient of their batteries. A heavy discharge of cannister shot was now poured on the British infantry, and General Riall, being no longer able to sustain this accumulated fire, ordered the attack to be abandoned, and the troops to retire behind their works at Chippaway. In this engagement, which closed only with the day, Lieut.-colonel Gordon, of the royal Scots, and Lieut.-colonel the Marquis of Tweeddale, late aide-de-camp to the Duke of Wellington, were both wounded, as were most of the officers belonging to their respective regiments. The loss on both sides was nearly equal, and may be estimated in round numbers at five hundred each. The number of British regulars engaged in the battle of Chippaway is stated by their general at fifteen hundred, exclusive of militia and Indians; and on the same authority, it is said, that the enemy's force amounted to about six thousand men.

Emboldened by the success which had attended their first operations, the enemy looked forward to still greater advantages. After the action of the 5th, General Riall retreated to a position near Fort Niagara; and the American army took post at Chippaway. On the arrival of General Drummond at Niagara, on the morning of the 25th of July, he advanced at the head of a considerable force towards the Falls; and scarcely had he formed a junction with General Riall, when intelligence arrived that the American army, under General Brown, was again advancing. The British general immediately proceeded to meet the enemy, whom he found strongly posted on a rising ground at Bridgewater, near the Falls of Niagara, and

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within the sound of the thunders of that stupendous cataract. Without a moment's delay, the 89th regiment, the royal Scots detachments, and the light companies of the 41st, formed in the rear of the hill, their left resting on the great road to Queenstown; and two twenty-four pounder brass field guns were placed a little advanced in front of the centre, on the summit of the rising ground; while the Glengarry light infantry, the battalion of incorporated militia, and a detachment of the king's regiment, occupied the left of the road, supported in the rear by a squadron of the 19th light dragoons, under the command of Major Lisle. This disposition of the British forces was no sooner completed, than they were attacked by Brigadier-general Scott, and before the remainder of the American army had crossed the Chappaway the action became close and general between the advanced corps. On the arrival of General Brown upon the field, he found that the first brigade had passed the wood, near the Falls, and that the 9th, 11th, and 22d regiments, with Towson's artillery, were engaged on the Queenstown road, directing their principal efforts against the left and centre of the British. The eminence occupied by the British artillery, supported by the 2d battalion of the 89th regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel Morrison, was conceived by General Brown to be the key of the whole position, and Colonel Miller was ordered to advance and carry the height at the point of the bayonet. The struggle at this point was arduous in the extreme; and the British troops, finding themselves severely pressed, formed round the colours of the 89th, and fought with invincible bravery. About the same time Major Jessup succeeded in turning the British left flank; and General Riall, having received a severe wound in his arm, was intercepted by Captain Ketchum's detachment as he was passing to the rear, and made prisoner. In the centre, the repeated and determined attacks of the Americans were met with the most perfect steadiness and intrepid gallantry, and they were constantly repulsed with very heavy loss. These attacks were directed against the guns of the British with so much vigour and determination, that the artillerymen were bayoneted in the act of loading their cannon, and the muzzles of the enemy's guns were advanced within a few yards of those by which they were opposed. The night, which had now closed in upon the combatants, failed to put an end to the battle, and during this extraordinary conflict, the two armies, mistaking each other's guns, actually made an exchange,

by which the enemy obtained one, and the British two pieces. The battle having raged three hours, was suspended about nine o'clock by mutual consent; during which time the enemy was employed in bringing up his reserves. In a short time the action was renewed; and General Porter, at the head of his New York and Pennsylvania volunteers, made a gallant charge, which retrieved the character of the corps, and called forth the praises of the commander of the American army. About this period General Drummond received a reinforcement of troops under Colonel Scott, consisting of the 103d regiment, the head-quarter divisions of the royal Scots, and king's, and the flank companies of the 104th regiment. This seasonable supply of troops seems to have decided the fortune of the day; and at midnight, the enemy, finding all his efforts to obtain possession of the hill unavailing, gave up the contest, and retreated to his camp beyond Chippaway, carrying with him the wounded and the artillery. On the day following he abandoned his camp, throwing the greater part of his baggage, camp equipage, and provisions, into the rapids; and having destroyed the bridge at Chippaway, continued his retreat towards Fort Erie. "The loss sustained by the enemy in this severe action, cannot," says General Drummond in his dispatches, "be estimated at less than fifteen hundred men, including several hundred prisoners; his two commanding generals, Brown and Scott, were both wounded; his whole force, which has never been rated at less than five thousand, having been engaged. The number of troops under my command did not, for the first three hours, exceed sixteen hundred men; and the addition of the troops under Colonel Scott did not increase it to more than two thousand eight hundred of every description."* The battle of Bridgewater was, without exception, the most sanguinary, and decidedly the best fought action which had taken place on the American continent. The repeated charges, and the actual contest with the bayonet, are alone sufficient to render this engagement remarkable; and the charge made by Colonel Miller on the crest of the British position, is said to have exhibited traits of heroism inferior only to those displayed at the storming of St. Sebastian.

A resolution was now formed to attempt the re-capture of Fort Erie; and for this purpose General Drummond, who had advanced to that place, opened the fire of his batteries against it on the 13th of August. Owing to the severe wounds received by the American Generals

* According to the American accounts, the whole amount of their force engaged on the 25th of July did not exceed 2,800, of which their loss, in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted but to 860; while the loss of the British is stated by General Drummond at 878.

Brown and Scott, in the battle of Bridgewater, the command of the left wing of the 2d division of the northern army had devolved upon Brigadier-general Gaines, who had exerted his utmost efforts to strengthen his position within the fort. During the 13th and 14th a brisk cannonade was kept up against the works, when General Drummond, having reason to believe that a sufficient impression had been produced, resolved to carry the place by a nocturnal assault. Two attacks were accordingly ordered to be made; the one by a heavy column under Lieutenant-colonel Fischer, directed against the intrenchments on the side of Snakehill; and the other, under Colonel Scott, and Lieutenant-colonel Drummond, on the fort and intrenchments leading to the lake. At half past two o'clock in the morning of the 15th, two hours before day-light, the British columns advanced to the attack; when Lieutenant-colonel Fischer, emerging from a thick wood, found himself suddenly checked, within ten yards of the intrenchment, by a kind of abbatis, defended by the enemy's musketry under Major Wood, and by their cannon under Captain Towson. The attention of the American general was soon after called to the right, where the approach of the centre and left of the British columns, under Colonels Drummond and Scott, was announced by a fire of cannon and musketry. A vigorous attack made by the left column, under Colonel Scott, was successfully resisted by the New York and Pennsylvania volunteers, aided by a six pounder, under Major M'Kee; but the centre, led on by Colonel Drummond, was not long kept in check; it approached at once every assailable point of the fort, and with scaling ladders ascended the parapet. The assault at this point was twice repeated, and as often checked; but the British troops, having moved round the ditch unobserved, re-ascended their ladders, and after carrying the bastion at the point of the bayonet, actually turned the guns of the fortress against its defenders. According to the American accounts, Colonel Drummond performed prodigies of valour, but on the same authority a stigma is cast upon the memory of this gallant officer, by the assertion that he frequently reiterated a sanguinary order to "give the damned yankees no quarter."* The battle now raged with increased fury, and several attempts were made by the garrison to dislodge the assailants; but in a moment every operation was arrested by the accidental explosion of a quantity of ammunition which had been placed under the platform, and by which almost all the troops that had entered the place were dreadfully mangled. A panic instantly communicated

itself to the British troops; and so fixed was their persuasion that the explosion was not accidental, that the utmost exertion of the few surviving officers to restore order proved ineffectual. The enemy, availing himself of this advantage, pressed forward upon the disordered columns, and before day appeared the besiegers were obliged to abandon the bastion, and to seek shelter behind their own batteries. The loss of the British in this disastrous enterprise amounted, in killed, wounded, and missing, to upwards of nine hundred men; and both Colonel Scott and Lieutenant-colonel Drummond were numbered among the slain. The American loss was comparatively small, and is stated, in their own accounts, not to have exceeded eighty-four men; of whom seventeen were killed, fifty-six wounded, and eleven missing.

The loss of the British army was greatly aggravated by a sortie made upon their works before Fort Erie on the 17th of September, and from the details of which, as stated in the American official reports, it should appear that a due degree of vigilance did not prevail in the camp. Early in the morning of that day, the infantry and riflemen, both of the regulars and militia, were ordered by General Brown, who had now resumed the command, to hold themselves in a state of readiness to march against the English batteries. At twelve o'clock, General Porter was ordered to move, at the head of his detachment, by a passage previously opened through the woods, for the purpose of attacking the right of the besieging army. General Miller was, at the same time, directed to occupy the ravine between Fort Erie and the batteries; while General Ripley was posted with a corps of reserve between the two bastions of the fort. Soon after three o'clock in the afternoon, General Porter's column, which was destined to penetrate to the rear of the British batteries, and to turn their right, carried a strong block-house by storm; while General Miller, advancing from the ravine, pierced the intrenchments, and within half an hour from the time that the first gun was fired, two of the batteries out of the three were in possession of the enemy. The fate of the remaining battery was soon after decided, and the assailants, having spiked the British guns, and destroyed one of the magazines, withdrew within their own lines. Thus, in the short space of one hour, the fruits of fifty days' labour was destroyed, and the efficient force of the British army diminished at least one thousand men, of whom three hundred and eighty-five were made prisoners. The aggregate loss of the Americans amounted to five hundred and eleven, of whom forty-five were officers, and the remainder non-

* Dispatches from General Gaines to the American Secretary at War, dated Fort Erie, August 23d, 1814.

BOOK V. commissioned officers and privates. After the
 CHAP. III. destruction of his works before Fort Erie,
 1814 General Drummond broke up his camp, and
 returned on the night of the 21st to his in-
 trenchments behind Chippaway.

It had now become abundantly evident that the Americans had been taught to fight on the land as well as upon the ocean, and that they were indebted to Great Britain for their instruction; but the hope was cherished, that as soon as Sir George Prevost had received all the reinforcements which were dispatched to him immediately after the peace of Paris, a splendid and decisive victory over the enemy would be obtained. Upon the arrival of these reinforcements no time was lost in assembling three brigades on the frontier of Lower Canada, and in forming them into a division, under the command of Major-general de Rottenburgh, for the purpose of transferring the seat of war into the enemy's territory. The invading army, under the governor-general, was now swelled to fourteen thousand men, and on his approach to the line of separation between Lower Canada and the United States, the American army abandoned their intrenched camp at Champlain, which was occupied on the 3d of September by the British forces. The following day the whole of the left division advanced to the village of Chazy, and on the 5th halted within eight miles of Plattsburgh, having surmounted all the difficulties created by the obstructions in the road, from the felling of trees, and the removal of bridges. On the 6th the whole division moved upon Plattsburgh, in two columns, the right led by Major-general Power's brigade, and the left by the brigade under Major-general Brisbane. The New York militia, commanded by General Moores, supported by a detachment of regular troops, under Major Wood, attempted to impede the advance of the right column of the British army; but the militia could not be prevailed upon to stand, notwithstanding the exertions of their general and staff officers, and General Power's column entered Plattsburgh without ever having deployed in their whole line of march. By this rapid movement the enemy's strong position at Dead Creek was reversed, and leaving his gun-boats to defend the ford, he retreated to an elevated ridge of land on the south side of the river Saranac. This position, rendered strong by nature, was crowned with three redoubts, and other field works, and defended by fifteen hundred effective troops, under the command of General Macomb. On the advance of the British army to Plattsburgh, the southern part of which city is washed by the waters of the Saranac, at their junction with Cumberland Bay, the American general ordered the planks to be taken off the bridges, and

piled up in the form of breast-works, to cover the parties intended to dispute the passage of the river. From the 7th to the 11th Sir George Prevost was employed in bringing up his battering train; and Captain Downie, who had recently been appointed to command the British fleet on Lake Champlain, was urged to advance into the Bay of Plattsburgh, in order to co-operate with the land forces. The British army now only waited the arrival of the flotilla, and at seven o'clock in the morning of the 11th the vessels were seen over the isthmus which joins Cumberland Head with the main land, steering for the bay, with the determination to engage the American flotilla, under Commodore Macdonough. At the same instant the batteries were opened upon the enemy's position on the Saranac, and the brigades under Major-general Robinson and Major-general Power, were ordered to force the ford, and to escalate the enemy's works upon the heights.

The enemy's fleet, which consisted of a ship, a brig, and two schooners, was moored in line a-breast of their intrenched camp, with a division of five gun-boats on each flank. Captain Downie, in the *Confiance*, having determined on laying his ship close to the American commodore's ship, the *Saratoga*, directed Lieutenant M'Ghee, of the *Chub*, to support Captain Pring, in the *Linnet*, in engaging the brig to the right, and Lieutenant Hicks, of the *Finch*, with the flotilla of gun-boats, to attack the schooner and sloop on the left of the enemy's line. At eight o'clock the American gun-boats and smaller vessels commenced a heavy and galling fire on the British line, and at ten minutes after eight, the *Confiance*, having two anchors shot away from her larboard bow, was obliged to anchor, though within two cables length of her adversary; the *Linnet* and *Chub* soon afterwards took their allotted stations, at about the same distance, when the crews on both sides cheered, and commenced a spirited and close action. A short time, however, deprived the service of the *Chub*, which, from having her cables, bowsprit, and main-boom shot away, drifted into the enemy's line, and was obliged to surrender. From the light airs, and the unruffled surface of the lake, the fire on both sides proved very destructive; and after two hours of severe conflict, during which Captain Downie was slain, the *Confiance* struck her colours. The whole of the enemy's fleet then directed their destructive cannonade against the *Linnet*, and Captain Pring, having ascertained that his brave commander had already fallen, and that all hope of relief had vanished, conceived that the situation of his gallant comrades, who had so nobly fought, and were every moment falling by his side, demanded the surrender of his vessel,

gave the painful orders for the colours to be struck. The same fate awaited the Chub and the Finch, and the gun boats were indebted for their escape to the shattered condition of the enemy's vessels. In this disastrous action the loss on both sides was severe, and when the comparative strength of the two squadrons, as stated by the Americans, is considered,* the result would be most humiliating, were it not known that Captain Downie was urged into the action before his ship, which had only been ten days off the stocks, was in a fit condition to meet the enemy.†

While the vessels were engaged upon the lake, the land forces, under General Robinson and General Power, had succeeded in effecting a passage across the Saranac; but no sooner were the shouts of victory heard from the enemy's works, in consequence of the success of their squadron, than Sir George Prevost arrested the course of his troops, and ordered them to retreat. In the evening of the same day the British batteries were dismantled; and at two o'clock the next morning the army retreated, leaving a large proportion of the sick, wounded, and stores, in the hands of the enemy. The estimate of the loss of every kind sustained by the British in their expedition against the United States, as made by the Americans, is enormous; but the return transmitted by Sir George Prevost to his government, of the loss in action between the 6th and the 14th of September, does not amount to two hundred and fifty men. The desertions however swelled this number to a large amount, and every idea of penetrating into the enemy's country from the side of Lower Canada was abandoned.

It is scarcely possible to conceive the degree of mortification and disappointment created in Great Britain by the arrival of this disastrous intelligence. Troops, which had been victorious in Spain and France; which had not only fought and conquered under the Duke of Wellington, but which had received his particular commendation for their steadiness and bravery, had now been baffled and defeated by an American army less than one-third of their number—by men to whom veteran troops would scarcely award the

name of soldiers—and who, but a few months before had fled before the Canadian militia. In Canada the complaints were loud and general against Sir George Prevost; the flotilla, it was said, had been sacrificed by his precipitancy; and the officers of his army were of opinion, that even without naval co-operation Plattsburgh might have been carried, had not the peremptory orders of the governor-general obliged them reluctantly to retreat within their own frontier.

The operations on the banks of Lake Champlain terminated the principal events of the war on the Canadian frontier; neither of the belligerent states had, in the course of the contest, gained any extension of territory in this quarter; and of the numerous attempts made by the contending armies to alter the line of demarkation, not one of them had been attended with permanent success. The well-balanced skill and prowess of the maritime subjects of the two countries continued to vibrate, and alternate success and disaster left the question of naval ascendancy to be decided probably by future wars. In the autumn of the year 1812, the United States frigate *Essex*, Captain Porter, had proceeded to sea from the Delaware, and after making several valuable prizes on the coast of Brazil, shaped her course for the Pacific Ocean, where she inflicted great injuries on British commerce, particularly upon the shipping employed in the spermaceti whale fishery. The numerous captures made by the *Essex* having at length attracted the attention of the British board of admiralty, Captain Hillyar was dispatched in the *Phœbe* frigate, accompanied by Captain Tucker, in the *Cherub* sloop of war, for the purpose of protecting the trade, and putting an end to the depredations to which it had become exposed. After a quest of nearly five months the American frigate was discovered, along with a corvette, of twenty guns, riding at anchor on the coast of Chili, in the Spanish port of Valparaiso. The great inferiority of the American vessels deterred them for some time from venturing to sea in the face of the *Phœbe* and her consort, but after suffering a blockade of six weeks, Captain Porter slipped his cable

* COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE FORCE AND LOSS OF THE HOSTILE FLEETS.

BRITISH.					AMERICAN.				
	Guns.	Men.	Killed.	Wounded.		Guns.	Men.	Killed.	Wounded.
Confiance	39	300	50	60	Saratoga	26	210	28	99
Linnet	16	120	20	30	Eagle	20	120	13	20
Chub	11	40	6	10	Tincondroga	17	110	6	6
Finch	11	40	8	10	Preble	7	30	2	0
Thirteen gun-boats	18	550	—	—	Ten gun-boats	16	350	3	3
Total	95	1,050	84	110	Total	86	820	52	58

† Dispatches from Sir James Lucas Yeo to J. W. Croker, Esq. dated September 24, 1814.

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in the morning of the 28th of March, 1814, and attempted to escape out of the bay. On rounding the point of the harbour, the main-top mast of the *Essex* was carried away by a squall, and not being able to regain the limits of the neutral port, she bore up, and anchored to the leeward of the shore. After some distant firing the *Phœbe* closed with the *Essex*, at thirty-five minutes past five o'clock in the afternoon, when a sanguinary but unequal contest ensued, during which the *Cherub*, having placed herself under the enemy's stern, contributed materially to her annoyance. The decks of the *Essex* soon became strewed with her dead, and her cock-pit filled with the wounded; many of her guns were rendered useless, and several of them had the whole complement of their men destroyed. Still her commander, with an obstinacy bordering on desperation, persisted in the unequal conflict, and every expedient that a fertile mind and a determined spirit could suggest, was resorted to, in the hope that some of the fortunate changes incident to naval warfare might rescue him from the hands of his antagonists. Several times during the engagement his ship had taken fire, and towards its close, the flames burst out at the hatchways both fore and aft. Thus surrounded by horrors, Captain Porter advised such of his crew as could swim to jump overboard and make for the shore; while those that remained in the ship, were employed in extinguishing the flames. All this time, the smoothness of the water, and the secure distance of the *Phœbe* and the *Cherub*, enabled them to keep up a deliberate and constant fire at the enemy; and Captain Porter, finding his crew extremely weakened, determined to summon a consultation of his officers; but to his surprise he found that only one (Lieutenant M'Knight) remained, all the others having been either killed or disabled. At length, after one of the most obstinately contested actions on naval record, "humanity tore down the colours which valour had nailed to the mast," and the American captain was compelled, at twenty minutes past six o'clock, to give the painful order to strike.* The loss of the *Essex* is a sufficient testimony of the desperate bravery with which she was defended; out of two hundred and fifty-five men who composed her crew, fifty-eight were killed, thirty-nine wounded severely, twenty-seven slightly, and thirty-one were missing; constituting an aggregate of one hundred and fifty-four. The British ships, on the contrary, had only five killed, and ten wounded, among the former of whom was Lieutenant Ingham, of the *Phœbe*; and among the latter Captain Tucker, of the *Cherub*. In the official account of this engagement, transmitted to his government, Captain

Hillyar, with the spirit of a brave man, bestowed a liberal share of praise on the gallantry of the enemy; and on the return of Captain Porter to America he was hailed as one of the most distinguished naval heroes of his country.

A severe action, issuing unfortunately to the British flag, took place on the 28th of June, near the entrance to St. George's Channel, between the English brig *Reindeer*, Captain Manners, and the American sloop of war *Wasp*, Captain Berkeley. Perceiving an enemy to leeward, on the morning of that day, Captain Manners gave chase, and about three o'clock in the afternoon the two hostile vessels were yard-arm to yard-arm. For five and twenty minutes the engagement was maintained with the most determined bravery, when the *Reindeer*, having lost her gallant commander, her purser, and twenty-seven men killed, besides forty wounded, and having been repulsed in two attempts to board, was under the necessity of striking her colours. The proportion between the two ships in size, weight of metal, and complement of men, was greatly in favour of the *Wasp*, and so completely was her adversary dismantled, that she could not be kept afloat, but was, on the following day, set on fire and destroyed.

On the 8th of July, the *Wasp*, after making a number of other captures, put into L'Orient, which port she left on the 27th of August, and resumed her cruise. Four days after her departure from the French port, she was met at sea by the British sloop of war *Avon*, of twenty guns, commanded by Captain Arbuthnot. An obstinate action immediately commenced, which continued for forty-five minutes, and which terminated in the surrender of the British sloop; but before the boats of the *Wasp* could be lowered for the purpose of taking possession of her prize, three other sail of British ships hove in sight, and Captain Berkeley was not only obliged to abandon his prize, but to seek his own safety in flight. The *Wasp* afterwards continued her cruise, making great havoc among the merchant vessels, of which she captured and destroyed no fewer than fifteen. Nor was the success of the enemy on the ocean confined to their national vessels, their privateers made many rich captures, not merely on their own coasts, and among the West India Islands, but on the coast of England and Ireland; and thus, with a navy of nearly one thousand ships, and without any other enemy than the American states, Great Britain had the mortification to see her commerce interrupted, and the property of her merchants captured even in their own seas. It is true indeed that the balance of captures was in favour of England; but the proportion of prizes made by this country was

* Captain Porter's Letter to the Secretary of the American Navy.

far below the proportional superiority of her navy; nor did it seem too much to expect, from the means placed at the disposal of the board of admiralty, that every American vessel that put to sea should be made to swell the number of British captures.

The operations of the British armaments on the coast of the United States had hitherto been on a small scale, and calculated rather to alarm and irritate than to produce any permanent effect; but during the present year the resolution was taken to "destroy and lay waste such towns and districts upon the coast as might be found assailable,"* and for this purpose a large naval armament was employed, under the command of Vice-admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane, having on board a powerful land force, commanded by Major-general Robert Ross. On the 17th of August Admiral Cochrane entered the Patuxent, with the intention to co-operate with Rear-admiral Cockburn, in an attack upon a flotilla of the enemy's gun-boats, under the command of Commodore Barney, and with the ulterior object of striking a decisive blow against the capital of the United States. On the 19th the army landed at Benedict, on the right bank of the Patuxent, without opposition; and on the 22d the expedition reached Pig Point, where Admiral Cockburn descried the broad pendant of the American flotilla. No time was lost in the British boats in advancing to the attack; but on their near approach it was discovered that all the enemy's vessels were abandoned, and before they could be taken possession of, sixteen out of the seventeen, of which the flotilla consisted, were blown into the air. The British commanders now resolved to proceed against Washington, from which they were distant only sixteen miles. Late in the evening of the 22d, the American General Winder, to whose command the army appointed to cover the capital was confided, was joined by the president of the United States, the secretary at war, the secretary of the navy, and the attorney-general; and in the morning of the 23d the troops were drawn up at Bladensburg, within five miles of the capital, and passed in review before the president. On the 24th the British troops resumed their march, and about twelve o'clock the enemy was discovered, formed in two lines, strongly posted on commanding heights, on the opposite side of the eastern branch of the Potowmack, his advance occupying a fortified house, which, with artillery, covered the bridge over which General Ross had

to pass; while a broad and direct road, leading from the bridge to Washington, ran through the enemy's position, which was carefully defended by artillery and riflemen.

The proper dispositions being made, the attack was commenced with so much impetuosity by the light brigade, consisting of the 85th light infantry, and the light infantry companies, under the command of Colonel Thornton, that the fortified house was shortly carried, and the enemy obliged to retire to the heights. In support of the light brigade, General Ross ordered up a brigade under Colonel Brooke, who, with the 44th regiment, attacked the enemy's left, under General Smith; the 4th regiment pressing his right, under General Stansbury, with such effect, as to cause him to abandon his guns. The first line having given way, was driven upon the second, which, yielding to the irresistible attack of the bayonet, and the well-directed discharge of rockets, was thrown into confusion, and fled, leaving the British masters of the field. The rapid flight of the enemy, and his perfect knowledge of the country, precluded the possibility of making many prisoners; and the fatigue to which the troops had been exposed by a march of eleven miles before the battle commenced, on a sultry day, prevented the pursuit from being followed up with vigour. The enemy's army amounted to from eight to nine thousand men, with three or four hundred cavalry;† his artillery, ten pieces of which fell into the hands of the victors, was commanded by Commodore Barney, who was wounded, and taken prisoner. The retreating army being ordered to move upon Washington, General Winder repaired to that city, where a council was hastily called, at which Mr. Monroe, the secretary of state, and General Armstrong, the secretary at war, assisted, and at which it was the prevailing opinion, that from the dispersion of a large proportion of the American force, and the disorganized state of the remainder of the army, the defence of the city was impracticable. Under this desponding impression the troops were ordered to retreat to George Town, and to take up a position upon the heights in the vicinity of that place.

General Ross, after having halted his army for a few hours, determined to march upon Washington, and at eight o'clock in the evening the army under his command reached that city. Judging it of consequence to complete the destruction of the public buildings with the least possible delay, the capitol, including the

* Admiral Cochrane's Letter to Mr. Monroe, dated on board the *Tonnant*, August 18, 1814.

† General Ross's dispatches. According to the American official accounts, their force did not exceed 6,053 infantry and cavalry. The British force, on the same authority, is stated at 4,500. See "*Report of the Committee of Investigation on the Capture of Washington*," dated November 23, 1814.

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senate house, and house of representation, was consigned to the flames; and the arsenal, the dock-yard, the treasury, the war-office, and the president's palace, with a rope walk, and the great bridge across the Potowmack, shared the same fate. In the dock-yard, a frigate nearly ready to be launched, and a sloop of war, were consumed. The object of the expedition being thus accomplished, General Ross determined to withdraw the troops before any great force of the enemy could be assembled. On the evening of the 25th the army left Washington; and having reached Benedict on the 29th, the whole force, estimated at five thousand men, was embarked on the following day without molestation. The total loss of the British in the battle of Bladenburg amounted only to sixty-four killed, and one hundred and eighty-five wounded;* and the loss of the American army, as stated in their own accounts, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounting only to one hundred and eighty. Two hundred and six pieces of cannon, five hundred and forty barrels of gunpowder, and one hundred thousand ball-cartridges, swelled the trophies of the victorious army; and the repeated explosions which took place in the city of Washington and its neighbourhood during the night of the 24th, sufficiently proved that the injury suffered by the enemy was still more considerable.†

The capture of Washington made a deep impression, not only in England and America, but also in France, and other parts of Europe. In England, the intelligence was at first received with great exultation, and it was confidently expected that Mr. Madison, who had witnessed the destruction of his capital, and had been made personally sensible of the superiority of British troops, would now sue for peace; or at least, that he would become so decidedly unpopular, that the general voice of his country would hurl him from that elevation which he had so unworthily attained. Such were the first impressions which the intelligence of this event created in England; but these expectations soon gave way to more sober views. It was considered that Washington, though nominally the capital of the United States, could not boast a

population exceeding some of our manufacturing villages; that its number of houses scarcely amounted to nine hundred; and that the inhabitants in the city and its suburbs were stated in the last census of the United States at only eight thousand two hundred and eight souls.‡ Such a capital was not then to be considered in the light of an European metropolis; and the question naturally arose whether the feelings to which its destruction would give rise would increase or diminish the popularity of the war party in America. Nor could it be concealed that the extent of devastation inflicted by the victors brought a heavy censure upon the British character, and lowered her rank in the scale of nations. It was indeed acknowledged that strict discipline was observed while the troops were in possession of Washington, and that private property was scrupulously protected; but the destruction, not only of establishments connected with war, but of edifices consecrated to the purpose of civil government, and affording specimens of the advance of the fine arts among a rising people, was thought an indulgence of animosity, more suitable to the times of barbarism, than to an age and nation in which hostility is softened by sentiments of generosity, and civilized policy. History presents many instances of the hostile conflagration of palaces, but these excesses have seldom failed to be reprobated as acts of unmanly vengeance. Retaliation, it is true, has usually been the pretext for hostilities exceeding the prescribed measure; and in the present case, the excesses committed by the Americans in their invasion of Canada have been made the apology for the devastations at Washington; but it has been seen that ample retribution had already been taken for these enormities, and the governor-general had, on the 10th of February, in the present year, explicitly declared, that the measure of retaliation for the misconduct of the American troops was full and complete.§ These reflections fix themselves upon the mind with irresistible force; and will be duly appreciated by every one who has at heart the honour and moral reputation of his country, as well as her character for military prowess.

* Dispatches from General Ross to Earl Bathurst, dated on board the Tonnant, August 30th, 1814.

† The destruction of public property at Washington, (exclusive of the public library) is estimated at the sum of 969,171 dollars.—*Report of the Committee of Investigation, on the capture of Washington.*

‡ In that return, which was made in the year 1812, the following was given as the population of the principal cities and towns along the coast:—

NEW PORT.....7,907	New Brunswick.....6,312	Newcastle 500	ANNAPOLIS .....1,750	RICHMOND 9,735
New London.....3,238	TRENTON.....3,002	DOVER 500	WASHINGTON 8,208	Petersburg 5,668
NEW HAVEN...5,772	PHILADELPHIA 111,210	Lewistown 750	Georgetown 4,948	York 700
NEW YORK 96,373	Wilmington.....4,416	BALTIMORE 35,583	Alexandria 7,227	NORFOLK 9,183

§ Letter from Sir George Prevost to General Wilkinson.

At the time that Admiral Cochrane advanced up the Patuxent, Captain Gordon, of the *Seahorse*, proceeded with several vessels up the Potowmack; but owing to the difficulty of the navigation, it was not till the 27th of August that he reached Fort Washington. On the evening of the same day the bombardment of the place was commenced, and the effect was so irresistible, that the garrison, after spiking their cannon, blew up the works, and abandoned the fortress. The small commercial town of Alexandria, being now left without defence, was obliged to capitulate, and the municipal authority stipulated for the preservation of the place by the surrender of all the stores, merchandise, and shipping. This capitulation was signed on the 29th, and the whole of the captured vessels, being twenty-one in number, were brought off, richly freighted with tobacco, flour, and cotton, as well as with public stores.

A small expedition against the town of Bellair, on the banks of the Chesapeake, undertaken by Captain Sir Peter Parker, of his majesty's ship *Menelaus*, terminated less favourably. On the night of the 30th of August, about one hundred and twenty men were landed, and marched against the enemy, who were found drawn up in line before their camp, in the midst of woods, and in much greater force than had been anticipated. The gallant captain, unintimidated by the superior numbers to which he was opposed, did not hesitate to commence the attack; but at the moment when he was animating his men to the assault, he received a mortal wound, and his troops, after forcing the enemy to retreat, fell back to the beach, and abandoned the enterprise.

The approach of the autumnal equinox rendering it unsafe for the British fleet to quit the Chesapeake, it was determined by Admiral Cochrane, and General Ross, to employ the intermediate time in an attempt upon the important maritime city of Baltimore, which had been thrown into the utmost alarm by the fate of the neighbouring capital. The admiral accordingly sailed up the bay on the 11th of September, and anchored off the mouth of the Patapsco river, on the north side of which, round a kind of basin, Baltimore is situated. On the following day, the troops, to the amount of from seven to eight thousand,* were debarked at North Point, about thirteen miles from the town, the approach to which is through a peninsula, formed by the Patapsco and Black rivers. Across this neck of land an intrenchment extended, which the Americans were diligently employed in completing; but on the approach of the British forces these works were precipitately aban-

doned, and the American General, Stricker, took up a position at the junction of two roads, leading from Baltimore to the bay. At this point the advance of the two armies became engaged, and General Ross, "in the dangers of the field ever active and foremost, and in his devotion to the honour of his country, and to the reputation of his troops, unfortunately too heedless of his personal safety, exposed himself to the aim of the enemy's riflemen, and fell gloriously and lamented." Perceiving his wound to be mortal, he sent for Colonel Brooke; to this officer the dying general confided his instructions; and having discharged his last duty to his country, he breathed out his gallant spirit, exclaiming, affectionately—"My dear wife!"

The British army, now placed under the command of Colonel Brooke, continued to press forward, till they arrived within five miles of Baltimore, where a corps of about six thousand men, under General Smith, supported by six pieces of artillery, and augmented by several hundred cavalry, were discovered, posted under cover of a wood, drawn up in close order, and lining a strong paling, which crossed the main road nearly at right angles. The signal being given, the whole of the British troops advanced rapidly to the charge, and in less than fifteen minutes, the enemy's force, being utterly broken and dispersed, fled in every direction over the country, leaving on the field two pieces of cannon, with a considerable number of killed, wounded, and prisoners. During the night of the 12th the British army bivouacked on the ground of which the enemy had been dispossessed; and at ten o'clock on the following morning the troops had advanced to a favourable position, within a mile and a half of the city. On reconnoitring the enemy's works, it was found that the detached hills, by which Baltimore is surrounded, were covered by a chain of pallisadoed redoubts, connected by a small breast-work, and defended by an army of about fifteen thousand men, with a large train of artillery. Notwithstanding these formidable preparations, Colonel Brooke, relying upon the description of force under his command, determined upon a nocturnal attack, and had made his arrangements accordingly, but in the course of the evening a communication was received from the commander-in-chief of the naval forces, by which he was informed, that an attack on Fort M'Henry had failed; and that, in consequence of the entrance to the harbour of Baltimore being closed by vessels sunk for that purpose by the enemy, a naval co-operation against the town and camp was found impracticable. Under these circumstances, it was re-

* General Smith's dispatches,

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solved not to hazard an attack upon the heights; and at half past one o'clock in the morning of the 14th, the British army commenced its retreat, with perfect order and regularity, towards the mouth of the Patapsco. Having ascertained, at a late hour in the morning of the 15th, that the enemy had no disposition to quit his intrenchments, the army was moved down to North Point, and there re-embarked, along with about two hundred prisoners, being persons of the best families in Baltimore, without leaving a single British soldier behind.* The expedition against Baltimore, though unsuccessful as to its primary and ulterior objects, appears to have been attended with considerable success. The victory of the 13th was most honourable to our arms, and was obtained at an expense of not more than two hundred and ninety men killed and wounded; while the enemy, though strongly intrenched, had a thousand men put *hors de combat*.* he was besides compelled to sink upwards of twenty vessels in various parts of the harbour; to remove almost the whole of the private property out of the town; to concentrate his military force from the neighbouring states, and to burn several public buildings, for the purpose of clearing the glacis in front of the redoubts.* The American commander, however, took a very different view of the result of this enterprise: according to his statement, made to the secretary at war, the loss of the Americans, in killed and wounded, on the 13th, did not exceed one hundred and fifty men, among the former of whom was James Lowry Donaldson, Esq. a representative in the state legislature; while, on the same authority, the loss of the British is estimated, "as near as could be ascertained," at between six and seven hundred, including the commander-in-chief.†

An expedition to the Penobscot, under Lieutenant-general Sir J. C. Sherbrooke, and Rear-admiral Griffith, undertaken in the month of August, was attended with complete success. The British troops, after obliging the Americans to destroy the John Adams frigate, which had taken refuge in the river at Hamden, took permanent possession of the northern part of the district of the Maine, in the name of his Britannic Majesty, and opened a direct communication between Canada and New Brunswick.

It has already been observed, that the species of warfare announced by Admiral Cochrane, on the 18th of August, and the devastations made on the capital, and on the coast, of the United States, produced a deep sensation in America; and on the 1st of September a proclamation was issued by the president, exhorting

the people to unite their hearts and hands to give effect to the ample means they possessed, to chastise and expel the invaders. On the 20th of the same month the representatives of the American people assembled in congress, when the same subject was resumed, and dilated upon in the presidential message:—

The result of the negotiations at Ghent, it was said; could not yet be known; and if, on the one hand, the repeal of the orders in council, and the general pacification of Europe, which withdrew the occasion on which impressions from American vessels were practised, suggested the expectation that peace and amity might be re-established; yet on the other, the refusal of the British government to accept the offered mediation of the Emperor of Russia; the delays in giving effect to her own proposal for a direct negotiation; and above all, the principles and manner in which the war was now avowedly carried on, led to the inference, that a spirit of hostility was indulged, more violent than ever, against the rights and prosperity of the United States. This increased violence was best explained by two important circumstances: in the first place, the great contest in Europe had terminated without any check being given to the overbearing power of Great Britain on the ocean; and in the second, immense armaments were now at her disposal, with which, with the example of a great victim before her eyes, she cherished the hope of still further aggrandizing a power already formidable in its abuses to the tranquillity of the civilized and commercial world. But whatever might inspire the enemy of the United States with these more violent purposes, the public councils of a nation more able to maintain than it was to acquire its independence, could never deliberate but on the most effectual means for defeating the extravagant views or unwarrantable passions with which alone the war could now be pursued against her. Adverting to the events of the present campaign, Mr. Madison says, 'the enemy, with all his augmented means and wanton use of them, has little ground for exultation; unless he can feel it in the success of his recent enterprise against this metropolis, and the neighbouring town of Alexandria; from both of which his retreats were as precipitate as his attempts were bold and fortunate. In his other incursions on our Atlantic frontier, his progress, often checked and chastised by the martial spirit of the neighbouring citizens, has had more effect in distressing individuals, and in dishonouring his arms, than in promoting any object of legitimate warfare. And in the two instances mentioned, however deeply to be regretted on our part, in his transient success, which interrupted for a moment only the ordinary public business at the seat of government, no compensation can accrue for the loss of character with the world, by this violation of private property, and by this destruction of public edifices, protected as monuments of the arts by the laws of civilized warfare.' The president then proceeds to take a retrospect of the events of the campaign naval and military; and passing from that topic to the financial affairs of the republic, states, that the money received into the treasury during the nine months ending on the 13th of June, 1814, amounted to thirty-two millions of dollars, of which eleven millions were the proceeds of the public revenue; and the remainder derived from loans. The disbursements for public expenditures during the same period exceeded thirty-four millions of dollars, and left in the treasury, on the first of July, nearly five millions. The necessity of providing for the wants of the state, both in men and money, is next brought under consideration, and the mes-

* Colonel Brooke's Dispatches, dated on board the Tonnant, in the Chesapeake, September 17, 1814.

† General Smith's Dispatches, dated Baltimore, September 19, 1814.

sage concludes with the frequently repeated declaration, that America was forced into the war by the violence and injustice of her enemy, and that she still retains an undiminished disposition towards peace on honourable terms.

That part of the president's message which related to finances, was referred to a committee of ways and means, who made their report in the course of the same month. In this report it was stated, that the resources for carrying on the war must consist in taxes, loans, and treasury notes. The first, it was said, could not be collected in time to meet the immediate exigencies of the state; as to loans, they could only be obtained on exorbitant terms; the treasury notes therefore must be had recourse to; and from this source a considerable sum might be raised, and a general circulating medium created for every part of the Union. With regard to new taxes, the committee remarked, that several manufactures, which had grown up in the United States in consequence of the war having shut them out from foreign markets, were in such a flourishing condition that they would bear to be taxed; and the amount of the proposed increase on the existing taxes, and of the new duties, was estimated at 11,635,000 dollars; while the whole revenue, under the old system, was only 10,800,000; thus, at one step, more than doubling the taxation.

Next to the financial arrangements, the attention of the American government was directed to the army, and a bill, formed under the direction of a military committee, and grounded on the suggestions of the secretary at war, was brought into congress, to provide for filling the ranks of the army. The object of this measure was to preserve and render complete the present military establishment of the country, amounting to 62,448 men; and to create an additional permanent force of, at least, forty thousand, to be raised for the defence of the cities and frontiers, under an engagement that such corps should be employed within certain specific limits. It was further proposed, that the whole of the white male population of the United States, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, should be distributed into classes of twenty-five each; every class to furnish one able-bodied man, to serve during the war; that assessors should determine the territorial precincts of each class, so that the property in each division should be as nearly equal as possible; that in case of failure a penalty should be levied on each class, to be paid among them in proportion to the property of each individual; and that every five male inhabitants, liable to military duty, who should join to furnish one soldier during the war, should be exempt from service.

This bill (which was passed into a law) was discussed in America with great freedom; and

the adversaries of the measure had no difficulty in discovering in its provisions a rapid approximation towards the French code of conscription. But events were taking place at Ghent which rendered it highly probable that there would be no necessity for carrying into effect its more obnoxious regulations.

During the progress of the negotiations at Ghent, the hostile operations of the belligerents extended to the shores of the Gulph of Mexico. On the 15th of September, Fort Bowyer, at the eastern entrance to the Bay of Mobile, was attacked by a British naval and military force, under the command of Commodore the Honourable Captain William Henry Percy, and Colonel Nicholls; but the resistance made by Major William Lawrence, the commander of the fort, was so determined and successful, that the assailants were obliged to withdraw, with the loss of the British commodore's ship, the *Hermes*, which took fire and exploded.

In the months of December and January, a series of operations, important from their magnitude, and disastrous in their result, took place in the neighbourhood of New Orleans, the capital of Louisiana. When the winter season had closed the movements of the armies in the northern regions of the United States, a strong military force, commanded by Major-general Keane, was dispatched to the south, on board of the fleet under Vice-admiral the Honourable Sir Alexander Cochrane. On the arrival of this armament in the vicinity of Lac Borogne, it was found necessary to attack the enemy's flotilla on that lake; and this service was performed with so much skill and bravery by Captain Lockyer, that on the 12th of December, all the American vessels were, after a spirited engagement, either taken or destroyed. This important operation had removed the only obstacle to the debarkation of the troops, and on the morning of the 28d the army landed at the head of Lac Borogne, with no other opposition than that presented by the rugged and swampy nature of the shore. The arrival of the British army was no sooner made known to General Jackson, the American commander in Louisiana, than, placing himself at the head of the 7th and 44th regiments, with a body of the New Orleans militia, he advanced to meet the invaders. At eight o'clock in the evening a heavy flanking fire was opened upon Colonel Thornton's brigade; but the temerity of the American general was speedily checked by the use of the bayonet; and in the morning of the following day, he retreated to a position about two miles nearer the city. On the 25th, Major-general the Hon. Sir Edward Pakenham, accompanied by Major-general Gibbs, arrived, and took the command of the army. On the morning of the 27th the

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troops moved forward in two columns, and drove in the enemy's picquets, to a situation within six miles of the town, where their main body was discovered strongly posted behind a canal, with a breast work in front, extending from the Cypress Swamp to the banks of the Mississippi, their right resting on the river, and their left touching the wood. On the 1st of January, 1815, Major-general Sir John Lambert, in the *Vengeur*, with a convoy of transports, reached the outer anchorage of the lake, and five days afterwards his reinforcements were brought up to the advance of the English position. The whole of the 7th was occupied in active preparations for the approaching battle. Before day light on the 8th the British army was formed for a general assault upon the enemy's lines, to be preceded by an attempt, with a detached force, under Colonel Thornton, to cross the Mississippi, and to carry the flanking battery erected by the enemy on the right side of that river; but various unforeseen difficulties retarded the execution of this part of the plan, till the co-operation had lost its effect. The morning was ushered in by a shower of bombs and Congreve rockets, the army advancing at the same time to storm the right and left of the enemy's intrenchments. Sir Edward Pakenham, the commander of the forces, "who," says General Lambert, "never in his life could refrain from being at the post of honour, and sharing the danger to which the troops were exposed, as soon as from his station he had made the signal for the troops to advance, galloped on to the front to animate them by his presence, and was seen with his hat off, encouraging them to the crest of the glacis: it was there (almost at the same time) he received two wounds, one in the knee, and another, which was almost instantly fatal, in the body: he fell in the arms of Major M'Dougell, his aide-de camp, and breathed his last. The fall of their commander, in the sight of the troops, together with Major-general Gibbs and Major-general Keane being both borne off wounded at the same time, with many other commanding officers; and further, the preparations to aid in crossing the ditch not being so forward as they ought to have been; caused a wavering in the column, which, in such a situation, became irreparable; and as I advanced with the reserve," adds General Lambert, "at about two hundred and fifty yards from the line, I had the mortification to observe the whole falling back upon me in the greatest confusion." The repulse was so decisive that every attempt to restore order in the ranks proved ineffectual, and after some deliberation it was judged proper to draw off

the troops, and to abandon the attack. Simultaneous with this advance upon General Jackson's lines was the attempt made by Colonel Thornton to carry the flanking battery of the enemy, the defence of which had been confided to General Morgan. At first, the Americans, confident in their own security, shewed a good countenance, and kept up a heavy fire; but the determination of the British troops, at this point, overcame all difficulties, and the Kentucky levies ingloriously fled, drawing after them by their example the remainder of their forces, and leaving the redoubts, and batteries, with sixteen pieces of ordnance, and the colours of the New Orleans regiment, in the possession of Colonel Thornton. On learning the success of this division of the army, General Lambert dispatched Colonel Dickson, an artillery officer, over the river, to examine whether the post was tenable; but finding, from the report of the colonel, that it could not be held with security by a smaller force than two thousand men, he ordered the troops to retire, and join the main army.

The battle of New Orleans was distinguished by several striking characteristics: the troops engaged on each side may be estimated at a moderate computation at ten thousand; and since the breaking out of the war, no engagement had perhaps been fought with so much bravery, and none certainly with so disastrous a result. The loss of the British, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounted to two thousand and forty, including in that number the commander-in-chief, and two other general officers, one of whom, General Gibbs, only survived his wounds till the following day. The loss of the enemy, according to the official statement of their general, was incredibly small, and did not exceed six killed, and seven wounded, exclusive of the casualties on the right bank of the river, and by the addition of which the whole number was only swelled to seventy-one!*

This heavy loss on the part of the British army extinguished all hopes of success, and General Lambert, after holding a consultation with Admiral Cochrane, came to the decision to re-embark the troops, and to abandon the enterprise.

The concluding operation of the war in the Gulf of Mexico was the capture of Fort Bowyer on Mobile Point. On the 7th of February the fort was invested by Captain Ricketts, of the *Vengeur*, and in the course of a few days the trenches were pushed within pistol-shot of the works. Lieutenant-colonel Lawrence, the American commander, finding it impossible much longer to resist the overwhelming force by which he was assailed, consented to

* Dispatches from the American Adjutant-general to the Secretary at War, dated New Orleans, Jan. 16, 1816.

capitulate, and on the 11th, the garrison, consisting of three hundred and sixty-six men, surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

The last naval engagement during the war added the President frigate, under the command of Commodore Decatur, to the British navy. On the 15th of January, a squadron, consisting of the Majestic, Captain Hayes; the Tenedos, Captain Hyde Parker; the Endymion, Captain Hope; and the Pomone, Captain Lumley; while stationed off the Sandy Hook, for the purpose of blockading the port of New York, discovered the President quitting the harbour, and commenced a general chase. After an anxious pursuit, continued for eighteen hours, the Endymion frigate placed herself alongside the enemy, and a warm action ensued, which was maintained with great bravery on both sides for two hours and a half, and which, on the arrival of the Pomone, issued in the surrender of the American frigate.

Before the events which have just passed under review took place, the labours of the plenipotentiaries, assembled at Ghent, were brought to a close; and the sanguinary operations on the shores of the Mexican Gulph, like the last naval engagement off the American coast, may be ranked among the posthumous offspring of an unnatural contest between two countries, whose true interest it is, at all times, to cherish the relations of peace, and to administer to each other's prosperity by a free interchange of commercial communication.

On the 8th of August, the day on which the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and the United States held their first conference at Ghent, the English ministers submitted to the American commissioners the following *projét*; explanatory of the subjects to be brought under discussion :—*

1. The forcible seizure of mariners on board of merchant vessels, and, in connection with it, the claims of his Britannic Majesty to the allegiance of all his native subjects.

2. The Indian allies of Great Britain to be included in the pacification, and a definite boundary to be settled for their territory.

The British commissioners stated that an arrangement upon this point was a *sine quâ non*.

3. A revision of the boundary line between the United States and the adjacent British colonies.

With respect to this point, the British commissioners disclaimed any intention on the part of their government to acquire any increase of territory.

4. The fisheries, respecting which the British government will not allow the people of the United States the privilege of landing and drying fish within the territorial jurisdiction of Great Britain, without an equivalent.

The American ministers, at the second

meeting, which was held the following day, stated, that upon the first and third points proposed by the British commissioners, they were prepared with instructions from their government; but that on the second and fourth of these points, there not having existed hitherto any difference between the two governments, they had not been anticipated by the United States, and were therefore not provided for in their instructions. That in relation to an Indian pacification, they knew that the government of the United States had appointed commissioners to treat for peace with the Indians, and that it was not improbable that peace had already been made with them. At the same time, the American commissioners presented, as further subjects considered by the government of the United States as suitable for discussion, the following :—

1. A definition of blockade, and, as far as may be agreed, of other neutral and belligerent rights.

2. Certain claims of indemnity to individuals, for captures and seizures preceding and subsequent to the war.

3. They further stated, that there were various other points to which their instructions extend, which might with propriety be the subjects of discussion, either in the negotiation of the peace, or in that of a treaty of commerce; which, in case of a propitious termination of the conferences, they were likewise authorised to conclude. That for the purpose of facilitating the first and most essential object of peace, they had discarded every subject which was not considered as peculiarly connected with that, and presented only those points which appeared to be immediately relevant to the negotiation.

At a subsequent meeting, held on the 10th, the British commissioners endeavoured to impress the American ministers with the propriety of giving up certain places, ceded to the United States by the memorable treaty of 1783, for the purpose of rendering the limits of Canada more precise and secure; but upon this point the Americans were immoveable.

The most important, as well as the most difficult subjects in dispute between the two countries were, undoubtedly, those relating to the impressment of seamen from American ships, and the limits of blockade. The peace in Europe had, however, reduced these questions to mere abstract principles, regarding the future rather than the present; and both parties aware of the difficulty, agreed to waive discussions upon which it seemed impossible to arrive at any amicable conclusion. The other subjects of importance were the admission of the Indians to the treaty, and the establishment of a new Canadian frontier. On the former of these points it was agreed, that the Indian allies of both parties should be left in the same situation in which they were found in 1812; and on the

* Draft of the original Protocol, made by the American Ministers at the two first Conferences held with the British Commissioners.

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latter, that any ambiguity regarding the territorial limits between Canada and the United States should be removed by commissioners appointed on both sides for that purpose, but that the line of demarkation, as drawn by the treaty of 1783, should form the standard of their decisions.

This amicable termination of the differences between the two countries, which took place by the signature of the treaty of peace at Ghent, on the 24th of December, 1814, was probably, in some measure, owing, on the side of Great Britain, to the want of success which had attended her armies, even after reinforcements had been sent out from the peninsula; to the enormous expense of sending troops to Canada, and keeping them there; to the critical state of the public finances; and to the apprehension, that if the war were not speedily terminated, some of the

European powers might make common cause with America on the point of maritime rights. On the side of the United States, the government was disposed to peace from the deranged situation of their commerce; from the alarming augmentation of their national expenditure, and the consequent embarrassment of their finances;* from the imperfect organization of their military system; and above all, from the devastations to which their coasts and frontiers had become exposed.

In both countries the termination of the war was hailed with unfeigned satisfaction; but the force of this feeling was considerably diminished by the reflection that all the blood and treasure expended in the prosecution of the contest had been lavished in vain, and that the questions in dispute remained altogether unadjusted.†

* EXPENDITURE OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT: In 1811—5,592,604 dollars; in 1812—11,760,292 dollars; in 1813—26,611,404 dollars; in 1814—30,170,664 dollars; estimated expenditure of 1815 (on a war establishment)—56,000,000 dollars.—*Official Statements presented to Congress.*

† The Treaty of Peace between Great Britain and America, which was signed at Ghent on the 24th of December, 1814, and finally ratified at Washington, on the 17th of February, 1815, consists of eleven articles, and is substantially as follows:—

Article 1. Provides that there shall be a firm and universal peace between his Britannic Majesty and the United States; and that all territory, places, and possessions whatsoever taken from either party by the other during the war, shall be restored without delay.

Article 2. Prescribes the times within which hostilities shall cease in certain latitudes.

Article 3. Directs that all prisoners of war taken on either side, as well by land as by sea, shall be restored as soon as practicable after the ratification of the treaty.

Articles 4, 5, 6, 7, & 8. Regard the appointment of commissioners, for the purpose of deciding upon the boundary lines between the North American dominions of his Britannic Majesty and the United States, and the functions of which commissioners are explained to be,

1. To decide which of the islands in the Bay of Passamaquoddy, which is part of the Bay of Fundy, belong to the respective claimants.

2. To make a survey from the source of the river St. Croix to the river Iroquois or Chateaugay, for the purpose of ascertaining with precision the boundary line of the two powers.

3. To designate the boundary line through the river Chateaugay, and through the Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, and Superior, as well as through the water communications from each of the said lakes, and to decide to which of the contracting parties the several islands, lying within the said river, lakes, and water communications, do respectively belong.

4. To fix and determine that part of the boundary between the dominions of the two powers which extends from the water communication between Lake Huron and Lake Superior, to the most north-western part of the lake of the woods, and to decide to which of the two parties the several islands, lying in the lakes, water communications, and rivers, forming the said boundary, respectively belong.

Each separate question to be referred to two commissioners, one of whom to be appointed by his Britannic Majesty, and the other by the President of the United States. The commissioners so appointed to be sworn impartially to examine and decide upon the relative claims, according to the evidence laid before them by the claimants, and conformable to the treaty of 1783. Should the commissioners agree on the points submitted to their consideration, and report accordingly, both governments bind themselves to abide by their decision; but in the event of their disagreement, the point at issue to be referred to the decision of some friendly sovereign or state, whose decision shall be considered conclusive.

By article 9, His Britannic Majesty and the government of the United States engage to put an end, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty, to hostilities with all the tribes or nations of Indians, with whom they may be at war at the time of the ratification, and forthwith to restore to them all the possessions, rights, and privileges, which they enjoyed before the war; provided, that such tribes or nations of Indians agree on their part to desist from hostilities.

Article 10, declares the traffic in slaves irreconcilable with the principles of humanity and justice; and both the contracting parties agree to use their best efforts to promote its entire abolition.

The 11th and last Article provides that this treaty shall be binding on both parties, and that the ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of four months from the 24th of December, 1814, or sooner if practicable.



LOUIS XVIII.

Engraved by Hott from an Original Painting by Isabey.

Published by E. B. Thoms London May 6. 1816.

CHAPTER IV.

FRENCH HISTORY: *Difficulties of the Situation of Louis XVIII. at the Commencement of his Reign—Sketch of his Ministry—Opening of the First Session after the Restoration—Speech of the King—Royal Constitutional Charter—Restrictions on the Liberty of the Press—Exposition of the State of the French Nation at the Period of the Restoration—Budget—King's Debts and Civil List—Prince Talleyrand's Contrast between the Public Burthens of France, England, and America—Establishment of the Legion of Honour confirmed—The Sale of Emigrant Property declared irrevocable—Restoration of the unsold Estates of the Emigrants—The Duke of Tarentum's Plan for indemnifying the Emigrants, and securing the Endowments of the Military—Corn Laws—Establishment of Ecclesiastical Schools—Of a National Penitentiary for Young Criminals—Expedition against the French Part of the Island of St. Domingo abandoned—Close of the First Session of the Restoration Parliament—State of Parties in France—Disinterment of Louis XVI. and his Queen—Ominous Aspect of Public Affairs.*

LOUIS XVIII. on ascending the throne of his ancestors, found himself surrounded by difficulties. The splendid military despotism, which had for several years dazzled his country, had hushed, but not extinguished the revolutionary parties, and the circumstances of the restoration gave to the conflicting views and interests of his subjects new life and vitality. It is one of the baneful consequences of a long continued state of warfare, that it gives to a large portion of the population habits of living, and modes of thinking, very adverse to a state of peace. The military life, notwithstanding all its hardships, by its varied scenes and licentious indulgences, seldom fails to prove alluring to the youthful mind in the lower ranks of society; while in the higher a great number are professionally devoted to it, whose sole hopes of future advancement depend upon the subsisting demand for their services. Modern history scarcely affords an instance in which the causes of a fondness for war have concurred more efficaciously than in France, which, from the period of its revolution, had almost continually been involved in hostilities; and which, during many years, had submitted to the despotic rule of a man of unbounded ambition, and of talents peculiarly adapted to military enterprise. The astonishing success attending his schemes of aggrandizement, had raised the power and glory of the nation to an elevation greatly beyond those of its proudest days; and the armies which he led into the field surpassed in magnitude those of any period in French history. It is true, his gigantic plans had ultimately wrought their own subversion, and he had been the author of a more extensive and tragical waste of lives

to his own troops than can be paralleled in modern times; still, however, a great mass of past glory adhered to his name, and his troops had no difficulty in finding reasons for his failures, in unforeseen circumstances, and in the perfidious desertion of his former allies. The pride of the nation, co-operating with this feeling, spurned at the idea of being conquered; and to escape from this reproach, they willingly cherished the notion, that if treachery had not prevented Napoleon from executing his military combinations, he would in the last campaign have driven the allied armies in disgrace from the French territory. As soon, therefore, as the joy of present relief from danger had subsided, a spirit of discontent manifested itself in animosity against the allies, and in disaffection to a government considered as imposed upon them by the triumph of foreign arms. The party thus formed soon became strong and audacious in the capital, and in some of the departments; and it required all the prudence and vigilance of the government to prevent its breaking out in acts of violence and insurrection.

The great body of the French nation, however, found themselves exhausted with the pressure of war, and anxious to enjoy that repose which they hoped to find under the reign of a benign monarch, supported by the friendship and alliance of all the powers of Europe. The French marshals, no matter how strongly influenced by self-interest, had all sent in their adhesion to the new government, and while the soldiers were without leaders, their murmurs and discontent presented no subject of serious alarm.

It was on this principle that the king endea-

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voured to attach the marshals and generals to his person and government, and to guarantee to them those honours and distinctions for which they were originally indebted to another master. To confer upon the government an increased ground of security, Marshal Soult, whose military talents had placed him among the most distinguished generals of France, was appointed minister of war; and Prince Talleyrand, the early minister of Napoleon, and one of the most consummate statesmen of his age and nation, was elevated to one of the first offices in the state, and intrusted with the entire management of the negotiations at the congress of Vienna. With respect to the political integrity of this minister doubts may justly be entertained; he had found no difficulty in accommodating himself to the republican form of government at the commencement of the revolution, and to the military despotism of Napoleon in a more advanced stage of its progress; but no man was a more complete master of the science of diplomacy; and it was to the skilful application of his influence over the public mind, that the Bourbons were indebted in a large degree for their restoration. In point of rank, the first minister of the king was M. d'Ambray. This statesman, whose political bias was in favour of absolute power, was placed at the head of the law department, and like a late distinguished British chancellor, discharged the duties of his office with more integrity of principle than urbanity of manners. M. Beugnot, who for some months filled the office of director-general of the police, and was afterwards removed to the naval department, recommended himself to the favour of his sovereign, by the fascination of his manners, and the charms of his literature, rather than by the extent of his political knowledge, or his sagacity in the choice of his agents. M. d'André, the successor of Beugnot, in the police, though zealously attached to his king, retained in his department the principal part of those public officers who had served Fouché and Savary, and with this assistance discharged the functions of his office with vigilance and activity. M. Ferrand, another of the emigrants, held the office of director-general of the posts, with a seat in the cabinet. A martyr to the palsy, he had not the energy necessary for his situation; and his secretaries and clerks were all devoted to Lavalette, the post-master-general under Napoleon. M. Dupont, the predecessor of Soult in the office of minister of war, and formerly one of Bonaparte's generals, was a wit and a poet, but destitute of the qualifications which constitute a man of business. The Abbé Louis, minister of finance, by his skill and application, contributed to impart to the public mind a confidence in the national resources. The Abbé

Montesquiou, minister of the interior or home department, an office in which the whole internal government of the country is comprised, and from which the recommendation of all the prefects, sub-prefects, and mayors, emanates, was a man of pleasure, and better calculated to shine in the court of Louis XV. than to preside in the council of Louis XVIII. Though strongly attached to the king, he retained in office a large proportion of the municipal officers under the Napoleon dynasty, on the principle, that it is better policy to gain over an enemy than to recompense a friend. Count de Blacas, the minister of the king's household, from the influence he possessed over the mind of his sovereign, was regarded as the first of his ministers. He had shared the fortune of his king in exile, and while resident in England held the office of master of the stole at Hartwell. It is difficult to characterise the political system of this favourite, though, like the Abbé Montesquiou, he is generally supposed to have cherished the chimerical hope of restoring the ancient *regime*, and bringing back the government to the period of 1793. Besides these there were several other members of the chambers, who held the rank of ministers without filling any ostensible situation; but although there were abundance of ministers, there was no point of adhesion in the ministry; personally unacquainted with each other, they were divided in their political views, and governed their separate departments without any generally pervading principle, considering themselves more as independent clerks than as an united executive power.

On the 4th of June, 1814, the royal session was opened in the saloon of the legislative body. On that occasion, the king, accompanied by the princes of the blood and the marshals of France, and other distinguished officers and ministers, seated himself upon the throne, and addressed the assembly in the following terms:—

"Gentlemen, surrounded as I am, for the first time, by the great officers of state, and the representatives of a nation, which unceasingly lavishes on me the most affecting marks of its regard, I congratulate myself on having become the dispenser of those benefits, which providence has deigned to confer on my people.

"I have concluded a peace with Austria, Russia, England, and Prussia, in which all their allies are included, that is to say, all the princes of Christendom. The war was universal; the peace will be equally so.

"The rank, which France has always held among nations, has been transferred to no other, and remains in her undivided possession. All that other states acquire as to security, tends equally to increase her's, and consequently increases her real power. That portion of her conquests which she does not retain, should not be regarded as detracting from her real strength.

"The glory of the French armies has received no stain. The monuments of their valour exist, and the *chefs-d'œuvre* of art henceforth belong to us by more stable and more sacred rights than those of victory.

"The paths of commerce, which have so long been closed, are about to be re-opened. The markets of France will not only be open to the productions of her own soil and industry; but will also be supplied from the possessions which she recovers, with such articles as custom has taught her to want, as well as those which are necessary for the arts she pursues. She will no longer be obliged to deprive herself of them, or to obtain them on ruinous conditions. Our manufactures are about to flourish again; our maritime towns are resuming their activity. Every thing promises that a long calm without, and durable felicity within, will be the happy effects of peace.

"One sad recollection, however, will always diminish my joy. I was born, and hoped to have remained all my

life, the most faithful subject of the best of kings; but to-day I occupy his place. Still he is not entirely dead; for he lives in the testament* by which he meant to have instructed his august and unfortunate son, whose successor I became. With my eyes fixed on this immortal work, penetrated by the sentiments which it contains, and guided by the experienced counsel of several members of your body, I have framed the constitutional charter which will now be read to you, and which fixes the prosperity of the state upon a solid basis.†

"My chancellor will make my paternal intentions known to you more in detail."

The peers and deputies then took the prescribed oaths; and the royal charter was

* See Vol. I. Book I. p. 58.

† ROYAL CONSTITUTIONAL CHARTER.

LOUIS, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre.—To all those to whom these presents shall come, health.

Divine Providence, in recalling us to our States, after a long absence, has imposed great duties upon us. Peace being the first want of our subjects, we occupied ourselves incessantly about it; and that peace, so necessary for France, as well as for the rest of Europe, is signed. A constitutional charter was required by the present state of the kingdom. We promised it, and we now publish it.

We have considered that although in France the authority rests altogether in the person of the king, our predecessors have not hesitated to modify the exercise of it according to the circumstances of the times; that thus the commons owed their enfranchisement to Louis the Fat; the confirmation and extension of their rights to Saint Louis and Philip the Handsome; that the judicial order was established and developed by the laws of Louis XI. Henry II. and Charles IX. and finally, that Louis XIV. regulated all parts of the public administration by different ordinances, the wisdom of which nothing since has surpassed: we have held it our duty, according to the example of the kings our ancestors, to appreciate the progress of lights always increasing, and the new relations which this progress has introduced into society; the direction which the minds of men have taken for half a century, and the important alterations which have resulted. We have ascertained that the desire of our subjects for a constitutional charter, was the expression of a real want; but in yielding to this wish, we have taken all precautions to insure that this charter shall be worthy of us, and of the people which we are proud to command. Men of wisdom, selected from the chief bodies of the state, have been associated with commissioners from our council, in framing this important work. At the same time that we felt the necessity for a free monarchical constitution, to fulfil the expectation of enlightened Europe, we have also held ourselves bound to recollect, that our first duty towards our people was, to preserve for their own interests the rights and prerogatives of the crown. We trust that, instructed by experience, they are convinced that the supreme authority alone can give to the institutions which it establishes, the force, the permanency, and the majesty, with which it is itself clothed; that thus, when the wisdom of kings accords with the wishes of the people, a constitutional charter may be of long duration; but when violence wrests concessions from the weakness of the government, public liberty is no less endangered than the throne itself. We have finally searched for the principles of a constitutional charter in the French character, and in the venerable monuments of past ages. Thus we have seen, in the re-establishment of the peerage, an institution truly national, which ought to bind every recollection to every hope, by reuniting the ancient with the modern times. We have replaced by the chamber of deputies, those ancient assemblies of the fields of March and May, and the chambers of the third estate, which have so often given at once proofs of their zeal for the interests of the people, and of fidelity and respect for the authority of the kings. In studying thus to join anew the chain of the times, which lamentable breaches had interrupted, we have effaced from our recollection, as we wish it was possible to efface from history, all the evils which have afflicted the country during our absence.—Happy to find ourselves once more in the bosom of the great family, we know not how to reply to the love of which we received so many testimonies, except by pronouncing words of peace and consolation. The wish most dear to our hearts is, that all Frenchmen should live as brothers, and that no bitter recollection may ever disturb the security to be expected from the solemn deed which we execute in their favour this day. Sure of our intentions, strong in our conscience, we pledge ourselves, before the assembly that hears us, to be faithful to this constitutional charter, reserving to ourselves to swear to maintain it, with a new solemnity, before the altars of Him who weighs in the same balance kings and nations.—For these reasons we have voluntarily, and by the free exercise of our royal authority, granted, and do grant, transfer; and make over to our subjects, for ourselves, and for our successors, and for ever, the constitutional charter, which follows:—

PUBLIC RIGHTS OF THE FRENCH.

1. The French are equal in the eye of the law, whatever may be their titles or ranks. 2. They contribute without distinction to the charges of the state, in proportion to their fortunes. 3. They are all equally admissible to all employments, civil and military. 4. Their personal liberty is equally protected. No one can be prosecuted, nor arrested, except in the cases provided for by the law, and in the forms which the

BOOK V. presented to both houses by the Chancellor
 CHAP. IV. d'Ambray, in the presence of the king: The
 1814 constitutional charter, as decreed by the senate

was not materially at variance with the constitution thus granted to the people; but it did not comport with the views of sovereign rights

the law prescribes. 5. Every one professes his religion with equal freedom, and obtains the same protection for his worship. 6. The catholic-apostolic and roman religion, is, however, the religion of the state. 7. The ministers of the catholic-apostolic and roman religion, and those of the other christian worships, alone receive allowances from the royal treasury. 8. The French have the right to publish and print their opinions, conforming themselves to the laws repressing the abuse of this liberty. 9. All property is inviolable, without any exemption touching what are called national properties—the law making no difference on that head. 10. The state can require the sacrifice of a property for the public interest, cause being first legally shown, and an indemnification assigned. 11. All inquiries into voter opinions, pronounced prior to the restoration are prohibited. The same oblivion is enjoined to the tribunals and citizens. 12. The conscription is abolished. The mode of recruiting the land and sea forces is determined by the law.

FORMS OF THE KING'S GOVERNMENT.

13. The person of the king is inviolable and sacred. His ministers are responsible. The executive power belongs exclusively to the king. 14. The king is the supreme chief of the state, commands the forces by land and by sea; declares war, makes treaties of peace, alliance, and commerce; appoints to all employments in the public administration; and makes the regulations and ordinances necessary for the execution of the laws and the safety of the state. 15. The legislative power is executed jointly by the king, the chamber of peers, and the chamber of deputies of the departments. 16. The king proposes the law. 17. The law proposed is offered at the pleasure of the king, either to the chamber of the peers, or that of the deputies; with the exception of laws of taxation, which shall be addressed first to the chamber of the deputies. 18. Every law is to be discussed and decided upon with perfect freedom by the majority of both chambers. 19. The chambers are allowed to petition the king to propose laws, and to suggest what they think the law required ought to contain. 20. This demand may be made by either of the two chambers; but the matter must have been previously discussed in a secret committee. The law suggested cannot be sent to the other chamber by that in which it is proposed, till after a lapse of ten days. 21. If the proposition be adopted by the second chamber, it is placed under the eye of the king; if it be rejected, it cannot be proposed again in the same session. 22. The king alone sanctions and promulgates the laws. 23. The civil list is fixed for the duration of every reign by the first legislative assembly after the king's accession.

OF THE CHAMBER OF PEERS.

24. The chamber of peers is an essential portion of the legislative power. 25. It is convoked by the king at the same time with the chamber of the deputies of the departments. The session of each begins and ends at the same time with that of the other. 26. Every assembly of the chamber of peers, held at any other period than during the session of the chamber of deputies, or without the orders of the king, is illicit, and null and void in law. 27. The nomination of peers of France belongs to the king. The number is unlimited. He can vary their dignities, and name them for life, or render them hereditary, according to his pleasure. 28. The peers cannot enter their chamber till the age of twenty-five years, nor have a deliberative voice till thirty. 29. The chancellor of France presides in the chamber of peers, and in his absence a peer named by the king. 30. The members of the royal family, and princes of the blood, are peers by right of birth. They take their seat next to the president; but they have not deliberative voices until they have attained the age of twenty-five years. 31. The princes cannot take their seats in the chamber without the express orders of the king, specially issued for each session, by a message: under penalty of every thing done in their presence being null and void. 32. All the deliberations of the chamber of peers are secret. 33. The chamber of peers takes cognizance of crimes of high treason, and of all attempts against the safety of the state defined by law. 34. No peer can be arrested except by the authority of the chamber, nor judged but by it in criminal matters.

OF THE CHAMBER OF THE DEPUTIES OF THE DEPARTMENTS.

35. The chamber of deputies shall be composed of persons elected by the electoral colleges, the organization of which shall be determined by the laws. 36. Each department shall have the same number of deputies as at present. 37. The deputies shall be elected for five years, and in such a manner that the chamber shall be renewed by one-fifth every year. 38. No deputy shall be admitted to the chamber who has not attained the age of forty years; nor unless he pays direct taxes to the amount of 1,000 francs. 39. If, however, there be not found in the department fifty persons of the age required, and paying at least 1,000 francs direct taxes, the number may be filled up by those paying the highest taxes under 1,000 francs—and these again cannot be elected concurrently with the first. 40. The electors who take part in the nomination of the deputies cannot have the right of suffrage unless they pay 300 francs direct taxes, and have attained the age of thirty years. 41. The presidents of the electoral colleges shall be named by the king, and by eight members of the college. 42. Half the deputies, at least, shall be chosen from qualified persons, having their political residence in the department. 43. The president of the chamber of deputies is named by the king from a list of fifty deputies presented by the chamber. 44. The sittings of the chamber are public, but on requisition from five members it must be formed into a secret committee. 45. The chamber divides itself into select committees, to discuss the projects presented to it from the king. 46. No amendment can be made on a law, unless it be proposed in general committee by the king, and referred to, and discussed by the select committee. 47. The chamber of deputies receives all proposals for taxes; and these proposals cannot be referred to the peers till after they have been admitted by the commons. 48. No tax can be established or levied, if it has not been previously agreed to by the two chambers, and sanctioned by the king. 49. The land tax is granted only for one year. The indirect impositions may be granted for several years. 50. The king convokes the two chambers annually: he prorogues them, and may dissolve that of the deputies of the departments; but, in this case, he must convoke a new session within three months. 51. No personal restraint can be exercised against a member of the chamber during the session, nor during the six weeks prior or subsequent to it. 52. No member of the chamber can, pending the session, be prosecuted or arrested in a criminal process, except in the case of flagrant crimes, after the chamber has permitted his prosecution. 53. Every petition to either of the chambers must be tendered and presented in writing. The law prohibits its being presented by the petitioner in person at the bar.

OF THE MINISTERS.

54. The ministers may be members of the chamber of peers, or of the chamber of the deputies; they have, moreover, access to either chamber, and ought to be heard when they require it. 55. The chamber of the deputies has the right of impeaching the ministers, and of bringing them before the chamber of peers, which alone possesses the right of judging them. 56. They can only be accused on a charge of treason or embezzlement; particular laws will specify this class of crimes, and point out the procedure.

THE

and authority entertained by Louis XVIII. to enter into a compact emanating from his subjects. He insisted upon receiving the crown as an inheritance, not as a gift from the nation; and choosing to consider the throne as never out of the possession of his family, he dated his charter in the 19th year of his reign. In the same spirit he assumed the title of King of France, not the King of the French; and resumed the ancient formula, 'By the grace of God.' His language in effect was:—"I reign because my ancestors have reigned. I reign by the rights of my birth. It is for me to make a convention with my people respecting the form of the institutions which shall regulate my authority,* and to make a voluntary limitation of a power in itself unlimited."†

The refusal of the king to ratify the constitution adopted by the unanimous consent of the conservative senate, and meant to form the French bill of rights, excited considerable alarm, and was very freely deprecated by the friends of popular privileges; but the advocates of undefined prerogative strenuously maintained, that as the government of France was neither a republic nor an elective monarchy, it did not become the king either to recognize the sovereignty of the people, or to confirm the elective franchise of the senate. In this way the question whether the rights of sovereigns are *jure divino* or *jure humano* was again raised, and discussed by the politicians of France with as

much warmth as the same inquiry had called forth in England a century before. The decision in the present instance was in favour of divine right, but it was an award that shook the foundation of the throne, and endangered its future stability.

One of the most early and important subjects which engaged the attention of the chambers of legislation during their first session, respected the liberty of the press, which had been stipulated for in the 23d article of the constitutional charter, and guaranteed, though in language somewhat equivocal, by the 8th article of the royal charter. Several of the speakers in the chamber of deputies had already submitted resolutions to that assembly on this subject, but it was not till the 6th of July, that the king's ministers produced a plan explanatory of their intentions. On that day, the Abbé de Montesquieu and the Count de Blacas, were introduced into the chamber, to present, by the king's order, a law for the regulation of the press. After some of the usual observations on the advantages on the one hand resulting from a free communication of opinions, and the dangers on the other attending the abuse of such a liberty, the abbé touched upon the principal provisions of the proposed law, and said: "It has long been perceived and acknowledged, that writings of small bulk, which it is easy to circulate with profusion, and which are read with avidity, may immediately disturb the

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THE JUDICIAL ORDER.

57. All justice emanates from the king; it is administered in his name by judges of his nomination and appointment. 58. The judges appointed by the king are irremovable. 59. The courts and ordinary tribunals, now existing, are maintained; no change shall take place, except by virtue of a law. 60. The present institution of the judges of commerce is preserved. 61. The magistracy of the peace is also preserved; and the justices, though named by the king, are not irremovable. 62. No man can be separated from his constitutional judges. 63. In consequence, no extraordinary commissions and tribunals can be created; the jurisdiction of provost-marshal's are not comprehended in this denomination, if the re-establishment of them is deemed necessary. 64. The proceedings shall be open in criminal matters, unless that publicity be prejudicial to order and morals; and in this case, the tribunal declares it to be so by a decision. 65. The institution of juries is preserved; the changes which longer experience may render it expedient to make, cannot be done but by a law. 66. The penalty of the confiscation of property is abolished, and cannot be re-established. 67. The king has the right of granting pardon, and that of commuting punishment. 68. The civil code, and the laws now existing which are not repugnant to the present charter, remain in full force until they are legally abrogated.

PARTICULAR RIGHTS GUARANTEED BY THE STATE.

69. The military on active service, the retired officers and soldiers, the pensioned widows, the officers and soldiers, shall preserve their rank, honours, and pensions. 70. The public debt is guaranteed; every sort of engagement entered into by the state with its creditors is inviolable. 71. The ancient nobility resume their titles; the new preserve theirs. The king creates nobles at pleasure; but he grants to them only titles and honours, without any exemption from the charges and duties of the community. 72. The legion of honour is continued; the king will determine the domestic regulations and the decorations. 73. The colonies shall be governed by special laws and regulations. 74. The king and his successors shall swear, at the solemnity of their coronation, faithfully to observe the constitutional charter.

TRANSITORY ARTICLES.

75. The deputies of the departments of France who sat in the legislative body from the late adjournment, shall continue to sit in the chamber of the deputies until they are replaced. 76. The first renewal of a fifth of the chamber of deputies shall take place, at the latest, in the year 1816, according to the order laid down in the series.

We command that the present constitutional charter, placed before the eyes of the senate and of the legislative body, conformably to our proclamation of the 2d of May, shall be sent forthwith to the chamber of peers and that of the deputies.

Given at Paris, in the year of grace 1814, and the nineteenth of our reign.

(Signed).

LOUIS.

L'ABBE DE MONTESQUIOU.

* Chateaubriand's Political Reflections.

† Speech of the Chancellor.

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public tranquillity: repressive laws are insufficient against the effects for which the author, perhaps, can only be punished, when the mischief has already become too great, not merely to be repaired, but even to be arrested in its progress. Writings of this nature are, therefore, the only ones against which the law takes precautions beforehand. Every work of ordinary size may be published freely; the king and the nation will have nothing to fear from them; and if the author commits any offence, the tribunals will be in readiness to punish him." "If," continued the minister, "we lived at a period, when reason, long trained and tried, had a stronger sway than the passions; when national interests, clearly understood and strongly felt, had attached to its cause the majority of private interests; when public order, strongly consolidated, no longer feared the attacks of imprudence or folly; then the unlimited liberty of the press would be unattended with danger, and would even present advantages; but our situation is not so happy; our character even, as well as our situation, forbids the establishment of an indefinite liberty. Nature has distributed her gifts among nations as among individuals; the diversity of institutions has fortified these primitive differences; we have received for our share a vivacity, a mobility of imagination, which require restraint; let us not complain of this; let us not envy a neighbouring nation the enjoyment of advantages of another kind. Ours have procured us enough of happiness and glory wherewithal to be content; to them we owe that elegance of taste, that delicacy of manners, which is shocked by the least neglect of decorum, and which does not permit us to violate it, without falling at once into the most unbridled licentiousness. The king proposes to you nothing that does not appear to him absolutely necessary to the safety of the national institutions, and to the march of government: assist him with your information and your influence; unite with him for the interests of liberty as for those of peace; and you will soon see that liberty unfold itself without storms, amidst the order which you shall have concurred in maintaining."

The projet of the law proposed by the king was divided into two parts: the first regarding the publication of works; and the second, the superintendence of the press; according to the first, every work of above thirty sheets might be published freely, without previous examination or revision. The same liberty was extended to all writings in the dead languages, as well as to books of devotion, and law reports, if sanctioned by the names of professional persons, and works of literary and scientific societies established by the king; without regard to the number of sheets they contained. The liberty

which was apparently given in this part of the projet, was, however, in a great measure withdrawn, by the proposal that the director-general of the press might ordain, according to circumstances, that all writings of thirty sheets should be communicated to him before they were committed to the press. The appointment of censors was to be vested in the king; and the director-general was to cause every work of the prescribed size to undergo their inspection; and if two, at least, of these censors conceived the writing to be defamatory, dangerous to the public peace, or immoral in their tendency, the director-general was vested with the power to interdict the publication, subject to an appeal to a committee of revision, appointed by the king, consisting of three members of the house of peers, and three of the national deputies.

If this part of the projet appeared inimical to the liberty of the press, the second part, which regarded its superintendence, was still more decidedly hostile to freedom of publication. According to the proposed regulations, no person was allowed to exercise the business of a printer, or bookseller, without the king's licence previously obtained; nor without taking an oath that he would conform to the regulations prescribed by the state for the government of his trade; which licences might be withdrawn on violation of the laws or regulations. All printing establishments not properly notified and permitted by the director-general of the press, were to be deemed clandestine, and as such were to be destroyed, and the proprietors subjected to a fine of ten thousand francs and six months imprisonment. If notice was not given and a deposit made of a copy of any work, the impression was liable to seizure; and in such case, a fine of a thousand francs for the first offence, and two thousand for the second, was to be levied: if the printer, from design or inattention, omitted to affix his name and residence to the title page of any copy of a work, he became liable to a penalty of three thousand francs; and in case of the substitution of a false name or address, a fine of double that sum awaited him, besides imprisonment. Every bookseller exposing to sale a work without a printer's name, incurred a penalty of two thousand francs, which was to be reduced to one thousand on disclosing the name of the offending printer.—This projet, which could be justified on no ground, but as a temporary measure arising out of the unsettled state of the government, concluded with the proposal that the law should be revised in three years, for the purpose of making in it such improvements as experience might shew to be necessary.

It was not to be expected, that a plan so hostile to the effectual liberty of the press, and

so closely assimilated in its leading features to the restrictive system imposed on that engine of knowledge, in the year 1810, by the Emperor Napoleon,* would be revived with general concurrence; accordingly we find, that on the 1st of August a report was made to the chamber of deputies by a committee of their own body, in which the proposed law, in its original form, was strongly deprecated, and it was decided by a majority of the committee, that previous censorship ought not to serve as the basis of any legislative enactment upon this subject. The speech of the chairman of the committee, M. Raynouard, contained a forcible appeal to the assembly against the proposed law, which was considered incompatible with the freedom of the press, and as a direct violation of the 8th article of the constitution. The details on this topic, so interesting to public liberty, were highly animated, and continued through four successive days; but the court party prevailed; and a majority of one hundred and thirty-seven against eighty voices, proved, that even the representatives of the people had not sufficient confidence in the loyalty of their constituents, to suffer the throne of their sovereign to rest upon the foundations of free discussion and popular favour.

Before the votes were taken, M. Montesquieu had conceded, on the part of the king, that the censorship should not apply to any work exceeding twenty sheets, and that the operation of the act should be limited to the end of the session of 1810. In the chamber of peers the opposition was less strenuous, but several delays took place; and it was not till the 21st of October, that the shackles upon the press were riveted, under the sanction of a law, though a royal ordonnance for the re-establishment of the censorship had existed ever since the 10th of June.

One of the first duties of the ministers of Louis XVIII. was to present to the nation an exposition of the state in which his majesty had found the kingdom; and on the 12th of July, the Abbé de Montesquieu, minister of the interior, having been introduced to the chamber of deputies, submitted to that assembly an *exposé*, to show how much the nation had suffered from the ambitious projects of its late ruler; to lay open the deceptions which had been practised to conceal the real state of the public affairs; and to give an adequate impression of the magnitude of

those difficulties which the new administration had to encounter. But it was not sufficient to point out the existing evils; it was necessary at the same time to propose a remedy, and it was one of the objects of the minister to explain the manner in which this happy consummation was to be effected.

The *exposé* was introduced by some observations on the prodigious loss of men occasioned by the hostile enterprises of the late government, and the minister of the interior stated the amount of the calls made since the end of the Russian campaign at thirteen hundred thousand!† of which number, however, it fortunately happened, that the last levies had not been fully executed. The war had not time to cut off all those who had joined the standards; but this simple statement of the requisitions enforced on the population during a period of from fourteen to fifteen months, served to convey some idea of what the losses of the nation must have been during the past two and twenty years. Many causes, however, contributed to repair these losses; the improvement of the condition of the inhabitants of the country, by the division of the great landed properties, the equal distribution of inheritances, and the progress of vaccination, were amongst the most powerful. Even the conscription itself became a source of increased population—an impure source, which introduced disorder and immorality into marriages concluded with precipitation and imprudence. Hence a multitude of unfortunate marriages, of ridiculous or indecent connexions, so that many men, even of the lower orders, soon became weary of what they had embraced only to shelter themselves from the conscription, and in order to dissolve these ill-assorted ties, threw themselves once more into the way of the dangers they had sought to avoid.

Agriculture, it was acknowledged, had made real progress in France; this progress had commenced long before the revolution, but since that epoch, new causes had accelerated its march. The propagation of improved modes of agriculture, by learned societies; the residence of a number of rich proprietors in the country, combined with their experiments, their instruction, and their example; the erection of veterinary schools; produced the most happy effects on many branches of rural economy; but the errors and faults of the government opposed continual obstacles to their development. The continental system caused enormous losses to the proprietors of vineyards: in the south, many of the vineyards had been rooted up; and the inadequate price of wines and brandies discouraged this branch of culture generally. The forced attempts to introduce the Merino breed of sheep, had cost the government twenty millions of francs, and the consequence had been rather to deteriorate than to improve the breed. The establishment of studs had been more successful, and the breed of horses, until the fatal years 1812 and 1813, was excellent, and afforded numerous cavalry. The loss of a few months in these years, amounted to two hundred and thirty thousand horses, which could not be replaced at an expense of less than 105,200,000 francs. The stock was in fact exhausted; and every horse cost the government from 400 to 460 francs. The mines in France had very sensibly increased; the French territory now presented four hundred and seventy-eight working mines, which

* See Vol. II. Book IV. p. 164.

† On the 11th of January, 1813.....350,000
3d of April.....130,000
24th of August, for the army in Spain..... 30,000
9th of October, conscription of 1814, &c.....120,000

Conscription of 1815.....160,000
On the 15th November, 1813, recalls of year 1811 to 1814 350,000
January, 1814, officers and cavalry equipped..... 17,000
Levies en masse organized in 1815..... 145,000

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employed seventeen thousand workmen, and yielded to the country a raw material of the value of 26,800,000 and to the state a revenue of 251,000 francs. The continental system, by compelling manufacturers to search, in the territory of France itself, for resources before unknown, had in this respect benefited the national manufacturers; but the obstacles which it presented to the introduction of a great number of raw materials, were injurious in a more considerable degree. Some of those obstacles had already been removed, and the cotton manufactures were stated to employ four hundred thousand persons, and a capital of one hundred millions. Those of Rouen had already considerably revived. The linen manufactures of Laval and Bretagne suffered much by the war with Spain, where they had formerly found their principal market. Those of silks had experienced the same fate. The internal consumption of silks had indeed increased, but what might not France hope to gain by the renewal of her commerce with Europe? In 1787, the manufacturers at Lyons kept at work fifteen thousand looms; during the late war, that number was reduced to eight thousand; but Lyons had already received considerable orders, and promised to regain its former prosperity. The manufacture of woollens, leather, &c. had suffered in an equal degree from the continental system. These prohibitive laws did still more mischief to commerce than to manufacturing industry; and the system of licences ruined and discouraged a great number of merchants, by raising hopes that were destroyed in a moment, by the will which had fostered them.

Passing from these subjects to the budget of the minister of the interior, the exposé stated, that the mass of the funds appropriated to the services of that department, for the three last years, amounted to an average of one hundred and forty-four millions, and that the public treasury never contributed to these funds more than sixty millions annually, leaving the residue to be supplied by special duties and imposts. The deplorable embarrassments of the hospitals were particularly noticed, and it was stated, that the war department was indebted to those institutions, in Paris alone, for sick and wounded soldiers, 1,393,365 francs.

With respect to public works, great enterprises had been undertaken, some from motives of utility, and many others from ostentation, or from views in which the happiness of France had no share. Thus, while magnificent roads were opened on the frontiers, those of the interior were neglected. In the department of bridges and causeways, there was an arrear of twenty-eight millions, and to aggravate the evil, this department would be charged with the extraordinary expense occasioned by replacing thirty principal bridges, which had been blown up or burnt during the last campaign. The canals were in a better state, but their works were far from being completed, and would require much additional expense. The works at Paris had been a particular object of the cares of the late government, because in them it found the means of ostentation, magnificence, and popular favour. Some of them, particularly those of the public markets, would be really useful; and the works of embellishment, though of a less beneficial description, should not be abandoned. Their total expense was estimated at fifty-three millions five hundred thousand francs, and more than twenty-four millions had already been expended upon them.

Under the head of War Ministry, the statements demand particular notice, and may serve to impress upon nations the salutary conviction, that among all the financial evils pressing upon governments, those arising from war are beyond all comparison the heaviest. Here was the root of the evil; hence originated the disorders which extended to all the other branches; and the disasters of the three last campaigns had plunged this department, already so complicated, into a complete chaos. The public expen-

diture was still extremely heavy: on the 1st of May, 1814, the land forces of France amounted to more than five hundred and twenty thousand, including gens-d'armes, veterans, invalids, and cannoniers, guarding the coast. Besides this force, there were 122,597 military of all ranks, enjoying half pay; and one hundred and sixty thousand prisoners were returning from Prussia, Austria, England, and Russia. The whole of the war expenses for 1814, in their different branches, were estimated at seven hundred and forty millions of francs, and the arrears due at two hundred and sixty-one millions, exclusive of a sum of one hundred millions *ordonnanced* by the ministers, but which the treasury had not been able to pay.

For four and twenty years, the navy had been weakened by the very means which had been taken to give it the appearance of strength. Thus, in 1804, the projected invasion of England was pompously announced; ports, which had never yet been entered, except by fishing boats and packets, were immediately converted into vast maritime arsenals; and Paris itself saw a dock-yard formed within its walls, and the most valuable materials employed in the construction of vessels, which were notwithstanding unfit for their destination. And what now remained of these armaments? The wreck of some of the vessels, and accounts which proved, that for the successive creation and destruction of this monstrous and useless flotilla, upwards of one hundred and fifty millions had been sacrificed. In the Scheldt the treasure of France was lavished on an object which it was impossible to accomplish. The grand works executed at Cherbourg, and the fine squadron at Toulon, were the only good results from a system in which besides there was nothing but weakness and improvidence. All the arsenals were completely dilapidated—the immense naval stores collected by Louis XVI. were squandered—and during the last fifteen years, France had lost in ill-judged expeditions forty-three ships of the line, eighty-two frigates, seventy-six corvettes, and sixty-two transports and packets, which could not be replaced at an expense of two hundred millions. The port of Brest, the finest and best in Europe, had been entirely neglected. Though a debt had been accumulated in this department to the amount of upwards of sixty-one millions, the arsenals were exhausted, and unprovided with stores, and the ships were still more unprovided with good sailors. The loss of the French colonies, the measures which oppressed commerce, and the reverses experienced by the fleets, would of themselves have sufficed to extinguish the maritime population, but the measures by which the last government gave to the crews of ships the organization of regiments, pronounced the sentence of its absolute destruction, and sailors of France lost on the plains of Germany the habits of the ocean.

One of the most singular features of this exposé related to the situation of the public finances. In this department the distortions and exaggerations had been extreme, and it was not till Louis XVIII. ascended the throne, that it was known that the budgets of 1812 and 1813, which had been made to exhibit a fictitious equilibrium, presented an actual deficit of 312,032,000 francs. Napoleon was not ignorant of this vast accumulation of debt, but he always cherished the hope of covering it, either by foreign tributes, which were the fruits of his first campaigns, or by deriving resources from special funds. By these accumulations, the total of the increase of the debts of the state, in the course of thirteen years, amounted to the sum of 1,645,469,000 francs, about £68,560,000 sterling.

This exposition, though an *ex-parte* statement, and as such open to suspicion, may be considered as a summary of the evils of Napoleon's

government, and the impression made by the details was powerfully felt in every country in Europe. The duty of pointing out the remedy for the evils that had been thus exhibited devolved on the minister of finance, and the Abbé de Montesquieu, in conclusion, assured the assembly, that the cares of the government should not be confined to the re-establishment of a prosperity purely material. "Other sources of happiness and glory," said the orator, "have been cruelly attacked. Morality no more than public wealth has escaped from the fatal influence of a bad government. That which has just been put an end to completed the evils which the revolution had caused; it re-established religion merely to make it an instrument for its purposes. Public instruction submitted to the same dependence; and the efforts of the respectable body who conducted it were opposed by a despotism which wished to rule the minds of all, in order to enslave the bodies without resistance. The national education must take a more liberal course to maintain itself on a level with the information common to Europe, by returning to principles now long forgotten among us. Unhappily, we cannot also restore at once to France, those moral habits, and that public spirit, which cruel misfortunes and long oppression have almost annihilated. Noble sentiments were opposed, generous ideas were stifled; the government, not content with condemning to inaction the virtues which it dreaded, excited and fomented the passions which could advance its views; to suppress public spirit, it called personal interest to its aid; it offered its favours to ambition, in order to silence conscience; no other alternative was left but that of serving the state, no other hope, but those which it could alone fulfil. Such were the melancholy effects of that corruptive system which we have now to combat. The difficulties of the moment are great, but much may be expected from time; the nation will feel that its zealous concurrence is necessary to hasten the return of its own happiness; its confidence in the intentions of its king, the lights and wisdom of the two chambers, will render the task of government more easy; and if any thing can prevent the speedy realization of those hopes, it will be that restless turbulence which wishes to enjoy without delay the blessings of which it has the prospect."—"While regretting the benefits which must still be waited for," continued the minister of the interior in conclusion, "let us enjoy those which are offered to our acceptance; already peace re-opens our ports; liberty restores to the merchant his speculations, and to the mechanic his labours; every one sees the end of his calamities. The king confides equally on his people and their deputies, and France expects every thing from

their generous agreement. What more fortunate circumstance, than that of an assembly, which has deserved so well of its country, and a king who is desirous of being its father! Enjoy, Gentlemen, this fortunate re-union; see what France expects from it; let these happy commencements encourage you in your career, and may the gratitude of your latest descendants be at once your emulation, your glory, and your recompense."

The financial details promised by the minister of the interior, were on the 22d of July laid before the chamber of deputies by Baron Louis, the minister of finance, whose plan comprehended a proposal to regulate and fix by law the amount of the receipts, and the expenditure for the year 1814; to provide for the service of 1815; and to assign means and periods for the payment of the debts contracted anterior to the 1st of April, 1814.

One of the first points to which the attention of the assembly was directed, was the expenditure of the year 1814. The rate of ordinary and extraordinary expenses, as established at the beginning of the year, under the boundless system of extravagance which existed at that period, would have amounted in the course of the year to the sum of 1,215,800,000 francs; whereas the return of peace, the evacuation of territory, and a strict regard to economical reform, had diminished the estimate of necessary expenses to 827,415,000 francs. The amount of the ways and means for defraying these expenses was estimated at five hundred and twenty millions, so that a deficit would be found of about three hundred and seven millions. The expenditure of 1815, it was hoped, would display the influence of peace, and might be calculated at six hundred and eighteen millions, which it was proposed to provide for by direct and indirect contributions, with the exception of ten or twelve millions, the sum at which the product of domainal forests was estimated. Customs, the minister considered less a final resource, than a means of favouring domestic industry; and in apologizing for the continuance of the consolidated duties, he observed, "The king, in his retirement, long lamented the vexations to which the people were subject, by the collections of the *droits réunies*; and his first care was to announce their abolition, by the mouth of the prince of his family who preceded him. But the state in which his majesty found the treasury; the immense existing arrears; and the number of brave men to be paid; render it an imperative duty with him, to preserve for the state resources proportioned to its wants. Salutary reforms will, however, be introduced, calculated to relieve the weight of a burthen which has excited so many exclamations."

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The next branch of this financial exposition related to the public debt, the accumulation of which now amounted to thirteen hundred and sixty-eight millions of francs, exclusive of about seventeen millions of perpetual rents, representing a capital of upwards of three hundred millions. On these sums the arrears actually demandable, and for the payment of which it was absolutely necessary to provide, amounted only to seven hundred and fifty-nine millions. For the liquidation of this sum it was proposed that bonds of the royal treasury should be issued, payable at the end of three years, and bearing a yearly interest of eight per centum, the holders of which should have the power of converting them into inscriptions in the great book of France. In order to give these securities full and adequate credit, three resources were proposed: first, the savings upon the budget of 1815; second, the alienation of three hundred thousand hectares of the forests of the state, and of the property of the communes that remained to be sold: and third, stock in the five per cent. consols, for the creditors who might prefer that kind of property. The minister concluded with expatiating on the immense advantage which England had derived from a sinking fund; and regretting that he was not yet able to introduce into the administration of the finances of France a similar germ of prosperity.

At the close of Baron Louis's speech, a member of the chamber of deputies, unconnected with the administration, moved that the king might be humbly requested to communicate to that assembly a statement of the debts which he had contracted during his residence in foreign countries, and to propose a plan for the payment of those debts as the debts of the state: this suggestion was afterwards carried into effect, and the payment of the king's debts, with those of his family, amounting to thirty millions of francs, was decreed by an unanimous vote of both chambers. A measure closely connected with this subject was submitted to the chamber of deputies on the 26th of October. On that day, Count Blacas, minister of the royal household, presented the plan of a law relative to the civil list, and the endowment of the crown, for which the two chambers had addressed the king. By this law, which passed the assembly by a vast majority, the sum of twenty-five millions of francs was appropriated to the civil list, to be paid in twelve equal monthly payments; and the further sum of eight millions of francs was assigned to the princes and princesses of the royal family, to serve instead of apanage.

Whatever had been the prodigality of the late government of France, the national debt of that country sunk into insignificance when placed besides the national debt of England. Peace

and economy were alone necessary to extinguishing the claims of the public creditor in the former country in a few years; but in the latter, no British subject at present in existence could calculate upon seeing his country relieved from the burthens which the public debt has fixed upon the present generation, and entailed upon posterity. This contrast became a subject of exultation in the French senate; and when, on the 8th of September, Prince Talleyrand came to submit the budget to that assembly, the most striking feature in his speech was exhibited in the picture he drew of the comparative lightness of the burthens of the French people. "France, at peace with the whole universe," said the minister, "ought to aspire to new celebrity. She ought to endeavour to establish in every department of the administration candour and justice in the exercise of her powers. To obtain this great result, it is necessary to find the means for paying all demands on the state, and to prove that with the ability she possesses the will. France has now the means of paying all her expenses, all her debts, as will be seen by comparing that which she has with that which she owes. The total amount of the debt now demandable is seven hundred and fifty-nine millions of francs. The revenue of the year 1814 is estimated at five hundred and forty millions; and that of 1815 at six hundred and eighteen millions. This revenue is entirely furnished by taxes direct or indirect, with the exception of ten or twelve millions, the estimated produce of the forest domains. For the year 1814 there will be a deficit of 307,400,000 francs. This is occasioned by the events which preceded the 1st of April, and consequently is made part of the debt of 759,000,000, now demandable. The expenses of the year 1815, fixed at 547,700,000, leave an excess in the revenue for that year of 70,300,000 francs. The calculations have seemed to some persons not to be sufficiently exact. This desire of accuracy cannot be satisfied. We must, for the present, content ourselves with approximations; but the house may be satisfied that it has before it the maximum of debt, and the minimum of the receipts, so that if there be errors they will be innoxious. Amidst all the calculations into which the present discussion leads us, it will be pleasing, and perhaps instructive, to remark, on the relative state of our burthens with those nations whose prosperity is the most striking, that the situation of France, after so many storms, is still promising. According to the last census, the population of France was twenty-eight millions. Dividing equally among all the annual amount of the taxes, which we take at six hundred millions, the quota paid by each is little under twenty-two francs. In England, the produce of the

taxes, not including those of Ireland, has arisen of late years to, at least, sixty millions sterling, which, divided among twelve millions of inhabitants, give five pounds sterling, or one hundred and twenty francs, as the contribution of each individual: that is to say, upwards of five times as much as the amount for each individual in France. In the United States of America, the receipts of the customs, which, previous to the two last years of war, formed almost the only revenue, produced annually sixteen millions of dollars. This sum, divided among seven millions of inhabitants, gives about twelve francs for each individual; to which must be added the local taxes peculiar to each state, amounting to about eleven francs more, and making twenty-three francs for each individual. Whence it follows in all respects, whether in population, extent of territory, or taxable property, the advantages of France are above those of both these nations." "It must be acknowledged," continued Talleyrand, "that our financial system still wants, for its completion, the establishment of a sinking fund: the economy introduced into all parts of the budget has hitherto opposed a temporary obstacle to the establishment of such a fund; the king's ministers wished that its final success should not be compromised by too much haste in its production, for a sinking fund derives its utility and effects from its permanence and immutability; a single change in its appropriation may cause the loss of all its fruits; for, by the laws of accumulation, it is time, continuity, and perseverance, which produce the prodigious results that seem explicable only by the science of numbers. I regret that circumstances have not permitted a measure of administration of such importance to be comprised in the new plan of the system of the finances from its commencement; but I have the pleasure to express my confidence, that it will form an essential and fundamental part of the plans of the next year's budget. This is a new era, in which the justice and moderation of the prince, whose presence among us has restored peace to the world, will make us daily more sensible of the reciprocal advantages of virtues which may be so easily established in France, under the powerful sanction of honour. And may we hope, that the influence which the manners of our nation have so long exercised over others, will render general throughout Europe this moderation, which has become more

necessary than ever to the happiness of subjects, and the glory of sovereigns."

While efforts were thus making to impart confidence to the public mind by creating a solid system of finance, the expediency of preserving some of the popular institutions of the late government was manifested in a royal ordinance, confirming the establishment of the legion of honour—an institution calculated to reward, in a way analogous to the manners of France, every kind of service rendered to the country, and furnishing the sovereign authority with the power of exerting the noblest influence on the national character.* By this ordinance the reigning sovereign is declared chief and grand master of the order, and the privileges of its members are preserved, except the right of constituting a part of the electoral colleges. The pensions assigned to each rank in the legion are faithfully maintained; and the decorations of the order are to bear the head of Henry IV. with the motto—"Honour and our country."

But the greatest safe-guards to the throne of Louis XVIII. arose, not from the honourable distinctions which he chose to confirm, but from his positive declaration, "that all property should be irrevocable, without any exception of that which is called national." On this subject there was an acute sensibility in every part of France; and the freedom with which several public writers insisted upon the restitution of the property of the emigrants, served to heighten that alarm, which the unguarded language of some of the public functionaries was too well calculated to call forth.† In order to soothe these apprehensions, a resolution was passed unanimously in the chamber of deputies, to the effect that all such alarms were unfounded; and the report on that decision was ordered to be printed and promulgated.

At the same time, a law for restoring the unsold estates of the emigrants was introduced into the French chambers of legislation, and passed in both these assemblies by large majorities. In the peers, the Duke of Tarentum, Marshal Macdonald, announced his intention, on this occasion, to propose at an early day the projet of a law to be submitted to the king, the object of which would be to grant life annuities to those of the emigrants the sale of whose estates had left them unprovided for. The arrangement of a plan of so much difficulty required more time than was at first anticipated,

* Preamble to the Royal Ordinance.

† M. Laisné, the president of the chamber of deputies, was "adverse to extinguishing the hopes of the emigrants, by shutting the door against hope;" and Monsieur, the king's brother, in a public address to the emigrants of the south, went so far as to say, "though little had been yet done for them, hopes were entertained, that in time, more complete justice would be rendered to them."

BOOK V. and it was not till the 10th of December that the marshal was prepared to submit the result of his reflections and information to the peers. His calculations were divided into two classes—those which concerned the endowments for the military, deprived of them by the last events of the war; and those which related to property sold in consequence of confiscation. On the latter of these divisions he observed, that there had been concluded directly with government 1,055,889 sales of national domains, since the breaking out of the revolution. In giving to each original purchaser a family of three persons, an estimate much below the truth, a result was obtained of 3,167,667 individuals interested in the first sales of national domains; and if the common proportion of changes and partitions, for twenty-five years, were taken at three, an aggregate of 9,503,001 persons interested in the stability of these sales of national domains would be found, without mentioning the persons indirectly interested by the effect of credits and inscriptions. It was against this colossus, whose height the eye could not measure, that some impotent efforts were directed. To unsettle the possession of property so disposed would be an act of desperation; but sound policy required that the country should place itself, by an indemnity, between the ancient proprietors and the acquirers, and that, by its liberality towards the one, it should secure the possessions of the other. An opinion, so general as to approach almost, to demonstration, rated at four milliards the value of the national property of every class; the mass of property confiscated or sold might amount to nine hundred millions of francs. From this sum, evidently exaggerated, was to be deducted six hundred millions for the numerous liquidations which had been made to the creditors of that property; and for the removal of the sequestrations which had been pronounced for twenty-three years. Three hundred millions only remained to be provided for by indemnities. This value would be almost unperceived in the calculations of a great nation, if its first want, in returning to order, were not the sentiment of justice and generosity. In the plan of indemnity, the duke proposed to replace the value of the sales of confiscated property by an annuity of two and a half per cent. payable out of such resources as the statesmen who heard him might think proper to suggest.

This arrangement would not of itself consummate the public happiness. There were still other claimants upon the national liberality—they were the brave men mutilated in a thousand

battles, who were reduced to the most abject state from the moment the service of the small endowments ceased, that is, since the disastrous campaign of Moscow. The pensioners of four thousand francs and under had been distributed into four classes; the 1st of four thousand francs; the 2d, two thousand; the 3d, one thousand; and the 4th, five hundred. The duke proposed to destroy this order of endowment, and to place the weakest part first; those of five hundred and a thousand, which were formed of annuities, free from taxes, had not undergone, and ought not to undergo, any reduction. United, they offered an aggregate of three thousand six hundred and four claimants, and would require a sum of 1,802,000 francs. The remaining classes, which comprised one thousand two hundred and sixteen pensioners, had their revenue established upon property, and suffered, by taxes, reparations, and the loss of exchange, a reduction of nearly one-fifth, reducing their revenue to 2,017,000 francs. France would need only three millions at most to discharge to the full, towards her defenders, the most sacred portion of such a debt. "A measure of legislation," concluded the duke, "ought to result from the measures thus proposed. Happy the ministers, and the administrators, invited to assist in it. Formerly they liquidated to destroy—now they liquidate to repair. Liquidation will not be compensation for all losses—after twenty years war and discord, who will expect to become again what we were? Consoled already by return, the consolation of the exile will be completed by an indemnity which he dared not expect; and that of the army by a benefit which it thought to have lost with its author."

In France, as in England, great difference of opinion prevailed respecting the laws for regulating the exportation and importation of corn; and soon after the restoration of peace, considerable disturbances took place at Dieppe, and some other sea-ports, occasioned by large shipments of corn being made from those places for England. In consequence of this agitation in the public mind, the subject of the corn laws was, at an early period of the session, brought before the two chambers; where it gave rise to several animated and elaborate discussions. M. Bequey, the director-general of agriculture, in a luminous speech, delivered in the chamber of deputies, on the 10th of October, stated, that the average price of wheat throughout the kingdom of France, for the twelve years preceding the revolution, was fifteen francs eight cents* the hectolitre;† and that, for the twelve last years,

* Equal to about 34s. per quarter, English.

† Hectro, in the new weights and measures of France, signifies 100 times; so hectolitre imports 100 litres, each litre being equal to 2½ wine pints.

the medium price had been twenty-one francs forty-six cents.* The system advocated by the director-general was, the imposition of a duty on exports, when the price of grain approached the rate at which, by law, exportation was to cease, and the free importation of grain at all times, from foreign countries. The south of France, where corn generally obtained a price about one-fourth more than the average price of the kingdom, exported its manufactures, he said, to the Levant and the States of Barbary; and if France did not take their corn they would cease to receive her manufactures. These principles the chamber thought proper to adopt, and a law was passed allowing exportation of corn from France, when under a certain price, and free importation at all times without regard to prices.

During the latter years of the reign of Napoleon, the public schools in France, under the "university system,"† were confined almost exclusively to a military education, and instruction in the duties of civil life, as well as in those of religion and morals, was lamentably neglected. In order to retrieve the credit, and to extend the influence of the clerical body in France, a royal ordinance was published by the king, on the 11th of October, for the establishment of ecclesiastical schools, in all the departments, under the sanction and superintendence of the archbishops and bishops of the Gallican church. A single incident serves sometimes to designate a reign; and the distinguishing characteristics of the reigns of Napoleon I. and Louis XVIII. were distinctly manifested in the systems of education patronized by the two sovereigns. With the former, military glory was every thing, and the education of youth was directed exclusively to the attainment of this object; with the latter, the interest of the church was the prevailing feeling of the royal mind, and his ecclesiastical schools contributed exclusively to this end. No contrast could be more palpable. The one was a warrior, the other a devotee. Neither of them had the necessary qualifications to secure the happiness of the French people, although the two characters amalgamated, might have made either of them a fit sovereign.

Another ordinance of Louis XVIII. was exposed to fewer objections, and reflected honour upon his reign: In the administration of the criminal law of the country, one of the first objects of the state should be to correct the vicious habits of criminals, and to prepare them, by habits of order and industry, combined with

the influence of moral and religious instruction, to become, at the termination of their periods of imprisonment, peaceable and useful members of society. For the purpose of effecting an object so desirable, all prisoners, under twenty years of age, against whom the sentence of the law had been denounced, were ordered to be collected together in one gaol, to be called "The prison of experiment;" the governor of which was to be charged with the superintendence of its police, and of the labour and instruction deemed necessary for the reform of the criminals. To aid him in an undertaking so important to the interest of the state, an assistant and six inspectors were to be placed under him, and these offices were to be filled gratuitously. Once in every month, the minister of the interior was to make a report of the state of the prison; and a commission, composed of a counsellor of state, and two masters of request; and a second commission, composed of three members of the court of session; were to visit this penitentiary twice a year, for the purpose of ascertaining the nature of its management, and the probable extent of its benefits. This wise and salutary plan seems to have originated with one of the most enlightened and benevolent men in France, and the Duke de la Rochefoucault was appointed director-general of an institution, which was indebted to him for its existence. In this, as well as in many of the other plans and measures of the new government, there was one feature which demands the tribute of praise—the whole of the details, verified and approved by the minister of the interior, were to be submitted, not only to the king, but also to the public.

Notwithstanding the pacific disposition of the king, there still existed in France too many restless spirits, and too great a fondness for national glory. The consequence was, that the hope of regaining a compensation for what they had lost by the peace of Paris, still animated the public mind, and the compensation was, they vainly hoped, to be found in the conquest of St. Domingo. The French part of this imperial island was in possession of two negro chiefs—Petion and Christophe; the latter of whom, under the title of King Henry, displayed a wise and enlightened policy in the administration of public affairs, worthy of imitation by the monarchs of Europe. The indigenous part of the population was estimated at three hundred and twenty thousand souls; and the two chiefs could bring into the field upwards of sixty thousand warriors. Such were the sovereigns and

* Equal to about 47s. per quarter, English.

† See Vol. II. Book IV. p. 171.

BOOK V. the people, whom the French government, uninstructed by the fatal termination of General Leclerc's expedition, wished to enslave.* But

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no sooner had King Henry learned that Louis XVIII. whose own misfortunes might have inspired him with sentiments of justice and humanity, was fitting out an expedition against the kingdom of Hayti, than he issued an energetic proclamation,† justifying, at the tribunal of nations, the legitimacy of his sable government; and in which, while he promised security and protection to the subjects of those powers who visited the island of St. Domingo for the purposes of commercial intercourse, he declared the determination of his subjects, rather to bury themselves under the ruins of their country, than to behold the destruction of that edifice, which they had cemented with their blood. "The king of a free people," said he, "a soldier by habit, we fear no war, nor dread any enemy. We have already signified our determination not to interfere in any way in the internal government of our neighbours. We wish to enjoy peace and tranquillity among ourselves, and to exert the same prerogatives which other nations enjoy, of making their own laws. If, after the free exposition of our sentiments, and the justice of our cause, any power should, contrary to the laws of nations, place a hostile foot on our territory, then our first duty will be to repel such an act of aggression by every means in our power. We solemnly declare, that we will never consent to treaty, or any condition, that shall compromise the honour, the liberty, and the independence, of the Haytian people. Faithful to our oath, we will rather bury ourselves under the ruin of our country, than suffer our political rights to sustain the slightest injury."

A language so decided, and so well-timed, had its proper influence upon the councils of France; and the obstacles, both physical and military, in the way of the conquest of St. Domingo, induced the French government to abandon an expedition prepared for that purpose, and preserved the inhabitants of that island from the galling influence of those chains, which French ambition and cupidity had forged for the colonists in the western islands of the Atlantic.

The first session of the restoration parliament of France closed its sittings on the 30th of December; and a review of its proceedings will serve to show, that much valuable time had been spent in the discussion of questions, that tended neither to promote the security of the throne, nor to advance the happiness of the

people: such was the question for restricting the liberty of the press, by placing censors over its operations. The salutary regulations introduced into the department of finance, appeared, on the contrary, calculated to retrieve the public credit, by affording facilities for the reduction of the debt already incurred, and by making provision against its future augmentation. In order to regulate the affairs of commerce, and to retrieve its drooping operation, the circle of representation was enlarged, by the creation of a commercial chamber; and the tides of the ocean, which had for years flowed in vain, were again made subservient to the prosperity of France. Whatever might be the feelings of the nation and of the army, the two chambers of legislation manifested their regard for the person and family of the sovereign, by voting a civil list, equal to that with which the crown was endowed under Louis XVI. and by an unanimous resolution to make the nation responsible for the debts incurred by her sovereign, during a long period of exile. Unhappily for the tranquillity of the state, the vital question regarding emigrant property, though frequently before the assembled legislators of France, was brought to no decision; and the indemnity of the clerical body for the confiscation of church property, made during the revolution, involved considerations too delicate to be submitted to the immediate consideration of the chambers.

The state of parties in France, as it appeared at the beginning of the year 1815, was such as to indicate the existence of wide differences in opinions and interest among large classes of the community; and although, in a well-established government, and among a people of sedate character and temperate feelings, it is found by experience, that such diversities may prevail without materially endangering the public tranquillity; yet under the rule of a dynasty restored, after a long intermission, by foreign troops, to the throne of a nation distinguished for the vehemence and promptitude of its emotions, there was sufficient reason to apprehend, that secret dissensions could not long subsist without bursting into a flame. In the military class in particular, who deeply felt the humiliation of the French arms, hitherto triumphant beyond example, the hostility to the reigning family was no longer disguised. A spirit of military enterprise still strongly predominated in the nation, and a recent ordinance, for the reduction of officers of all ranks, not actually employed, to half pay, combined with the recall of the Swiss guards to Paris, and the exclusion

* See Vol. I. Book III. p. 418.

† Dated, "Sans Souchi, the 15th of September, 1814, 11th year of independence, and the 4th of our reign."

of the old imperial guard from the capital swelled the mass of discontent. Both officers and soldiers, with scarcely any exceptions, retained a high sentimental attachment to the man who had so long led them to victory, and under whose banners, notwithstanding recent disasters, they fondly regarded themselves as destined to retrieve the honour and glory of their country. The imperial rank, which he had been still suffered to preserve, maintained his titular dignity; and his position at Elba, separated only by a narrow space of sea, kept him almost in view of the French shores, and allowed a ready intercourse with his numerous partizans.

The year, however, commenced in the French capital with those demonstrations of loyalty, which are always at the service of power, and which too frequently serve to lure sovereigns to their ruin. The municipal body of Paris ushered in the season of gratulation by an address to the king, in which the peculiar advantages of legitimate authority were eloquently expatiated upon, and his majesty was assured that all the subjects in his realm would cheerfully sacrifice their lives and fortunes for the maintenance of those blessings, which it was his felicity to confer, and their happiness to enjoy.

A religious service calculated to revive a recollection of the errors and crimes of the revolution, and by no means adapted to the temper of the times, was performed on the 21st of January, the anniversary of the execution of Louis XVI.* Two and twenty years had elapsed since that "deed without a name" was perpe-

trated; and the chief actors in the scene had long since perished, by that tempest which their own violence had raised. The retributive hand of providence, and the voice of surrounding nations, had already stamped this act with its appropriate character; and the ceremonial of re-interment was as uncalled for as it was impolitic. Suspicions had long been entertained, that a design existed to restore the principles of the ancient monarchy; and the official order for shutting up the theatres of Paris, on the day of re-interment, and for the introduction into the French liturgy of a service commemorative of the death of the royal martyr, served to encourage this apprehension. There was, indeed, nothing in the character of the king to justify such an opinion; but other branches of the royal family were supposed to have imbibed a greater portion of the maxims of prerogative, and many of the emigrant noblesse, and ecclesiastics, were known to have retained all the political feelings with which they left the country. If, on these accounts, the friends of constitutional liberty found reasonable grounds for withholding their confidence from the existing government, there were not wanting others, who, from factious motives, aggravated the public discontents, disseminating reports of designs to invalidate the purchase of national property, to effect the restoration of tythes, and to re-establish feudal and seigniorial rights, and from these causes, a mass of secret disaffection was engendered in the nation, which was ready to manifest itself whenever any superinducing cause should call it into action.

* DISINTERMENT OF LOUIS XVI. AND HIS ROYAL CONSORT.

"On the 18th of Jan. the Chancellor, Count de Blacas, and others, proceeded to the cemetery of the Magdaleine, now a garden, attached to the house of M. Descloiseaux. After causing the ground to be dug up by labourers, one of whom was present at the inhumation of the queen, a bed of lime, ten inches thick, was found, under which was discovered the mark of a bier about five and a half feet long, with several planks still sound; a great number of bones along this bier was carefully collected. Some were, however, wanting, which had, doubtless, been reduced to dust. The head was found entire, and the position in which it had been placed indicated with certainty that it had been detached from the body. Some remains of clothes were also found, and a pair of elastic garters, pretty well preserved, which were put aside to be presented to his majesty, along with two pieces of the bier. The bones were then placed in a box which had been brought for the purpose of receiving them, and the earth and lime which had been found along with the bones were deposited in another box.—To discover the remains of the king, next day the digging re-commenced, and some planks of a bier were found, but there was no bed of pure lime as about the bier of the queen. The earth and the lime appeared to have been purposely mixed. In the midst of the lime and the earth were found the bones of a male body; several of which being almost entirely corroded, were on the point of crumbling into dust. The head was covered with lime, and was found between two leg bones. This was the situation indicated as that of the head of Louis XVI.; no trace of any clothes could be found, nor could any complete bed of lime be discovered near the spot.

"The relics were then inclosed in a large box, which was fastened and sealed with the signet of the arms of France. The box was afterwards carried into the chamber where the remains of the queen had been deposited the day before, in order that the ecclesiastics already assembled might continue round the two bodies the prayers of the church, till the time fixed for placing them in leaden coffins, and for carrying them to the royal church of St. Denis, where they were finally entombed. Marshals Soult and Oudinot held the pall over the coffin of Louis XVI.; and the Presidents Barthelemy and Laine, over the coffin of the queen. But not among the least interesting assistants at the ceremony, were M. M. Hue, Desèze, and Descloiseaux. The first had remained constantly with the king till his death; the second had ably defended him at the bar of the convention; and the third had preserved, and watched over, his mortal remains."—*Moniteur*.

CHAPTER V.

THE SECOND REIGN OF THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON: *Introductory Matter: Exile—Return from Elba—Debarkation in the Gulf of Juan—Triumphal March from the Coast to the Capital—Departure of Louis XVIII.—His Arrival at Ghent—Unsuccessful Efforts to raise the Royal Standard in the South and West of France—Proceedings of the Congress at Vienna in consequence of the Return of Napoleon—Declaration of the 13th of March—Proceedings of the British Parliament—Coalition Treaty of the 25th of March—Pacific Overtures made by France—Letter of the Emperor Napoleon to the Sovereigns of Europe—Justificatory Manifesto of the French Government—Fidelity of some of the French Marshals to the Royal Cause—Death of Berthier—Napoleon's Ministry—Policy of his Government—Efforts to rouse the French Nation to resist the threatened Invasion of their Country—New Constitution, entitled Acte Additionnel aux Constitutions de l'Empire—Champ de Mai—Meeting of the Chambers—Speech of the Emperor at the Opening of the Session.*

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FROM a review of the proceedings of the government of Louis XVIII. and the causes of the dissatisfaction of his people, the mind is directed, by a natural transition, to the imperial exile of Elba. The departure of Napoleon from Fontainebleau, on the 20th of April, 1814, attended by the English, Russian, Austrian, and Prussian commissioners, afforded the troops, by whom he was surrounded, another opportunity of indicating their undiminished attachment to a leader, under whose banners they had attained so much glory, and in whose cause they had endured so many sufferings. The cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* which attended the departure of the imperial cavalcade, were reiterated in every town and village from Fontainebleau to Moulins, and the discontent of the populace at the presence of the commissioners, and the object of their journey, was expressed in the most unqualified terms of abuse.* At Lyons, which city Napoleon and his attendants passed through near midnight on the 23d, a few persons were assembled, and saluted him with the cry so familiar to his ears in the days of his prosperity. On the following day, Marshal Augereau crossed the emperor on his route at Valence, where an interview took place, in which Napoleon reproached Augereau for the asperity of his proclamation of the 16th,† and the marshal recri-

minated, by reminding the fallen monarch of that insatiable thirst for conquest to which he had sacrificed the fidelity of his friends, and the happiness of his country. In Valence, the troops belonging to Marshal Augereau's corps, though wearing white cockades, received the emperor with military honours, and their indignation was manifested in no equivocal terms towards the commissioners in his suite. Here, however, his triumphs ended; and his lacerated feelings were no longer soothed even with the homage of exclamations. At Avignon, on the morning of the 25th, a great concourse of persons were assembled, and the emperor and his attendants were saluted with cries of "*Vive le Roi! Vivent les Alliés! A bas Nicholas!† A bas le Tyran, le Coquin, le mauvais Gueux!*" and even still coarser abuse. The conduct of the populace at Orgon and Aix was equally insulting; at the former of these places, a gallows was erected exactly on the spot where the relays of horses stood, from which was suspended a figure, in French uniform, sprinkled with blood, bearing a paper upon its breast with this inscription:—

" Tel sera tot ou tard le sort du Tyran !"

These repeated demonstrations of popular indignation became so alarming, that Napoleon changed his dress in his carriage; soon after he

* Narrative of Napoleon Bonaparte's journey from Fontainebleau to Frejus, in April, 1814, by Count Truchses-Waldburg (Valdeburgh Fruchseis) attendant Prussian Commissary.

† See Vol. II. Book IV. p. 342.

‡ A name applied familiarly to Bonaparte, while he was a student at the college of Brienne, and revived as a term of opprobrium after his abdication, under an erroneous idea that *Nicholas* was actually his christian name. On this subject, his own writing, in the still existing registry of the second arrondissement of Paris, at the time of his first marriage in 1796, is pretty conclusive evidence—it is there written "*Napoléone.*"

left the town, and mounting a post horse, rode on before, in the character of a courier. At a small inn, on the other side of Orgon, the imperial suite stopped to dinner, and here, in a kind of chamber, the former ruler of the world was found by the commissioners, buried in thought, with his head resting upon his hand, and his countenance bedewed with tears.* An apprehension that the new government had determined to take away his life, continually haunted his imagination in the latter part of his journey, and after assuming various disguises, he quitted his own carriage entirely, and took a seat in a corner of General Koller's calèche.—When his mind had regained some degree of composure, he spoke freely of his political projects while he was Emperor of France; but now, according to his professions, every thing that could happen in the political world, was to him perfectly indifferent, and he felt extremely happy in anticipating the tranquil life which he should pass at Porto Ferrajo, far from the intrigues of courts, and in the full enjoyment of his scientific pursuits. Yes; the throne of Europe might now be safely offered to him, for he should reject it; this conduct of the French towards him had evinced such black ingratitude, as to entirely disgust him with the ambition of reigning.

On the morning of the 27th, the emperor and his train arrived in the neighbourhood of Frejus, when, finding himself under the protection of a body of Austrian troops, he again resumed his uniform, and once more occupied his own carriage. The *Undaunted*, an English frigate, under the command of Captain Usher, awaited his arrival, and on the evening of the 28th, he embarked on board that vessel in the harbour of St. Raphor, where fourteen years before he had landed on his return from Egypt. During the five days passed at sea, the manners of the emperor were unusually condescending and courteous; General Koller and Colonel Campbell, the two commissioners appointed to attend him to the island, were daily invited to his table, and he frequently expressed his regret at the scenes which they had been called to witness, during the latter days of his journey, through the instigation, as he imagined, of the French government. On the 3d of May, the *Undaunted* arrived off the coast of Elba, and on the following day the bee-studded flag† of the Elbese empire waved from the watch-towers of Porto Ferrajo. In answer to a congratula-

tory oration from the municipal body of his new capital, the emperor assured them, that “The mildness of the climate, and the gentle manners of the inhabitants of Elba, had induced him to select this alone of all his extensive possessions, in the hope, that the people would know how to estimate the distinction, and to love him as obedient children, while he should ever conduct himself towards them as a provident father and sovereign.”‡

The energies of the ever active mind of Napoleon were immediately applied to completing the fortifications of his capital, improving the public roads, and adding to the agricultural and mineralogical resources of the island. “His days,” says one of the attendants, “passed in the most pleasing occupations. All his hours were filled up. That indefatigable activity, which in other times he applied to the vast conceptions of genius, he employed in the island of Elba in studying the embellishments of the retreat which he had chosen. In the morning he shut himself up in his library. He often rose before the sun, and employed himself for several hours in study. About eight o'clock, he took some relaxation, visited the works he had projected, and spent a considerable time with his workmen, among whom he numbered many soldiers of the guards. Whatever might be the state of the weather, he repaired daily to his chateau at St. Martin; and there, as in the city, he was occupied with the interior management of his house, required an exact account of every thing, and entered into the smallest details of domestic and rural economy. Often, after breakfast, he reviewed his little army; required the greatest regularity in their exercises and manœuvres, and caused the strictest discipline to be observed. After the review, he mounted his horse for his morning ride, generally attended by Marshal Bertrand and General Drouet, and in his excursion frequently gave audience to those who met him. At dinner, all who were admitted to his table were treated with kindness and cordiality, and he seemed to have discovered the secret of enjoying the most intimate and familiar society without surrendering any part of his dignity. The evenings were usually dedicated to family parties.”

When the emperor received the visits of strangers, which frequently happened, he entered freely into conversation: Frequently he spoke of the last campaign—of his views and hopes—of the defection of his marshals—of the

* Count Truchsess-Waldburg's Narrative.

† The ancient and peculiar ensign of Elba was singularly well adapted to Bonaparte's situation, being no other than a wheel—an emblem of the vicissitudes of human life, borrowed by the Elbese from the Egyptian mysteries.

‡ General Koller's Narrative.

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capture of Paris; and of his abdication; on these topics he would descant with great earnestness, exhibiting, in rapid succession, traits of eloquence, of military genius, of indignation, and of inordinate self-estimation. The chief violence of his rage was directed against Marmont for the surrender of Paris; and against Augereau for the surrender of Lyons. For the allied troops, as compared with his own, he expressed the most profound contempt; the Prussians were the best, but he would beat even them with one-third their number. In the vexation of his heart, however, he did justice to Blücher: "*Ce vieux diable*," said he, "never gave me any rest. I beat him to-day—good, he attacked me to-morrow. I beat him in the morning—he was ready to fight again in the evening. He suffered enormous losses, and, according to all calculation, ought to have thought himself too happy to be allowed to retire unmolested, instead of which he immediately advanced upon me again; ah, *le vieux diable*!"

When the first impressions of novelty were effaced, Bonaparte's mind seems to have gradually subsided into a state bordering upon *ennui*. He grew corpulent, took less exercise, and slept more. But the discussions in the congress at Vienna regarding his future destiny, and the arrangement of the Italian states, particularly of those which had been awarded by the treaty of Fontainebleau to the empress and his son, soon roused him from this state of torpor. Hitherto he had evinced a decided predilection for the society of Sir Neil Campbell, the British accredited agent at Elba; he seemed to have nothing to conceal, and courted the strictest scrutiny; but having received a visit from some of his family and friends, who had just left Paris, and by whom the proceedings of the congress were reported, he became restless and dissatisfied. He now shunned the company of the British officer, and almost secluded himself from society. Often he would spend seven or eight hours in his closet, no one daring to intrude on his retirement; and at other times, he would wander on the shore with folded arms, and frequently with an unequal and agitated step. The embellishments of his capital, and the improvement of the island, were neglected, and almost forgotten; the discontents of the French people, which had now come to his knowledge, had awakened his slumbering ambition, and the incipient conspiracy to effect his restoration absorbed all his thoughts. The wheel of vicissitude was again in motion, and the mind of

Napoleon became intently fixed upon the progress of the rotation.

This striking alteration in the conduct of Napoleon, and the frequent intercourse which he had now opened with his friends in Leghorn, Florence, and other parts of Italy, was not concealed from the principal governments of Europe; and there is no doubt whatever but Sir Neil Campbell reported from time to time to his government all that appeared to him deserving of notice, as well in the island of Elba as on the neighbouring peninsula. It is impossible perhaps to conceive any situation in Europe less calculated for a place of security, or more favourable for conducting a conspiracy, than the island of Elba. That it was the place of Bonaparte's selection, as he informed the inhabitants on his first arrival among them, may be easily imagined; but that the allies should have acceded to such a choice cannot be so well accounted for. Situated in the vicinity of France, Spain, Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia, it afforded a centre of unrestricted communication with the principal scenes of his former usurpations; and that nothing might be wanting to give to Napoleon's genius for intrigue the most unbounded scope, a corvette was assigned him to keep up his communication with the ports of the Mediterranean, and no cruiser of any nation had a right to violate his flag. Colonel Sir Neil Campbell had indeed been allowed to remain either at Elba or Leghorn, after he had fulfilled the whole of his duty, which consisted in conveying the exile to his residence at Elba, but he was not permitted by the treaty to exercise over him any police whatever, not so much as to seize and detain him if he thought proper to quit the island.* Under circumstances so auspicious to his designs, the ramifications of the conspiracy soon became widely extended. On the course of the Seine, as well as on the banks of the lake of Geneva, the violet was the secret symbol by which the conspirators denoted their chief, and recognized each other. Rings of a violet colour, with the device, '*Elle reparaitra au printemps*,'† became fashionable. The ladies were dressed in violet-coloured silks; and the men displayed violet-coloured watch-strings. When they asked, '*Aimez vous la violette?*'‡ if the answer was simply '*Oui*,'§ it was inferred that the respondent was not a confederate, but if he exclaimed '*Eh bien*,'|| they recognized a brother, initiated in the secrets of the conspiracy, and completed the sentence by remarking, '*Elle reparaitra au printemps*.' These secret symbols, less important for their professed purpose of

* Speech of Lord Castlereagh in the House of Commons, April 7, 1815.

† It will re-appear in the spring.

‡ Are you fond of the violet.

§ Yes.

|| Ah! well.

secrecy, than as a romantic embellishment of conspiracy, calculated to excite the imagination, and peculiarly adapted in that respect to the French character, had been employed a year before by the partizans of the house of Bourbon. A royalist then sounded those of whom he entertained hopes by saying '*Deli;*' and if the answer was '*Vrance;*' the completion of the word showed the recognition of principle to be reciprocal.

Marshal Soult, who was at the head of the army in the capacity of minister-at-war, it was affirmed had already been initiated, and the divisional and regimental order-books and papers found on the field of Waterloo after the battle, give to this report an appearance of authenticity. From those documents it appears, that early in February all leaves of absence and furloughs were recalled, the rigour against desertion was redoubled, the regiments were directed to fill up their vacancies, even from the disbanded pensioners, and the officers and men were to hold themselves in readiness and full marching order for the first week in March; and all this note of preparation was on the pretence of some reviews or inspections, which were announced for that period. In the midst of this peril the Bourbons seemed to slumber at the Thuilleries, and, like all the other powers of Europe, to disregard the warning voice which was so often sounded in their ears. Early in the month of January offers are understood to have been received by M. Blacas, the minister, and favourite of his sovereign, to disclose a plot formed for the restoration of Bonaparte; but the proposal was received with contemptuous silence, and treated with reprehensible neglect. Were not the evidence of the fact incontestible, posterity would scarcely credit the assertion, that after the return of Napoleon, there were found in the bureau of the Abbé Montesquiou, the minister of the home department, several successive communications from Comte de Bontheilliers, prefect of the department of the Var, unread, and even unopened. The early part of these communications, which were dated in the month of January, informed the minister of the frequent departure and arrival of suspected persons to and from Elba, and the latter detailed the particulars of the plot, with the names of the partizans engaged in its execution. The object of these repeated dispatches from the prefect was to obtain instructions how to proceed, and in particular to request that an armed force might be dispatched to the south to arrest the progress of the conspirators; but the abbé was too intent upon restoring Paris to her ancient

place as the seat of the amusements and pleasures of Europe, to suffer his mind to be diverted from this grand pursuit by the less attractive duty of securing the crown of his sovereign.

The deliberations of the congress assembled at Vienna, in which Napoleon had begun to take so deep an interest, drew towards a close. The conduct of the exile had become the subject of correspondence between Lord Castlereagh and M. Talleyrand,* and it was supposed that the allied sovereigns, aware, at length, of the folly of placing him in the Isle of Elba, were deliberating upon the propriety of removing him to a situation more remote from his family and political connections, and less dangerous to the future tranquillity of Europe. These circumstances served to hasten the great catastrophe, and probably hurried the conspirators into action before their plans were fully ripe for execution. It is impossible to speak with precision of the extent of the conspiracy, or of the number of its agents, but the fact was soon placed beyond doubt, that the first step in the enterprise was the invasion of France by a handful of soldiers, and its ultimate object the possession of the throne of that kingdom.

The preparations made for the hazardous enterprise which was now preparing to burst upon an astonished world, formed a striking contrast, in their extent and duration, with the preparations made by the same personage some years before for the invasion of England. One day's notice was all that was deemed necessary, and the invading army, consisting only of four hundred guards, two hundred infantry, one hundred Polish light horse, and two hundred men of the flanking corps, constituting an army of nine hundred men,† embarked on board the *Inconstant*, of twenty-six guns; *L'Etoile* and *La Caroline*, bombarded; and four feluccas. The orders to embark were not received till one o'clock at noon; and at eight o'clock in the evening of the 26th of February, the expedition, with the emperor and his staff on board the *Inconstant*, sailed from Porto Ferrajo at the signal of a single gun, amidst the exclamations of—" *Paris ou la mort!*"—"Paris or Death!"

The night proved clear and favourable, and fortune seemed to smile on the enterprise. Sir Neil Campbell, the British commissary, was in Italy; no cruisers appeared in sight; and before the dawn of the following morning the adventurers hoped to double the cape of Capraia, and to be placed beyond the reach of the vessels which were known to be cruising on that station. But the wind, which was at the time of embark-

* Lord Castlereagh's Speech in the House of Commons, April 7, 1815.

† *Moniteur* of the 23d of March, 1815.

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ation from the south, and favourable, gradually died away, and at break of day on the 27th they had made only six leagues progress, and were yet between Capraia and Elba. The night, however, had not been wholly lost, for during the darkness the soldiers and the crew had changed the painting of the sides of the brig from yellow and grey to black and white, in order to escape the observation of those who might meet the vessel. The danger now became imminent, and the captain (Chautard) and part of the crew advised and urged the return to Porto Ferrajo; but Napoleon's resolution was not to be shaken; he ordered the flotilla to continue its voyage, determining in case of necessity to attack two French frigates and a brig, which now appeared in sight, which, however, it was thought would be more inclined to join than to oppose them. Towards noon the wind freshened, and at four o'clock in the afternoon they were off Leghorn, having escaped the observation of the cruisers. At six o'clock in the evening, the *Inconstant* perceived the *Zephyr*, Captain Andrieux, bearing down upon her, and made preparations for action; at first it was proposed to speak to the *Zephyr*, and require her to raise the tri-coloured standard, but it was afterwards thought better to pass her without being known, and the emperor ordered the soldiers to take off their caps, and to conceal themselves between the decks. More completely to lull suspicion, Captain Andrieux was hailed from the *Inconstant* by Lieutenant Taillade, who informed him that the vessel was bound from Elba to Genoa, and offered to undertake any commission which Captain Andrieux might have to execute at that place. This civility the captain declined, and at parting cried—"How's the emperor?" To which Napoleon himself exclaimed—"Wonderfully well!" and the ships, pursuing their opposite course, dropped away from each other. During the night of the 27th the wind continued to increase; and at day-light on the 28th the coast of Provence was in sight. Before this time some uncertainty hung over the destination of the expedition; but now all doubt was removed; and at three o'clock in the afternoon of the 1st of March the expedition came to anchor in the Gulph of Juan, near Antibes, in the department of the Var.

In the progress of the voyage, Napoleon, whose spirits never forsook him, talked without disguise of his present attempt, of his difficulties, his means, and his hopes: "In a case like this," said he, "one must think slowly, but act promptly; I have long weighed, and most maturely considered, the project. The glory and the advantages we shall gain, if we succeed,

I need not enlarge upon. If we fail—to military men, who have from their infancy faced death in so many shapes, the fate which awaits us is not terrific; we know, and we despise, for we have a thousand times been exposed to, the worst which fate can bring."* These were nearly the last words which he spoke before his little fleet came to anchor, and they were delivered with a more set phrase than usual, as a sort of final address to the companions of his great enterprise.

At five o'clock in the afternoon the disembarkation of the troops was completed, and Napoleon, being himself the last man to quit the vessel, exclaimed, with exultation, as he set his foot again on the territory of France—"Voilà le Congrès dessous"—"The Congress is dissolved." An officer, with five and twenty men, was now dispatched to secure the batteries upon the coast, but on approaching to Antibes the detachment was seized by General Corsin, the governor of that place, and made prisoners. From the time of the disembarkation till the rising of the moon at eleven o'clock at night, the invading army bivouacked upon the sea shore, in a vineyard surrounded by olive trees. At that hour, the emperor, placing himself at the head of his troops, advanced to Cannes, passing through Grasse to the village of Cérénon, at which place they arrived in the evening of the 2d, having already traversed a distance of twenty leagues. The re-appearance of Napoleon produced a mingled sentiment in the inhabitants of astonishment, fear, and joy. A scene of magical illusion, which the pen labours in vain to describe, every where presented itself. Crowds of unreflecting spectators hailed the re-appearance of the eagle; and in those very departments where, not twelve months before, Bonaparte had been obliged to assume a disguise to avert the fury of the populace, he now marched openly and without molestation at the head of a handful of men, with the avowed intention of overturning the throne of the reigning sovereign of France. This march was rather a triumph than an invasion. The population was permitted to count his feeble band, to approach his person, and to learn from his own mouth the object of his enterprise. On the 4th Napoleon dined at Digne, and on the 5th advanced to Gap. At this place two proclamations, dictated by Napoleon, and written on board the *Inconstant*, during his voyage from Elba, were printed and circulated. In these addresses every chord that vibrated to the national feeling was struck upon by the hand of a master; and every topic that could arouse the ardour of the army in his support, or withdraw the attachments of the people from their legitimate sovereign, was pressed into the service of the invader:—

* Narrative of Colonel Jermanouski, commander of the Polish Lancers, who accompanied Napoleon from Elba.

PROCLAMATION

TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

"NAPOLEON, by the grace of God and the constitution of the empire, Emperor of the French, &c. &c. &c. "*Bay of Juan, March 1, 1815.*

"Frenchmen!—The defection of the Duke of Castiglione delivered up Lyons, without defence, to our enemies; the army of which I confided to him the command, was, by the number of its battalions, the bravery and patriotism of the troops which composed it, fully able to beat the Austrian corps opposed to it, and to get into the rear of the left wing of the enemy's army, which threatened Paris.

"The victories of Champ Aubert, of Montmirail, of Chateau Thierry, of Vauchamp, of Mormans, of Montereau, of Craone, of Rheims, of Arcy-sur-Aube, and of St. Dizier; the rising of the brave peasants of Lorraine, of Champagne, of Alsace, of Franche Comte, and of Bourgoin; and the position which I had taken on the rear of the enemy's army, by separating it from its magazines, from its parks of reserve, from its convoys, and all its equipages; had placed it in a desperate situation. The French were never on the point of being more powerful, and the flower of the enemy's army was lost without resource: it would have found its grave in those vast countries which it had mercilessly ravaged, when the treason of the Duke of Ragusa gave up the capital and disorganized the army. The unexpected conduct of those two generals, who betrayed at once their country, their prince, and their benefactor, changed the destiny of the war. The disastrous situation of the enemy was such, that at the conclusion of the affair which took place before Paris, it was without ammunition, on account of its separation from its park of reserve.

"Under these new and important circumstances, my heart was rent, but my soul remained unshaken. I consulted only the interest of the country. I exiled myself on a rock in the middle of the sea. My life was, and ought to be, still useful to you. I did not permit the great number of citizens, who wished to accompany me, to partake my lot. I thought their presence useful to France; and I took with me only a handful of brave men, necessary for my guard.

"Raised to the throne by your choice, all that has been done without you is illegitimate. For twenty-five years France has had new interests, new institutions, and new glory, which could only be secured by a national government, and by a dynasty created under these new circumstances. A prince who should reign over you, who should be seated on my throne by the power of those very armies which ravaged our territory, would in vain attempt to support himself with the principles of feudal law: he would not be able to recover the honour and the rights of more than a small number of individuals, enemies of the people, who, for twenty-five years, have condemned them in all our national assemblies. Your tranquillity at home, and your consequence abroad, would be lost for ever.

"Frenchmen! In my exile I heard your complaints and your wishes; you demanded that government of your choice which alone was legitimate. You accused my long slumber; you reproached me for sacrificing to my repose the great interests of the country.

"I have crossed the seas in the midst of dangers of every kind: I arrive among you to resume my rights, which are yours. All that individuals have done, written, or said, since the capture of Paris, I will be for ever ignorant of: it shall not at all influence the recollections which I preserve of the important services which they have performed. These are circumstances of such a nature as to be above human organization.

"Frenchmen! There is no nation, however small it may be, which has not had the right, and which may not withdraw itself from the disgrace of obeying, a prince imposed on it by an enemy momentarily victorious. When Charles VII. re-entered Paris, and overthrew the ephemeral throne of Henry V. he acknowledged that he held his throne from the valour of his heroes, and not from a Prince Regent of England.

"It is thus that to you alone, and to the brave men of the army, I account it, and shall always account it, my glory, to owe every thing.

"By the Emperor, (Signed) "NAPOLEON.

"The grand-marshal performing the functions of major-general of the grand army, (Signed) "COUNT BERTRAND."

TO THE ARMY.

"NAPOLEON, by the grace of God and the constitution of the empire, Emperor of the French, &c. &c. &c. "*Gulf of Juan, March 1, 1815.*

"Soldiers!—We were not conquered: two men raised from our ranks betrayed our laurels, their country, their prince, their benefactor.

"Those whom during twenty-five years we have seen traversing all Europe to raise up enemies against us; who have passed their lives in fighting against us in the ranks of foreign armies, cursing our fine France; shall they pretend to command and controul our eagles, on which they have not dared ever to look? Shall we endure that they should inherit the fruits of our glorious labours—that they should clothe themselves with our honours and our goods—that they should calumniate our glory? If their reign should continue, all would be lost, even the memory of those immortal days. With what fury do they pervert their very nature! They seek to poison what the world admires; and if there still remain any defenders of our glory, it is among those very enemies whom we have fought on the field of battle.

"Soldiers! in my exile I heard your voice: I have arrived through all obstacles and all perils; your general, called to the throne by the choice of the people, and educated under your banners, is restored to you: come and join him.

"Tear down those colours which the nation has proscribed, and which for twenty-five years served as a rallying signal to all the enemies of France: mount the cockade tri-color: you bore it in the days of our greatness.

"We must forget that we have been masters of nations; but we must not suffer any to intermeddle in our affairs.

"Who shall presume to be master over us? 'Who would have the power? Recover those eagles which you had at Ulm, at Austerlitz, at Jena, at Eylau, at Friedland, at Tudela, at Eckmuhl, at Rastatt, at Wagram, at Smolensk, at Moscow, at Lutzen, at Vurken, at Montmirail. Do you think that the handful of Frenchmen, who are now so arrogant, will endure to look on them? They shall return whence they came, and there if they please they shall reign as they pretend to have reigned during nineteen years. Your possessions, your rank, your glory, the possessions, the rank, the glory of your children, have no greater enemies than those princes whom foreigners have imposed upon us; they are the enemies of our glory, because the recital of so many heroic actions, which have glorified the people of France fighting against them, to withdraw themselves from their yoke, is their condemnation.

"The veterans of the armies of the Sambre and the Meuse, of the Rhine, of Italy, of Egypt, of the West, of the grand army, are all humiliated: their honourable wounds are disgraced; their successes were crimes: those heroes were rebels, if, as the enemies of the people pretend, the legitimate sovereigns were in the midst of the foreign armies.

"Honours, rewards, affection, are given to those who have served against the country and us.

"Soldiers! come and range yourselves under the standards of your chief; his existence is only composed of yours; his rights are only those of the people and yours; his interest, his honour, his glory, are no other than your interest, your honour, and your glory. Victory shall march at the charge-step: the eagle, with the national colours, shall fly from steeple to steeple, even to the towers of Notre-Dame. Then you will be able to show your scars with honour; then you will be able to glory in what you have done; you will be the deliverers of the country. In your old age, surrounded and esteemed by your fellow-citizens, they will hear you with respect while you recount your high deeds; you will be able to say with pride:—'And I, too, was part of that grand army, which entered twice the walls of Vienna, those of Rome, of Berlin, of Madrid, of Moscow; and which delivered Paris from the foul blot which treason and the press had the enemy imprinted on it.'

"Honoured be those brave soldiers, the glory of the country; and eternal shame to those guilty Frenchmen, in whatever rank fortune caused them to be born, who fought for twenty-five years with the foreigner, to tear the bosom of the country.

"By the Emperor, (Signed) "NAPOLEON.

"The grand-marshal performing the functions of major-general of the grand army, (Signed) "BERTRAND."

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Five days after the debarkation, General Cambronne, with a small advanced-guard of forty men, met the advanced-guard of a division of six thousand men at Mure, coming from Grenoble to arrest the progress of the emperor. Cambronne, aware of the weakness of his force, demanded a parley, but though all communication was refused, the royal troops fell back three leagues, and placed themselves in the pass. Undismayed by the threatened resistance of a force amounting to eight hundred men, Napoleon advanced, followed by about fifty of his grenadiers with arms reversed. Advancing to the right of the battalion, which appeared only to be waiting the command of its officer to fire upon him, he threw open his outer coat, and presenting his breast, exclaimed:—"Soldiers, you have been told that I fear death; if there be among you one soldier who would kill his emperor, let him plunge his bayonet into his bosom!" The effect was instantaneous; the arms of the soldiers were hurled to the ground; the guard and the soldiers embraced each other; and the air resounded with cries of "*Vive l'Empereur*." Napoleon had thus placed his life and his destinies in the hands of the army, and the experiment proved that their attachment remained unaltered. The tri-coloured cockade was soon assumed by the new reinforcements, who ranged themselves around the imperial eagles amidst the acclamations of the Elbese army, and the shouts of the populace. On the way to Grenoble, Colonel Henry Labedoyère, who had lately received his appointment from the king, accompanied by the decoration of the legion of honour, arrived at the head of the 4th regiment of hussars, carrying an eagle, and joined the ranks of the emperor. The garrison of Grenoble had been augmented by a part of the 7th and 11th regiments of the line, sent from Chamberri, and selected for this service because they were unacquainted with the emperor's person, and would, it was supposed, be proof against all seduction. General Marchand, the commander of the place, was faithful to the king, and had placed his whole force on the ramparts, with the cannon loaded, and the matches lighted; but the cannoniers, instead of firing as they were ordered, extinguished their matches, and joined the garrison and the inhabitants in attempts to beat down the gates for the purpose of admitting the invaders.* The mayor and civil authorities now

presented themselves, and offered their services to conduct the emperor to the Government-House; but he walked into an hotel kept by an old soldier of the guard, and was for some time completely lost to his staff, in the midst of a crowd who were thronging about him in every direction. During this period, the gates of Bonne, of which General Marchand had taken the key, were brought and laid under the window of the inn by a vast body of the inhabitants, who exclaimed—"Napoleon, we could not offer you the keys of your good town of Grenoble, but here are the gates." General Marchand, who had been arrested by the seditious soldiery, was now brought before him. Indignant at the insult which had been offered to this gallant officer, Napoleon ordered him to be immediately released, and pressed him to re-assume the command of the town: "I may appeal to yourself," replied the general, "that I once served you faithfully: your abdication released me from my allegiance to you, and I have since sworn fidelity to the Bourbons; here is my sword, I can submit to become a prisoner, but I can never be a traitor." "Take back your sword, general," said Napoleon, "You have hitherto used it like a true soldier, and I respect you too much to urge you to use it in any way which your conscience would disapprove. You are at liberty to depart."

The next day, the garrison of Grenoble, with Napoleon at their head, marched towards Lyons, having hoisted their tri-coloured cockades, which were found sewed in the bottom of their knapsacks, and which they presented to the emperor, exclaiming, "They are the same which we wore at Austerlitz and Marengo."—The defection of the garrison of Grenoble had placed Bonaparte at the head of a well appointed army of ten thousand men, and the disposition which had been shown towards him, assured him of the affection and co-operation of all who might be sent to oppose his march. Napoleon now got into an open carriage, which generally went at a foot pace, and was not unfrequently impeded in his route by the crowds, who pressed by his side and loaded it with flowers and congratulatory addresses or petitions. The carriage was sometimes attended by a few hussars, and at others was without a single guard, and frequently two or three leagues distance from the main body of the troops.

The utmost celerity, courage, and address,

* At the close of the chapter will be found a copy of a medal struck at the mint in Paris on the return of Napoleon to France, and commemorative of the events now under review; on the obverse of which is exhibited the flight of the imperial eagle from Elba to the coast of Provence; and on the reverse the reception given to the emperor by the citizens and soldiers of France. The second restoration of the Bourbons consigned to destruction the dies from which were produced this personification of one of the most extraordinary passages in history; and already these medals have become so scarce, that an impression on bronze, not intrinsically worth five shillings, is valued by the dealers at twenty times that sum.

on the side of Napoleon, might have failed to re-establish the imperial throne, had there not been an excess of delay, imbecility, and weakness, on the part of the court of Louis. It was not till the 5th of March that the debarkation in the Gulf of Juan was known at the Thuilleries; and the annunciation of this appalling fact was not made to the inhabitants of Paris till the 7th, when the *Moniteur* contained a proclamation convening the chambers; and an ordonnance of the king denouncing Napoleon Bonaparte and his adherents as traitors, and authorising all the military and civil authorities, or even private citizens, to bring him before a council of war, which, on proof of his identity, was to punish him with death. The first impression of the court was a mingled feeling of astonishment and contempt; but when the report of every succeeding day proved that Napoleon advanced without resistance, and that his army, like the dreadful avalanche of the Alps, increased at every step—that every town which he approached, exultingly opened to him its gates, and that the people too frequently united with the soldiers in acknowledging him as the new master of France, ridicule gave way to serious reflection, and reflection to alarm. Monsieur, with the Duke of Orleans, and Count Damas, set out without delay to Lyons; and the Duke of Angoulême was ordered to proceed from Bourdeaux to Nîmes. The municipal body of Paris assembled and voted an address to the king, and the inhabitants professed an attachment to the Bourbon race, whose death itself could alone dissolve. That these loyal sentiments might not be suffered to evaporate in mere professions, registers were opened in the different districts of the metropolis for the enrolment of volunteers, and in less than three days the numbers were swelled to forty thousand men! On the 8th, sixty-nine deputies met in virtue of the royal summons; and on the following day, when the peers assembled, both chambers presented to his majesty addresses, abounding with assurances of loyalty and personal devotion. Marshal Soult, whose attachment to his old master began now to be strongly suspected, resigned his office on the 11th, and Marshal Clarke, Duke of Feltre, succeeded to the war department. From every part of the country, the deputies, on their arrival in Paris, brought the most consolatory accounts of the spirit of the departments, and the army of the usurper was stated, on official authority, to be reduced to four thousand men. Even the king's ministers contributed to the popular delusion, and three days after Monsieur had been driven from Lyons, the Duke of Feltre, the new minister of war, concluded a speech full of cheering prospects, by assuring the peers of France, that all the accounts from the army

were perfectly satisfactory. Of one portion of the army, indeed, this assurance was true, for Colonel Lefebvre Desnouettes, who had attempted to seduce the regiment of royal chasseurs from their duty, and to lead them into the neighbourhood of Lyons to join their former master, was defeated in his intention by the fidelity of his troops, and obliged to seek his own safety in flight.

On the 9th Napoleon slept at Bourgoïn; and on the same day, Monsieur, the Duke of Orleans, and the Count Damas, arrived at Lyons, where they were joined by Marshal Macdonald. Their first care was to assemble the national guard, reinforce the garrison, and barricade the bridges of the Rhone. The efforts of the Duc d'Artois to attack the soldiery and the people to the royal cause, were totally unavailing; his kindness and his caresses were received in silence, or rudely repulsed. The soldiers drew back, even from the proffered hand of their royal general, who asked them, in accents of grief, "What he had done to lose, and what he could do to regain their favour?" The advanced-guard of Napoleon's army reached the suburb of La Guilloterie on the 10th, when Marshal Macdonald, placing himself at the head of two battalions of infantry, proceeded against them. On crossing the bridge that led to the suburb, they were met by a reconnoitring party of the 4th hussars, which had joined Napoleon at Grenoble; the troops on each side rushed forward—not to fight, but to embrace. Macdonald precipitated himself among them; but his menaces and his intreaties were alike unheard; the king's troops, forgetful of their allegiance, joined in casting the barricades into the Rhone, and ranged themselves under the standard of the invader. It was now evident that all was lost; the prince and the marshal retired from the town, and at nine o'clock in the evening the emperor made his triumphal entry into the second city in France. The next morning Napoleon reviewed the garrison, as well as the mounted national guard, composed chiefly of Lyonnais nobles, who, after a thousand protestations of devotion, in the morning of the preceding day, had suffered Monsieur to quit the city in the evening attended only by a single dragoon. These faithless servants of the Bourbons, conceiving that they had recommended themselves to the emperor by the dereliction of their duty towards the rival family, solicited permission to form his body guard, Napoleon, in answer to this application forms one of the extraordinary traits of character, which distinguish, and are recorded of, his progress to the capital: "Your conduct towards the Comte d'Artois," replied he, "tells me how you would behave to me in case of a reverse. I thank you for your

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offer—but you will return immediately to your homes.” To complete this act of magnanimity, the dragoon who had accompanied the prince was rewarded with the cross of the legion of honour, on the arrival of Napoleon at Paris.—In the same spirit, Napoleon said to the municipal authorities, “We should forget that we have been masters of nations—my rights are those of the people alone—of all that individuals have done, written, or said, since the taking of Paris, I shall for ever remain ignorant.”

At Lyons Napoleon remained till the 13th, and on the day of his departure, dated from that city a number of decrees, in which he assumed the imperial title, and considered himself as again in possession of the throne.* During his stay at Lyons, he mixed with the people in the streets, and in their public assemblies, with the same unsuspecting confidence which had marked his former progress, and which was no less apparent in his further advance to the capital. Macon, Autun, and Avalon, each, on successive days, witnessed and contributed to his triumphant progress; and on the 17th he arrived at Auxerre.

The rapid advance of Napoleon, and the daily increase of his army, served to awaken the court of Louis to a sense of their danger; and preparations were made to collect a formidable army at Melun, between Fontainebleau and Paris, to check the progress of the invaders in front; while Marshal Ney, who had been dispatched to Lons-le-Saulnier, where an army was

stationed amounting to fourteen thousand men, was directed to fall upon his rear. This officer, in an effusion of loyalty, had repaired to the Tuilleries on the 9th, and besought his sovereign to employ him in the “impious war, waged against his throne by the brigand arrived from the island of Elba;” and half drawing his sword from the scabbard, he pledged himself, on forfeiture of his head, to bring the invader to Paris dead or alive; adding, “that he deserved to be brought in an iron cage.” The violence of the marshal’s zeal, which ought rather to have excited suspicion than conciliated confidence, procured for him the command of the army, and on the 12th, while the emperor was yet at Lyons, he arrived at Lons-le-Saulnier. Having assembled his staff and harangued them in favour of the royal cause, with all the energy of his character; a large majority of the officers maintained a cold and obstinate silence; but it was easy to trace on their clouded brows their determination to enrol themselves under the imperial eagle; others, discontented, yet irresolute, wavered between their inclinations and their oaths; and a small number repeated their protestations of fidelity to the royal cause. During the night some emissaries of Bonaparte arrived, and were introduced to Marshal Ney. They delivered to him letters from Marshal Bertrand, which painted in the most gloomy colours the hopeless situation of the king, and the certainty of Napoleon’s success. They assured him, that

* Substance of the Decrees issued by Napoleon at Lyons, on the 13th of March, 1815.

All the changes effected in the Court of Cassation and other Tribunals, are declared null and void.

All emigrants, who have entered the French service since the 14th of April, are removed, and deprived of their new honours.

The White Cockade, the Decoration of the Lily, and the Orders of St. Louis, St. Esprit, and St. Michael, are abolished.

The National Cockade and the Tri-coloured Standard to be hoisted in all places.

The Imperial Guard is re-established in all its functions, and is to be recruited by men who have been not less than twelve years in the service.

The Swiss Guard is suppressed, and exiled twenty leagues from Paris.

All the household troops of the King are suppressed. All the property appertaining to the house of Bourbons is sequestrated.

All the property of the emigrants restored since the first of April, and which may militate against the national interest, is sequestrated.

The two Chambers of the Peers and Deputies are dissolved, and the Members are forthwith to return to their respective homes.

The laws of the Legislative Assembly are to be enforced. All feudal titles are suppressed.

National rewards will be decreed to those who distinguish themselves in war or in the arts and sciences.

All the emigrants who have entered France since the first of January, 1814, are commanded to leave the empire.

All promotions in the Legion of Honour conferred by Louis are null and of no effect, unless they be made in favour of those who deserve well of their country.

The change in the decoration of the Legion of Honour is null and of no effect. All its privileges are re-established.

The Electoral Colleges are convoked to meet at Paris, in May next, in an Assembly extraordinary of the *Champ de Mai*, to new model the Constitution, according to the interests and will of the nation; and at the same time to assist in the Coronation of the Empress and the King of Rome.

the emperor had concerted this enterprise with Austria, through the mediation of General Koller—that the empress and her son were already on their road to Paris—that England had conspired at Napoleon's escape—and that Murat advanced triumphantly on the side of Italy, to assist in the re-erection of the imperial throne. It was added, that Napoleon had for ever renounced his projects of ambitious government and universal dominion, and wished now to reign for the happiness of France alone. The marshal was shaken; his country, in the person of the king, had exacted an oath of fidelity; his country, in the person of the emperor, absolved him from his allegiance. This sophism led him astray, and he determined to swell the number of the partizans of Napoleon. This flagitious act of perfidy, which will consign the name of Ney to the execration of posterity, was consummated by the following proclamation, issued by the marshal from his head-quarters at Lons-le-Saulnier, on the 13th of March:—

“OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS! The cause of the Bourbons is for ever lost. The legitimate dynasty which the French nation adopted is about to re-ascend the throne. To the Emperor Napoleon, our sovereign, it alone belongs, to reign over our fine country.—Of what consequence is it to us, whether the *noblesse* of the Bourbons again expatriate themselves, or consent to live in the midst of us? The sacred cause of liberty and of our independence will no longer suffer under their fatal influence. They wished to degrade our military glory; but they have been deceived. That glory is the fruit of attempts too noble to permit us ever to lose its remembrance.—Soldiers! Those times are gone by when the people were governed by the suffocation of their rights; at length liberty triumphs, and Napoleon, our august emperor, is about to confirm it for ever. Hereafter shall that noble cause be ours, and that of all Frenchmen! A truth so grand, must penetrate the hearts of those brave men whom I have the honour to command.—Soldiers! I have often led you to victory; now I lead you to join that immortal phalanx with which the Emperor Napoleon approaches Paris, and which will be here within a few days; then our hopes and our happiness will be for ever realized.—*Vive l'Empereur!*”

The day on which the above proclamation appeared, the army under Marshal Ney quitted Lons-le-Saulnier, and on the 17th united themselves with the imperial troops at Auxerre.—From Auxerre Napoleon advanced to Fontainebleau, and on the morning of the 20th he reviewed a regiment of lancers, in that courtyard in which, eleven months before, he had bid adieu to his army and to France. At seven o'clock intelligence arrived that the king had left Paris at one o'clock in the morning of that day, and at mid-day his successor quitted Fontainebleau, with the determination to occupy the vacant throne. In addition to the troops of Elba, Grenoble, Lyons, and Lons-le-Saulnier, Napoleon's force had been swelled by a large body of officers of every rank, who, since his

entry into Grenoble, had from all quarters joined the old guard, and formed themselves into “a sacred battalion.” The decisive moment was now approaching, and on the side of the Bourbons the rencontre was expected on the declining plains of Melun, where the national guard of one hundred thousand men under the Duc de Berri, with Marshal Macdonald as his lieutenant, were drawn up *en etages*, in three lines; the intervals and the flanks armed with batteries, and the centre occupying the road to Paris. An awful silence, broken only at intervals by peals of martial music, intended to confirm the loyalty of the royal troops, by repeating the airs “*Héti Quatre*,” and “*La Belle Gabrielle*,” or by the voice of the commanders, and the march of the divisions to their appointed ground, pervaded the king's army. All was anxious expectation. On the side of Fontainebleau, no sound as of an army rushing to battle was heard. If the enemy advanced, he evidently moved in silence, and the hope began to prevail, that his courage had failed him, and that he had retreated during the night. At length, a light trampling of horses became audible. An open carriage, attended by a few hussars and dragoons, appeared on the skirts of the forest of Fontainebleau; it drove down the hill with the rapidity of lightning, and reached the advanced posts before the surprise occasioned by its appearance had subsided—“*Vive l'Empereur!*” burst from the astonished soldiery—“*Napoleon—Napoleon le grand!*” spread from rank to rank; for bare-headed, Bertrand seated at his right, and Drouet at his left, Napoleon continued his course, and passing through the opening ranks of the royal army, reached Paris at nine o'clock at night, and re-ascended the throne of the French empire.

“The journey of Bonaparte,” it has been well observed, “from Cannes to Paris, is without parallel in history, and much beyond the limits of probable fiction. Every soldier sent against him joined his force. Where resistance seemed for a moment to be threatened, it was disarmed by the sound of his voice. The ascendant of a victorious leader over soldiers; the talent of moving armed multitudes by a word; the inextinguishable attachment of an army to him in whom glory is concentrated and embodied; were never before so brilliantly and tremendously exemplified. Civilized society was never before so terribly warned of the force of those military virtues, which are the greatest of civil vices. In twenty days he found himself quietly seated on the throne of France, without having spilt a drop of blood. The change had no resemblance to a revolution in an European country, where great bodies of men are interested in the preservation of authority,

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and where every body takes some interest for or against political mutation. It had nothing of the violence of popular revolt. It was a bloodless and orderly military sedition. In the levity with which authority was transferred, it bore some resemblance to an Oriental revolution; but the total absence of those great characteristic features, the murder or imprisonment of princes, destroy the likeness. It is, in short, an event of which the scene could have been laid, by a romance writer bold enough to have imagined it, in no other time and country than France in the year 1815.*

Before the departure of the king, he issued a proclamation, declaring, that since, from the defection of part of the army, he could not defend his capital, he would proceed to some distance to collect forces, and would soon return into the midst of his people, to whom he would once more bring peace and happiness.† Of all the armies of France, the household troops alone, amounting to about two hundred in number, accompanied their fugitive sovereign. Along the whole line of his retreat, which was directed first to Abbeville, and afterwards to Lille, he was attended by the sympathies of the people, but in none of the numerous places on his route were the feelings in his favour sufficiently ardent to arouse his subjects to arms. At Ghent, to which he finally retired, he was almost daily joined by officers from France, and numbers of the most distinguished emigrants evinced their unalterable attachment, by again

identifying their fate with their sovereign's.—The Duchess d'Angouleme was at Bourdeaux, where the same interest which had led to the surrender of that city twelve months before, warmly espoused the royal cause, and prepared for a vigorous resistance; but on the approach of General Clausel, a division arose among the inhabitants; and after some bloodshed, the duchess, who had displayed the character of a heroine, was obliged to quit the country, and, on the 1st of April, she embarked on board an English frigate for Spain. The duke, her husband, less fortunate, had collected a body of partizans, and held possession for several days of Montpellier and Nismes; but on the 11th of April he was surrounded by the imperial troops under General Gilly, and obliged to capitulate, on condition that the lives and property of his followers should be secured, and that safe conveyance should be afforded him to Certe, from whence he was to be left at liberty to embark either for England or Spain. General Grouchy, the military commander in Dauphiny, conceiving that General Gilly had exceeded his powers, declined to ratify this convention, till instructions were received from Paris; but on the following day a letter was dispatched by the emperor, directing that the Duke of Angouleme should be conducted in safety to Certe, where he was embarked, having previously engaged to obtain the restitution of the crown diamonds, which had been conveyed from Paris, under the authority of a *procès verbal*.‡

* Edinburgh Review.

† PROCLAMATION !—" Louis, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, to our trusty and well-beloved the peers of France, and the deputies of the departments:—

" Divine Providence, who recalled us to the throne of our fathers, now permits that this throne should be shaken by the defection of a part of the armed force who had sworn to defend it. We might avail ourselves of the faithful and patriotic dispositions of the immense majority of the inhabitants of Paris, to dispute the entrance into it of the rebels: but we shudder at the calamities of every description which a combat within its walls would bring upon the inhabitants.

" We retire with a few brave men, whom intrigue and perfidy will not succeed in detaching from their duties; and since we cannot defend our capital, we will proceed to some distance to collect forces, and to seek at another point of the kingdom, not for subjects more loving and faithful than our good Parisians, but for Frenchmen more advantageously situated to declare themselves for the good cause.

" The existing crisis will subside into a calm. We have the soothing presentiment, that those misled soldiers, whose defection exposes our subjects to so many dangers, will soon discover their error, and will find, in our indulgence, and in our affection, the recompense of their return to their duty.

" We will soon return into the midst of this good people, to whom we shall once more bring peace and happiness."

[Then follows an ordinance, declaring the session of the chamber of peers and the chamber of deputies at an end, and convoking a new session to meet at the soonest possible period, in the place which the king shall point out as the provisional seat of his government.]

" Given at Paris the 19th of March, in the year of our Lord, 1815, and the 20th of our reign.

" By the King,

(Signed)

" The Chancellor of France.

(Counter-signed)

" LOUIS.

" DAMBRAY."

‡ The estimated amount of the crown jewels, was 13,894,046 francs—the regent diamond, alone valued at six millions, was among the missing property, none of which was restored to the Master of the Treasuries till the second restoration of the Bourbons.

In the west, the Duke of Bourbon, the most popular of all the French princes, with the exception of the Duke of Orleans, endeavoured to rouse the dormant spirit of the friends of loyalty in La Vendée, and vast numbers of the inhabitants ranged themselves under the royal banners; but it was discovered in sufficient time to prevent the effusion of blood, that it was in vain to oppose these raw and undisciplined levies against the veteran troops of France, and the duke, consenting to accept safe conduct for himself and forty of his officers, proceeded to Nantes, whence he embarked for England.

After four months of deliberation, the representatives of the European powers assembled at Vienna had closed their sittings; and the sovereigns had announced their intended departure for their respective capitals, when the intelligence of the landing of Napoleon at Frejus renewed, rather than dissolved, the congress. The departure of the exile from Elba was known at Vienna on the 7th of March, but it was not till after four days of suspense and anxiety that his ultimate destination was ascertained. In this emergency the congress was again assembled; and on the 13th of March, a declaration was published by that august body, by which it was declared, that "Napoleon Bonaparte," by thus breaking the convention which had established him in the island of Elba, had placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations, and had rendered himself liable to public vengeance as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world. It was further declared, that the powers who had signed the treaty of

Paris of the 30th of March, 1814, were resolved to maintain entire the dispositions sanctioned by that treaty, and that they would employ all their means, and unite all their efforts, to preserve the peace so happily concluded, and to provide against every attempt which should threaten to replunge the world into the disorders and miseries of revolutions.*

The arrival of this declaration in Great Britain produced a powerful sensation: on the one hand, it was hailed as a pledge and a most unequivocal avowal on the part of the allied powers of their determination to resist the re-establishment of Napoleon on the throne of France; and on the other, it was stigmatized as a document intemperate in its language, and calculated to sanction the horrible doctrine of assassination, disgracefully leaguings the stiletto of the bravo with the sword of the soldier.

In the British parliament, which was then assembled, the escape of Napoleon, and his arrival in Paris, was brought under discussion early in the month of April; and the conduct of ministers was severely censured; first, for having placed him in so insecure a situation as the island of Elba; and secondly, for having shown a reprehensible negligence in suffering him to escape, and re-plunge the nations of Europe into that war with which they were again menaced. The favourable terms granted to Napoleon by the treaty of Fontainebleau were justified by ministers, on the ground, that at the period when that treaty was concluded, Napoleon was not in so hopeless a situation as had been represented in this country. He was re-

* DECLARATION.

"The powers who have signed the treaty of Paris, assembled at the Congress of Vienna, being informed of the escape of Napoleon Bonaparte, and of his entrance into France with an armed force, owe it to their own dignity, and the interest of social order, to make a solemn declaration of the sentiments which this event has excited in them.

"By thus breaking the convention which had established him in the island of Elba, Bonaparte destroys the only legal title on which his existence depended; and, by appearing again in France, with projects of confusion and disorder, he has deprived himself of the protection of the law, and has manifested to the universe that there can be neither peace nor truce with him.

"The powers consequently declare, That Napoleon Bonaparte has placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations; and that, as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world, he has rendered himself liable to public vengeance.

"They declare at the same time, that, firmly resolved to maintain entire the treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814, and the dispositions sanctioned by that treaty, and those which they have resolved on, or shall hereafter resolve on, to complete and to consolidate it, they will employ all their means, and will unite all their efforts, that the general peace, the object of the wishes of Europe, and the constant purpose of their labours, may not again be troubled; and to provide against every attempt which shall threaten to replunge the world into the disorders and miseries of revolutions.

"And although entirely persuaded that all France, rallying round its legitimate sovereign, will immediately annihilate this last attempt of a criminal and impotent delirium, all the Sovereigns of Europe, animated by the same sentiments, and guided by the same principles, declare, that if, contrary to all calculations, there should result from this event any real danger, they will be ready to give to the King of France and to the French nation, or to any other government that shall be attacked, as soon as they shall be called upon, all the assistance requisite to restore public tranquillity, and to make a common cause against all those who should undertake to compromise it.

"The present declaration, inserted in the register of the congress assembled at Vienna on the 13th of March, 1815, shall be made public.

"Done and attested by the plenipotentiaries of the high powers who signed the treaty of Paris, Vienna, March 13, 1815."

Here follow the signatures in the alphabetical order of the courts:—

Austria.....Prince Metternich	Great Britain Clancarray	Russia.....Count Rasumowsky
Baron Wessenberg	Cathcart	Count Staeckelberg
France.....Prince Talleyrand	Stewart	Count Nesselrode
The Duke of Dalberg	Portugal.....Count Pamella Saldanha Lobe	Spain.....F. Gomez Labrador
Latour du Pin	Prussia.....Prince Hardenberg	Sweden....Laemnhelm.
Great Britain Wellington	Baron Humboldt	

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turning towards Paris with the mass of his army when that capital surrendered, and was still at the head of a considerable number of troops prepared to act warmly in his support; and in fact, that the spirit and temper of the whole French army were such, that the allies could not, without the risk of a civil war, resist the claims put forth in favour of the deposed sovereign. With respect to the situation of Elba, the arrangements having been made before Lord Castlereagh, the British minister, arrived in France, he had no option. It was also stated, that by the treaty of Fontainebleau, the sovereign of Elba was considered independent, and if he thought proper to quit the island, the allies possessed no right to seize or arrest him; and had the whole British navy been present when he sailed they could not have detained him without a violation of the treaty.* The next point at issue regarded the policy or necessity of going to war for the purpose of again expelling Napoleon from the throne of France. On the one side, the present elevation of the emperor was considered as the act only of the military, not of the people, of France. The justice of the war against Bonaparte arose from his resumption of the French government in direct violation of a solemn treaty. He had returned to France when the allies were united in inclination and in means, and it was therefore wise to make an immediate effort to crush the mischief at once, and not to afford him time to re-create his army, and establish his former power. The alternative of war or a feverish state of peace alone existed—a peace with a war establishment. Economy ought certainly to be considered in the present state of our finances, but as peace, with a peace establishment, was entirely out of the question, economy itself would prescribe the policy to seize the present moment, and, by striking a prompt and effectual blow, to bring the contest to a speedy conclusion. The war was entered upon from no motive of ambition, but solely for the general security of Europe. No wish existed to injure France, or to dictate a government to that nation. The re-establishment of the Bourbons was certainly an object every way desirable, but every nation had a right to choose its own government, and no foreign power ought to interfere with such a choice. The nations of Europe could say to France, not what government she should have, but what government she should not have. This distinction was clear and evident, and the right was manifest, as the conditions of peace had been more favourable on account of the estab-

lishment of a government whose character and good faith enabled Europe to look for repose.† No man could confide in the security of a peace made with Bonaparte. What country, during the last ten or twelve years, had sought peace or safety by treaty with him, that had not found itself visited by the highest aggravations of the very evils it had attempted to ward off? Even the very act which occasioned the present crisis was one of the strongest examples of his faithlessness and ambition which his life had afforded, and neither age nor adversity seemed able to cure in him these vices. Louis was the victim of peace; the sacrifice of his good faith. It was because he was the friend of peace, that a soldiery accustomed to rapine, and raised by their former chief to principalities and powers, carved out of the just rights of the people, were discontented, and desired no monarch but a general prepared to renew the work of spoliation.‡ Bonaparte was not the object of the choice of the French people; he only pretended to give them liberty to answer his own selfish purposes; no treaty would bind him; under him all France was corrupted; and it was impossible to confirm in the heart of Europe a military domination, founded on a triumph over civil rights, without endangering the liberties of the world. To sanction a system founded on the violation of oaths, and the dethroning of sovereigns, would be a degradation to the honour of England; it would lower us in the estimation of surrounding nations; and when we ceased to be the first we must be the last; when we descended from our exalted rank we must become nothing.§

It was on the other hand contended, that the personal character of a sovereign was no just ground for war. The mere existence of an ambitious and warlike prince might suggest precautionary measures, but could not justify actual hostilities. Allowing that no change was to be looked for from the disposition of Bonaparte, was none to be expected from his policy? He was charged with a breach of the treaty of Fontainebleau, but had the allies themselves fulfilled their engagements towards him, and towards his family? He was represented as not being supported by the people of France, yet had he made his way from the coast to the capital, a distance of upwards of five hundred miles, without a single arm being lifted against him. Was it not plain that he was the ruler of the French people's choice? Who ever heard of a single man invading a nation of thirty millions of people, and gaining the sovereignty

* Speech of Lord Castlereagh in the House of Commons, April 7th, 1815.

† Lord Liverpool.

‡ Lord Grenville.

§ Mr. Gaitan.

of that nation against its will? There was not a man in France who did not see a new order of things arising under the Bourbons, and who did not fear that under their rule property was insecure.* The Marquis de Chabanes himself admitted, that only the clergy, the old nobility, and the emigrants, were for Louis—the military, and that vast body of men, the possessors of national property, being inimical to him. It had been observed, that one half of the national debt of England had been incurred by curbing the ambition of the Bourbons, and the other half, by attempts to restore that family; and that debt, enormous as it is, must be still further increased to re-establish a race in whose behalf the people of France had shown themselves disinclined to shed a single drop of their blood. Defence was the system for England to pursue, and not offence. The power of France was already sufficiently curtailed. Her limits were fixed. If she stepped beyond those limits she became the aggressor, and then, and not till then, could she be said to have forfeited her claim to peace.† It was the duty of this country to maintain the equilibrium of Europe; but it was not less her duty to protest against the principles of a war commenced upon the grounds of dictating to France who should be her ruler, as unjust, fraught with danger, and admitting of no alternative, but the utter destruction of Napoleon's power, or an humiliating abandonment of the objects of the war.‡

In both houses of parliament the decision was in favour of the prince regent's message,§ which gave rise to these debates; in the lords, the majority was one hundred and fifty-six to forty-four; and in the commons, three hundred and thirty-one to ninety-two.

When the subject of the ways and means by which the war was to be supported came under discussion, the house was informed, that the property tax, so recently repealed, must be renewed; and that, in consequence of the stipulations of the treaties referred to in the message, pecuniary aid to the amount of five millions was to be advanced by this country, by way

of subsidy to the three great powers, for the present year. By these treaties, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, were bound each to bring into the field 150,000 men, and England was to furnish a force of the same extent, or failing to do this, she was to make up her contingent in money, at the rate of twenty pounds per man for infantry, and thirty for cavalry. The allies, however, would not confine themselves to bringing into the field the mere number specified. Austria, exclusive of a force of one hundred and fifty thousand men employed in Italy, had armies to the same extent on the Upper Rhine; about to act against France. The Emperor of Russia had put in motion an army of two hundred and twenty-five thousand men, under Marshal Barclay de Tolly, which was now marching for the Rhine; and he had signified to the prince regent that an additional force of one hundred and fifty thousand men, under General Wittgenstein, was assembled, and would forthwith march against France. Prussia, instead of the contingent she was bound to furnish by the treaty, had put in motion two hundred and thirty-six thousand men. The forces to be furnished by Bavaria, Wirtemberg, Baden, Saxony, Hanover, the Hanse Towns, and the smaller states of the Rhine, amounted to about one hundred and fifty thousand more; and to these were to be added the English army, under the Duke of Wellington, and the army of the King of the Netherlands, each fifty thousand. The result was, that no less than eleven hundred thousand men were now advancing to the frontiers of France. It was proposed to assist the minor states of Germany, by distributing among them that sum which would be due from England to complete her contingent; and thus, supposing she could not augment her army above fifty thousand, which it was assumed would be the extent of her co-operation in men in the present campaign, the difference to be paid in aid of the exertions of Bavaria, Wirtemberg, and the other places, would be £2,500,000.||

The treaty of the 25th of March, referred to by Lord Castlereagh, formed the recognized

* Sir Francis Burdett.

† Mr. Whitbread.

‡ Earl Grey.

§ MESSAGE FROM THE PRINCE REGENT.—Presented to Parliament, May 22d, 1815.

“G. P. R.

“The prince regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, thinks it right to inform the houses of parliament, that in consequence of the events which have recently occurred in France, in direct contravention of the treaties signed at Paris in the course of last year, his royal highness has thought it necessary, in concert with his majesty's allies, to enter into such engagements against the common enemy, as may prevent the recurrence of a system which experience has shown to be incompatible with the peace and security of Europe. His royal highness has ordered copies of the treaties concluded with the allies to be laid before the house for its information; and he confidently relies upon the support of his faithful commons, to enable him to fulfil the stipulations therein contracted, and to take such steps, in conjunction with his allies, as may be indispensably necessary at this important crisis.”

|| Lord Castlereagh.

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bond of union, by which the allied powers solemnly engaged to unite the resources of their respective states for the purpose of maintaining entire the conditions of the treaty of Paris, and the stipulations entered into conformable to the provisions of that treaty by the congress assembled at Vienna; to preserve them against all infringement, and particularly against the designs of Napoleon Bonaparte. For this purpose they engaged, in the spirit of the declaration of the 18th of March, to direct in common, and with one accord, should the case require it, all their efforts against him, and against all who should already have joined his faction, or should hereafter join it, in order to force him to desist from his projects, and to render him unable to disturb the future tranquillity of Europe."

This treaty, which was executed at Vienna, on the 25th of March, by the plenipotentiaries of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, and by the Duke of Wellington on behalf of the British government, was transmitted to England without delay, and on the 8th of April received the ratification of the prince regent, acting in the name and on behalf of his majesty; subject,

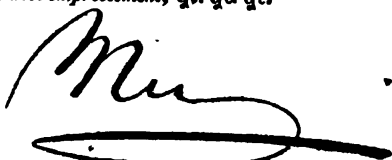
* LETTER OF NAPOLEON TO THE SOVEREIGNS OF EUROPE,
ANNOUNCING HIS RESTORATION.

Monsieur mon frère, vous aurez appris, dans le cours du mois dernier, mon retour sur les côtes de France, mon entrée à Paris, et le départ de la famille des Bourbons. La véritable nature de ces événements doit maintenant être connue de Votre Majesté. Ils sont l'ouvrage d'une irrésistible puissance, l'ouvrage de la volonté unanime d'une grande nation qui connaît ses devoirs et ses droits. La dynastie, que la force avait rendue au peuple Français, n'était plus faite pour lui: les Bourbons n'ont voulu s'associer ni à ses sentiments ni à ses mœurs: la France a dû se séparer d'eux. Sa voix appelait un libérateur: l'attente qui m'avait décidé au plus grand des sacrifices avait été trompée. Je suis venu, et du point où j'ai touché le rivage, l'amour de mes peuples m'a porté jusqu'au sien de ma capitale. Le premier besoin de mon cœur est de payer tant d'affection par le maintien d'une honorable tranquillité. Le rétablissement du trône impérial était nécessaire au bonheur des Français. La plus douce pensée est de le rendre en même temps utile, à l'affermissement du repos de l'Europe. Assez de gloire a illustré tout autour les drapeaux des diverses nations; les vicissitudes du sort ont assez fait succéder de grands revers à de grands succès. Une plus belle arène est aujourd'hui ouverte aux souverains, et je suis le premier à y descendre. Après avoir présenté au monde le spectacle de grands combats, il sera plus doux de ne connaître désormais d'autre rivalité que celle des avantages de la paix, d'autre lutte que la lutte sainte de la félicité des peuples. La France se plaît à proclamer avec franchise ce noble but de tous ses vœux. Jalouse de son indépendance, le principe invariable de sa politique sera le respect le plus absolu pour l'indépendance des autres nations: si tels sont, comme j'en ai l'heureuse confiance, les sentiments personnels de Votre Majesté, le calme général est assuré pour long-temps; et la justice, assise aux confins des divers états, suffira seule pour en garder les frontières.

"Je suis avec empressement, &c. &c. &c."

(Signé)

Paris,
le 4 Avril, 1815.



however, to an explanatory declaration made by his royal highness, that his Britannic Majesty was not to be understood as binding himself to prosecute the war; with a view to imposing upon France any particular government. In this explanation the allied powers assembled at Vienna fully acquiesced, and Lord Clancarty, the British ambassador at that court, was commissioned to state to his government, "that however general the feelings of the allied sovereigns might be in favour of the restoration of the king, they had no desire to interfere with any legitimate right of the French people, nor should they seek to influence their proceedings in the choice of the Bourbons, or any other dynasty or form of government, farther than might be essential to the safety and permanent tranquillity of the rest of Europe."

Napoleon, well aware of the approaching storm, sought to diminish its violence by pacific overtures, and one of his first acts on ascending the throne of France was to address a letter,* in his own hand writing, to the Sovereigns of Europe, announcing his restoration to the imperial throne, and expressive of his sincere de-

TRANSLATION.

"SIRE, MY BROTHER,

"You will have learnt, during the last month, my return to the court of France, my entrance into Paris, and the departure of the family of the Bourbons. The true nature of these events must now be made known to your majesty. They are the work of an irresistible power, the work of the unanimous will of a great nation, who knows her duties and her rights. The dynasty which force had given to the French people, was no longer suited to them. The Bourbons would neither associate themselves to their sentiments nor their manners. It became the duty of France to separate herself from them. Her voice called for a deliverer. The expectation which had determined me to make the greatest sacrifices had been deceived. I am come, and from the point where I touched the shore, the love of my people conveyed me to the bosom of my capital. The first wish of my heart is to repay such affection by the maintenance of an honourable tranquillity. The restoration of the imperial throne was necessary to the happiness of the French. My sweetest thought is to render it at the same time useful to the consolidation of the repose of Europe. Glory enough has rendered by turns the standards of the different nations illustrious. The vicissitudes of fate have caused great successes to be followed by great reverses. A finer arena is now opened to kings—and I am the first to descend into it. After having presented to the world the spectacle of great battles, it will be happier to know in future no other rivalry than that of the advantages of peace, no other contest, than the sacred contest of the happiness of mankind. France rejoices in candidly proclaiming this noble end of all her wishes. Jealous of her independence, the invincible principle of her policy shall be the most absolute respect for the independence of other nations.

"If such are, as I have the pleasure to believe, the personal sentiments of your majesty, the general tranquillity is secured for a long season, and justice, seated on the confines of the different states, will be alone sufficient to guard their frontiers.

"I seize with eagerness, &c. &c."

(Signed)

"NAPOLEON."

"Paris, April 4, 1815."

sire to render that event subservient to the maintenance of the repose of the world.

The couriers charged with this document were not permitted to proceed to many of the courts, and returned to France with their dispatches unopened. The English government, less repulsive, referred the overtures to the congress of Vienna; and the Emperor of Austria caused the letter transmitted to him to be opened in a full assembly of the congress. But the unanimous resolution was to leave this letter of Napoleon unnoticed and unanswered, and he, before whom princes had been accustomed to humble themselves, was not now thought entitled to the common courtesies of civilized society.

The letter of Napoleon was speedily followed by a justificatory manifesto, put forth by the presidents of the council of state, and meant to repel the charges contained in the declaration of the allies, issued from Vienna on the 13th of March. The annals of diplomacy, it is said, have no parallel to this declaration, in which ministers, clothed in the most sacred public characters, recommended the assassination of the Emperor Napoleon. By the law of nations, a prince possessing the most inconsiderable territory or population, it is added, is entitled to the same respect as the strongest; and Napoleon, acknowledged as emperor and sovereign prince by all the powers, was no more than themselves under the jurisdiction of the congress of Vienna. As to the treaty of Fontainebleau, its violation is laid to the charge of those who impute that offence to Napoleon; and the emperor, his family, and the French nation, claim the right to urge the infraction of this treaty against the allied sovereigns, and the house of Bourbon. The instances of its violation are thus enumerated:—

1. The Empress Maria Louisa and her son were to obtain passports and an escort, to repair to the emperor: but contrary to the engagements of the allies, the husband and wife, father and son, were separated under painful circumstances, when the firmest mind has occasion to seek consolation and support in domestic affections.

2. The security of Napoleon and of his imperial family, and their suite, was guaranteed (article 14 of the treaty) by all the powers; yet bands of assassins were organized in France under the eyes of the French government, and even by its orders (as will soon be proved by the solemn proceedings against the Sieur Demontbreuil), for attacking the emperor, his brothers, and their wives. In default of the success hoped for from this first branch of the plot, an insurrection was prepared at Orgon, on the emperor's route, in order that an attempt might be made on his life by some brigands. The Sieur Brulart, an associate of Georges, had been sent as governor to Corsica, in order to prepare and make sure of the crime; and, in fact, several detached assassins have attempted, in the Isle of Elba, to gain, by the murder of the emperor, the base reward which was promised them.

3. The duchies of Parma and Placentia were given in full property to Maria Louisa, for herself, her son, and her descendants. After a long refusal to put her in possession, the injustice was completed by an absolute spoliation, under the illusory pretext of an exchange, without valuation, proportion, or sovereignty, and without her consent. And the documents in the office for foreign affairs prove that it was on the solicitations, and by the intrigues, of the Prince of Benevente, that Maria Louisa and her son were despoiled.

4. Eugene, the adopted son of Napoleon, was to have obtained a suitable establishment out of France, but he has had nothing.

5. The emperor had stipulated for the army the preservation of their rewards given them on Monte Napoleon. He had reserved to himself the power to recompense his faithful followers. Every thing has been taken away, and abused by the ministers of the Bourbons. M. Bresson, an agent from the army, was dispatched to Vienna to assert their claims, but in vain.

6. The preservation of the property, moveable and immoveable, belonging to the emperor's family, was provided for, but all was robbed—in France by commissioned brigands, in Italy by the violence of the military chiefs.

7. Napoleon was to have received two millions, and his family two millions five hundred thousand francs per annum. The French government has constantly refused to discharge its engagements, and Napoleon would have soon been obliged to disband his faithful guards for want of the means of paying them, had he not found an honourable resource in the conduct of some bankers and merchants of Genoa and Italy, who advanced twelve millions, which they had offered to him.

8. In fine, it was not without a cause that it was desirable by every means to remove from Napoleon the companions of his glory, the unshaken sureties of his safety and of his existence.—The Island of Elba was assured to him in full sovereignty, but the resolution of robbing him of it was, at the instigation of the Bourbons, fixed upon by the congress. Had not Providence prevented it, Europe would have seen an attempt made on the person and liberty of Napoleon, left hereafter at the mercy of his enemies, and transported, far from his friends and followers, either to St. Lucie, or St. Helena, which had been pointed out as his prison.

And when the allied powers, yielding to the imprudent wishes and the cruel instigations of the house of Bourbon, condescended to violate the solemn contract, on the faith of which Napoleon liberated the French nation from its oaths; when he himself, and all the members of his family, saw themselves menaced, attacked in their persons, in their properties, in their affections, in all the rights stipulated in their favour as princes, in those even secured by the laws to private citizens,—what was Napoleon to do?

Was he, after enduring so many injuries, supporting so many acts of injustice, to consent to the complete violation of the engagements entered into with him, and, resigning-himself personally to the fate prepared for him, to abandon also his spouse, his son, his family, and his faithful servants, to their frightful destiny?

Such a resolution seems beyond the endurance of human nature; and yet Napoleon would have embraced it, if the peace and happiness of France had been the price of this new sacrifice. He would have devoted himself for the French people, from whom, as he will declare in the face of Europe, it is his glory to hold every thing; whose good shall be the object of all his endeavours, and to whom alone he will be answerable for his actions, and devote his life.*

* Report of the Presidents of the Council of State, dated Paris, April 16, 1815.

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It is much to be regretted, that this report contains so much truth. In several of the articles above enumerated, both the spirit and the letter of the treaty of Fontainebleau had been violated by the King of France and the allied sovereigns. The empress had been forcibly separated from her husband; she had been deprived of the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla; the property of Napoleon and his family in France had been sequestered; the instalments of the stipulated pension had been withheld from him; and there is too much reason to suppose, though no public evidence exists of the fact, that it was in the contemplation of the congress to remove him from Elba, and consign him for life to that station, which ultimately awaited the hero and the victim of the French revolution.

The co-operation of Louis XVIII. in the efforts made by the allied powers to expel Napoleon from the throne, was confined principally to proclamations and ordinances, issued from his court at Ghent, to which place, not only several of the king's ministers, but also Marshal the Duke of Ragusa, and Marshal the Duke of Belluno, had repaired. Marshal Berthier, the Prince of Neufchatel and Wagram, had followed the fortune of the Bourbons; but the conflict of feeling, arising out of his attachment to his former master, and his sense of loyalty towards his present sovereign, had subdued his once vigorous mind, and on the 1st of June, he threw himself from a window of the palace, in the city of Bamberg, and was killed by the fall.*

The only hope of security afforded to Napoleon, lay in rallying round him the various political parties into which France was divided; and for this purpose, his first care was to recognize the sovereignty of the people as the only source of legitimate power, and to select, as his confidential ministers, a number of the heads of the constitutionalist and republican party, who having abandoned their Utopian notions of

liberty, had become friendly to a limited monarchy. On the morning succeeding his arrival at Paris, the official organ of the new government announced the appointment of his serene highness, the prince arch-chancellor of the empire,† to the great seals; the Duke of Gaëta,‡ to the finance department; the Duke of Bassano,§ to the office of secretary of state; the Duke of Decres, to the marine and colonies; the Duke of Otranto,§ to the police; Count Mollien, to the treasury; Marshal, the Prince of Eckmühl,¶ to the war department; the Duke of Rovigo,** to the inspection of the *gendarmerie*; Count de Bondy, to the department of the Seine; and the chancellor of state, M. Real, to the prefecture of the police. On the following day, M. Carnot was declared a count of the empire, for his gallant defence of Antwerp, and was also named, by another decree, minister of the interior; and the Duke of Vicenza†† was subsequently named to the department of foreign affairs.

The same day on which the appointment of the officers of the new government was announced, Napoleon made his first public appearance in the capital, and reviewed his troops. On this occasion, all the soldiers in Paris were ordered to assemble in the Place du Carrousel, and the emperor, having passed through the ranks, and noticed every soldier whose person he recollected, formed them into a square, and thus addressed them:—

"Soldiers! I arrived in France with six hundred men, because I calculated upon the love of the people, and on the remembrance of the veteran soldiers! I was not deceived in my expectation.—Soldiers! I thank you. Glory like that which we are about to acquire is every thing to the people, and to you! My glory is, that I have known and valued you!—Soldiers! the throne of the Bourbons was illegitimate, because it was built by the hands of strangers; because it was proscribed by the vow of the nation, declared in all our national assemblies; because, in short, it offered a guarantee only to the interests of a few men, whose arrogant pretensions were opposed to our rights.—Soldiers! the imperial throne only can

* MARSHAL ALEXANDER BERTHIER was long considered as the chief adviser and the bosom friend of Bonaparte. His family was respectable, being son of the governor of the war office, and associated with his father in that employment before the revolution. At an early age he was placed upon the staff of the French army, and served in this capacity in America with La Fayette, where he obtained the rank of colonel. In the first year of the French revolutionary war, he was appointed major-general of the national guard at Versailles, and served in succession in France, in Italy, and in Egypt, where he was distinguished alike for his valour and his moderation. During the consular government he was appointed successor to Carnot in the war department; and on the elevation of Napoleon to the imperial purple, he was appointed marshal of the empire, great huntsman of France, and chief of the first cohorts of the legion of honour. Up to the date of the treaty of Paris, he remained firmly attached to his imperial master and friend, and only sent in his adhesion to the king, when the standard of Napoleon no longer waved in France. On the day of his death, he had dined with his father-in-law, the King of Bavaria, when he had been complimented by the Russian General, Baron Sacken, on being among the few who had remained faithful to their sovereign, Louis XVIII. This remark was observed greatly to disconcert Berthier, who retired shortly after dinner to a room occupied by his children, in the third story from the ground, where having dismissed the nurse, he precipitated himself from the window and met his fate.

† Cambacères.

‡ Gaudin.

§ Marat.

§ Fouché.

¶ Davoust.

** Savary.

†† Caulincourt.

secure the rights of the people, and above all, the first of our interests—our glory. Soldiers! we are now to march to hunt from our territories these princes, auxiliaries to strangers; the nation will not only second us in our protestations, but will follow our impulse. The French people and I calculate upon you. We will not interfere with the affairs of foreign nations, but woe to those who shall interfere with ours!”

General Cambronne, and the officers of the guard of the battalion of the Isle of Elba, now stepped forward with the ancient eagles of the guard, and the emperor in conclusion said:—

“Soldiers! these are the officers of the battalion that have accompanied me in my misfortunes. Every man is my friend. They are dear to my heart!—Every time I beheld them, they brought before my eyes the different regiments of the army, for among these six hundred brave fellows are men from every regiment. They have recalled to my memory those glorious days of which even the memory is so dear, for they are all covered with honourable scars gained in memorable battles. In loving them, it was you, Soldiers! the whole French army, that I loved. They bring you back your eagles. Let them serve you as a rallying point. In giving them to the guards I give them to the whole army. Treason and unfortunate events had covered them with a melancholy veil, but, thanks to the French people, and to you! they now re-appear resplendent in all their glory. Swear that they shall always be present wherever the interests of the country shall require them, and that traitors, and those who would wish to invade our territory, shall never endure their sight.”

“We swear it!” exclaimed all the soldiers with enthusiasm.

Addresses, which, as we have already observed, are always at the command of power, pressed in upon the emperor from the council of state, the municipality of Paris, and other public bodies; to an address from his ministers he replied:—

“The sentiments you express are my own. All for the nation—all for France; that is my motto. Myself and my family, whom that great people have raised to the throne of France, and whom they have maintained there notwithstanding political storms and vicissitudes, desire, deserve, and claim no other.”

To the council of state he said:—

“Princes are the first citizens of the state. Their authority is more or less extended, according to the interests of the nations which they govern. The sovereignty itself is only hereditary, because the welfare of the people requires it. Departing from this principle, I know no legitimacy. I have renounced the idea of the grand empire, of which, during fifteen years, I had but founded the basis. Henceforth, the happiness and the consolidation of the French empire shall occupy all my thoughts.”

And this is the man who only fifteen months before had proudly exclaimed to the legislative

assembly, “I alone am the representative of the people. The throne is myself. France needs me more than I need France.”* Had he learned wisdom in the school of adversity? Had he now become the patriotic prince, who recognizes the rights of the nations and only wishes to reign by them and for them; who regulates his pretensions and his projects by the interests of his people, and the honour of his neighbours?—Carnot declares, that he believed, and that he still believes, that the emperor returned from exile with the unfeigned desire of preserving peace and governing paternally.† Others, judging of the future by the past, considered him as a camelion, who assumes the colour of the moment: a serpent, concealing under beautiful scales a deadly poison; a flatterer, who promised because he was feeble, but let success crown his enterprise, and he would again trample on the liberties of France, and cover again all Europe with mourning. Which party reasoned justly, must now remain for ever a matter of conjecture. Time itself, the great developer of truth, will probably never give to this question a satisfactory solution.

Advices arrived at Paris on the 25th of March, that, except in the north, where the presence of the family of the Count de Lille (Louis XVIII.) repressed the public spirit, the tri-coloured flag was replaced in the greater part of the departments. The Duke of Belluno, who was marching to Paris with the troops of the second military division, had been obliged to quit his command, the soldiers having unanimously declared for the emperor; the third and fourth military divisions had likewise sent in their addresses, which were delivered to Napoleon on the parade on the 24th. The Duke of Albufera, and General Gerard, had witnessed and assisted in the enthusiasm of Alsace, Franche Comté, and Burgundy, so early as the 23d. Normandy and Brittany had restored the national standard.‡ On the 17th of April, eight and twenty days after the arrival of Napoleon in Paris, the news of the whole French territory being restored to tranquillity, under the imperial government, was announced by a salute of artillery, fired at one o'clock from all the batteries in every part of the empire. Up to that day, addresses had continued to pour in from all parts of the country, both from the municipal and military bodies; and even Marshal Augereau, the Duke of Castiglione, once more proclaimed his repentance, and swore allegiance to a man,

* See Vol. II. Book IV. p. 399.

† Exposé de la Conduite Politique de M. le Lieutenant-general Carnot.

‡ Moniteur, March 25, 1815.

BOOK V. "who, after sacrificing millions of victims to his
 CHAP. V. "cruel ambition, had not the heart to die like a
 "soldier."*

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Three days after his arrival in Paris, Napoleon abrogated the censorship of the press, and removed those restrictions, which, by a narrow policy, the Bourbons had deemed necessary to the maintenance of the stability of their throne. Another of the early decrees of the French emperor was the abolition of the Slave Trade—a measure in which every benevolent mind must exult. A third decree alleviated the regulations relative to the *droits réunis*, which, next to the conscription, were justly ranked among the greatest grievances imposed upon the people by Napoleon's former government. A system of national education, recommended by Carnot, and grounded upon the principles of Mr. Lancaster and Dr. Bell, next obtained imperial patronage; and a decree for the establishment of an experimental school of primary education at Paris, so organized as to serve as a model, and to become a normal school to form primary teachers, was promulgated from the palace of the Tuilleries. The ministers, co-operating with the head of the imperial government, seemed anxious to obliterate for ever the remembrance of that reign of terror, which Napoleon, in the plenitude of his power, had exercised over France. The Duke of Otranto, in a circular letter for the government of the conduct of the prefects, dated the 31st of March, warned them against the excessive exertion of their authority; against the renewal of the police of attack instead of the police of observation; against a minute officious curiosity, destructive of social enjoyment; and against every kind of conduct which might make the police appear the sword instead of the torch of justice.

But the attention of the French government was soon withdrawn from the internal policy to the foreign relations of that country. It was the interest of all parties in France, except the royalists, in the first instance, to misrepresent the intentions of the allies; and for this purpose, England was held out as favourable to the escape of Napoleon from Elba, and Austria as about to sanction his usurpation by permitting the return of the Empress Maria Louisa and the King of Rome. In conformity with this plan, the declaration issued at Vienna on the 13th of March, was concealed as long as possible from the French people. At length, however, when all hopes of peace had vanished, it became necessary to rouse and prepare the nation for war; and this was to be effected by impressing them with a persuasion, that Bonaparte had returned from Elba quite a new man—

that the love of conquest and of military glory were completely banished from his mind; and that the allies, while they professed to be about to make war only upon Napoleon personally, had for their object the dismemberment of France, or at least, that it was their intention to impose upon her a sovereign contrary to the wishes of her people.

To accomplish this purpose, every measure was adopted by the existing government that was likely to have a favourable effect on the French nation. About the middle of April, a long and elaborate report was laid before the emperor regarding the foreign relations of France. This report opened by admitting the alarming fact, that a confederacy was forming against France by the great powers of Europe; that this coalition was unjust, the reporter inferred from a retrospect of the march from Cannes to Paris; which, as he contended, proved, in a manner the most conclusive, the dislike, or at least, the indifference, of the French nation to the Bourbons, and their attachment to Napoleon, whom they had thus chosen as the sovereign of their free and unbiassed choice.—The Duke of Vicenza, by whom the report was drawn up, next adverted to the annunciation made by the emperor to the sovereigns of Europe of his resumption of the sovereignty of France, which was accompanied by a circular from the minister of foreign affairs, containing a distinct and unequivocal overture on the part of the new government, to maintain the relations of peace conformable to the treaty concluded at Paris on the 30th of May, 1814. But instead of receiving these advances in the spirit in which they were made, the monarchs of Europe, contrary to the laws and usages of nations, and as if by common consent, interdicted all communication with France, and shut up the access to amicable accommodation. The report next proceeds to enumerate those acts of foreign governments which indicate hostile intentions. The message of the prince regent to the British parliament is considered of this description; and in referring to this message, and the ground upon which it would be necessary to go to war with France, Caulincourt observes, that in 1815, England and her princes have quite forgotten the events of 1809. "In Austria, Russia, Prussia, all parts of Germany, in Italy, and in short, every where, there is a general arming." Having thus dwelt upon the hostile aspect of all Europe, the foreign minister proceeds to declare, that it is against France that these armaments are directed, though the allies name Bonaparte as alone in the way of peace; it could not be against the emperor, because he had offered

* See the proclamation of Marshal Augereau to his army, dated Valence, April 16, 1814, Vol. II. p. 342.

them peace on terms the most favourable; it must be against the French people, since they, by receiving Bonaparte with such general good will and affection, had, in fact, identified themselves with him. "To fight," says the report, "in order to re-establish the Bourbons once more, would be to declare war on the whole French population. If the people of France are attached to them, why did they not rally round them when Napoleon landed? Why did they not stop his progress? why do the Bourbons now seek troops from Spain, and England, and Germany, and not from France herself, if France wishes their return?" The report in conclusion states, that in circumstances so important as those in which France was then placed—anxious for peace—having done nothing to provoke or justify war—and yet threatened with the almost immediate invasion of the country, it became absolutely necessary to prepare for the worst, and to take those measures which the preservation of her rights, the safety of her territories, and the defence of her national honour, ought to dictate to the French nation.

The note of preparation now sounded through all the departments of France. A decree passed on the 28th of March, but which was not promulgated till the 9th of April, recalled to their standards all the officers and soldiers of the army; and the minister of war, in a tone of impassioned eloquence, summoned his companions in arms to rally round their standards; to present to their enemies a frontier of brass; and to defend their country against those who sought to "regulate their national colours, to impose upon them sovereigns, and to dictate constitutions."

On his first landing in France, Napoleon had pledged himself to give to the nation a constitution agreeable to their wishes, and favourable to their liberties. This pledge he now hastened to redeem; and a commission, of which Bishop Gregoire and Benjamin de Constant were members, was appointed to draw up this document. It had been justly objected to Louis, that he had *given* a constitution to the French, and not *accepted* it from them; and Napoleon, after having explicitly acknowledged, that to the people alone belonged the right of choosing their own charter, trod in the footsteps of the former government, and *gave* his subjects a constitution in his turn. The French nation had imagined, that the *Champ de Mai* would have been convoked for some other purpose than to examine a list of votes, and that the representatives of a great nation would there

have exercised the privilege of discussing with the sovereign the rights and privileges, and securing the welfare, of their constituents. It was also expected, that Napoleon would have recognized his former abdication, and left the choice of the dynasty, as well as the form of the government, to the free will of the people. This would have been an easy and a safe compliment to the French. His re-election would have been secured, and the people would have been enthusiastically and inseparably attached to a man, who, by this solemn act, had become the sovereign of their choice. But, by the *Acte Additionnel aux Constitutions de l'Empire*, Napoleon seemed to consider his old system of despotism as again in activity; and passing over his own abdication, and the reign of Louis, as if they had never happened, he was again emperor by the grace of God, after the fashion of the monarch, whose nineteen years of reign he had himself so fairly derided. The constitutionalists thought they saw in the renewal of these pretensions the grave of all their hopes, and "public expectation was deceived to such a degree, that a cry of indignation was heard from one end of France to the other."* Carnot, still willing to rely on the promises of Bonaparte, finds an apology for his conduct in the exigencies of his situation, and urges in his behalf, though these dictatorial steps were not what might have been expected, after what he had promised, yet, that he was precipitated into them by the external dangers with which the country was menaced.†

The new constitution of France, called, by a strange anomaly, "An Additional Act to the Constitutions of the Empire," assumed the former constitutions as the basis of the present character, while it repealed the principal acts of those tyrannical systems. The following preamble, introduced by the usual formula, "Napoleon, by the grace of God, and the constitutions, Emperor of France, to all who are and shall be, health," justly describes the character of this document:—

"Since we were first called, now fifteen years past, by the wishes of France, to the government of the state, we have endeavoured to improve, at various periods, the constitutional forms, according to the wants and desires of the nation, and profiting by the lessons of experience. The constitutions of the empire have thus been formed from a series of acts which have been clothed with the approbation of the people. We then had for our object to organize a grand federate European system, which we had adopted as being conformable to the spirit of the age, and favourable to the progress of civilization. In order to complete this, and to give it all the extent and stability of which it was susceptible, we had postponed the estab-

* Official Note of the Duke of Otranto, presented to the Ministers of the Allied Powers; August 8, 1815.

† Exposé de la Conduite Politique de M. le Lieutenant-general Carnot.

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lishment of many internal institutions, more especially those which were destined to protect the liberty of citizens. Henceforward our aim will only be to augment the prosperity of France by consolidating public liberty. From this results the necessity of many important modifications in the constitutions, *sénats consults*, and other acts which govern this empire. For these reasons, wishing, on one side, to preserve of the past what is good and salutary, and, on the other, to render the constitutions of our empire in every thing conformable to the national wishes and wants, as well as to the state of peace which we desire to maintain with Europe, we have resolved to refer to the people a series of propositions tending to modify and improve the constitutional acts, to surround the rights of citizens with all their safe-guards, to give the representative system all its extension, to invest the intermediate corps with desirable importance and power; in short, to combine the highest point of political liberty, and of individual safety, with the strength and concentration necessary to cause foreign powers to respect the independence of the French people, and the dignity of our crown. Consequently, the following articles, forming a supplementary act to the constitutions of the empire, shall be submitted to the free and solemn acceptance of all the citizens throughout the whole of France."

The *acte additionnel* consists of five titles, and of sixty-seven articles, by the first of which it is provided, that the legislative power should be exercised by the emperor and the two chambers; the first chamber, called the chamber of peers, is declared to be hereditary, the emperor to appoint its members, and the number to be unlimited. The second chamber, called the chamber of representatives, to be chosen by the people, and to consist of six hundred and twenty-nine members, indefinitely re-eligible; a new election to take place every five years; its members to receive for travelling expenses, and during the session, the pay decreed by the constituent assembly. The sittings to be public. The emperor's ministers to sit and debate, but to have no vote unless they are peers, or elected by the people. The emperor may prorogue, adjourn, or dissolve the chambers. The government to propose laws: the chambers may amend them.

Under the second title, which relates to electoral colleges, and the mode of election, few alterations are made in the original constitution, except that manufacturing and commercial industry, and property have awarded to them special representatives.

The third title relates to taxation. The general direct tax, whether in lands or moveables, is voted only for one year; indirect taxes may be voted for several. No tax can be levied, no loan made, nor any levy of men ordered for the army, but in virtue of a law. All propositions on these subjects must be made to the chamber of representatives.

The fourth title relates to ministers and their responsibility. Every act of government is to be counter-signed by a minister. The ministers are made responsible for acts of government, as well as for the execution of the laws; every minister, and every commandant of an armed force, by land or by sea, may be accused by the chamber of deputies, and tried by their peers, for having compromised the safety or honour of the nation.

Title five regards the judicial power. All judges receive their appointments from the emperor; but they are irremovable, and for life. The institution of juries is continued; the discussions on criminal trials are to be public; military offences alone are to be tried by military tribunals. The right of pardon is lodged in the crown.

The sixth and last title relates to the rights of citizens. Frenchmen are equal in the eye of the law, whether to contributions, to taxes, and public burthens, or for admission to civil and military employments. No one can be with-

drawn from the judges appointed to him by law. No one can be prosecuted, arrested, detained, or exiled, but in cases provided by law, and according to the prescribed forms. Liberty of worship is guaranteed to all. All property, possessed or acquired in virtue of the laws, and all debts of the state, are inviolable. Every citizen has the right of printing and publishing his thoughts, on signing them with his own name, without any previous censorship, and subject only to legal responsibility, in a trial by jury, after the publication. The right of petitioning is secured to all the citizens of the state.

The first part of the 67th article was considered as retaliatory upon the declaration of the allies of the 13th of March, and breathes a vindictive spirit, unworthy of the constitution of which it forms a part. It is in these words:—"The French people moreover declare, that in the delegation which they have made and make of their powers, it is not meant, and does not mean, to give a right to propose the reinstatement of the Bourbons, or any prince of that family, on the throne, even in case of the extinction of the imperial dynasty; or the right of re-establishing either the ancient feudal nobility, or the feudal and seigniorial rights or tithes, or any privileged or predominant religion; nor the power to alter the irrevocability of the sale of the national domains. All propositions on that subject are formally interdicted both to the government, the chambers, and the citizens."

This constitution, though formed by men of cool heads and rational and sober views of government, was by no means free from objections. The interdict against all propositions on the subject of the recall of the Bourbons was absurd and nugatory; but, setting aside some minor objections, there was in this document much to approve. It was calculated to secure to the French as much freedom as they were capable of bearing. It granted to the people liberty without licentiousness, and to the prince power without despotism.

The promulgation of the *acte additionnel* took place on the 23d of April, and every Frenchman of mature age was invited to inscribe his vote for or against it, in registers which were opened in every town and district of the empire. These votes were to be collected, and the grand result published at the *Champ de Mai*, which was appointed to be held on the 26th of May.

In the age of Charlemagne, a monarch whom Napoleon claimed as his prototype; and in the reigns of other early French sovereigns, assemblies of deputies from the people had taken place, sometimes once, and sometimes twice a year. The place near Paris, where these deputies assembled, still retained the name of the *Champ de Mars*, from the month in which the meetings generally took place, and, like the *Campus Martius* at Rome, had for ages been appropriated to the review of troops, and to horse and foot races on public festivals. In the middle of the eighth century, Pepin transferred the general assemblies of the nation to the month of May, and after that period the scene of these assemblies was styled indifferently the *Champ de Mars*, or the *Champ de Mai*. Splendid pre-

parations were made for the approaching ceremony, but the slow arrival of the deputations from the electoral colleges, and other unforeseen circumstances, delayed the meeting till the 1st of June. No effort was spared to render the spectacle solemn and imposing; in the hyperbolic language of the official organ, "every thing that could interest and elevate the soul—the prayers of religion—the compact of a great people with their sovereign—France, represented by the selection of her citizens, agriculturists, merchants, magistrates, and warriors, collected around the throne—an immense population covered the *Champ de Mars*, and joined in vows for the great object of that magnificent ceremony—all excited the most ardent enthusiasm of which the most memorable epochs have left us the recollection."

A throne was erected for the emperor in front of the military school, and in the centre of a vast pentagonal semicircular inclosure, two-thirds of which formed, on the right and left, grand amphitheatres, in which fifteen thousand persons were seated. The other third, in front of the throne, was open. An altar was erected in the middle, and beyond it, at a distance of two hundred yards, was placed another throne, which commanded the whole *Champ de Mars*. Eighty-seven banners, bearing the names of the departments of France, decorated the rotunda. The imperial eagles, surrounded with garlands, were planted in the vacant space, and the national colours mingled with the banners of the departments. At twelve o'clock a discharge of cannon announced the departure of the emperor from the Thuilleries; and shortly afterwards, the commandant of Paris, Count Hulin, and his staff, with the heralds at arms, approached, and passed down the line formed by the troops which were drawn up on each side, along the whole length of the plain. The commandant was followed by fourteen state carriages, each drawn by six horses, the last of which contained the three imperial princes—Joseph, Jerome, and Lucien Bonaparte. The imperial carriage, drawn by eight horses, each led by a groom, and attended by two marshals of the empire on each side, then presented itself, and Napoleon was seen through the glass pannels, in the full costume of his imperial office. At one o'clock, the emperor, amidst a mass of his nobles and princes, appeared from the apartments of the military school, when the whole assembly arose with a shout, the artillery still thundering from the battery. All were uncovered, except Napoleon,

who wore his Spanish black bonnet, shaded with plumes, looped with a large diamond in front; and his mantle of purple velvet, embroidered with gold, and lined with ermine. The officers of the crown took their station in the rear, the ministers of state surrounded the emperor, and the generals were ranged on each side of the throne. The electors sat under the rotunda; the grand national authorities pressed to the tribunes in front, and three hundred thousand spectators occupied the other parts of the field, or surrounded the inclosure. The Archbishop of Tours, and the Cardinal Cambaceres, with four bishops and assistants, ascended the tribune of the altar, and celebrated mass. The central deputation from the electors of the empire, amounting to about five hundred, chosen by a selection from all the colleges, then advanced to the foot of the throne, and the advocate, Dubois d'Angers, the organ of the deputation, addressed the emperor in a speech expressive of the devotion of a "faithful, energetic, and generous nation to an heroic leader."

At the close of this speech the arch-chancellor rose, and proclaimed by the herald-at-arms, in the name of the emperor, "that the additional act to the constitutions of the empire had been accepted by the French people."* A table was then placed in front of the throne, and at a quarter past two o'clock the emperor gave to the additional act the sanction of his signature. Being again seated on the throne, he uncovered himself for a moment, and spoke as follows:—

"Gentlemen, electors of colleges, of departments, and *arrondissements*!—

"Gentlemen, deputies from the army and navy to the *Champ de Mai*!—

"Emperor, consul, soldier! I hold every thing from the people. In prosperity, in adversity, in the field of battle, in council, on the throne, in exile, France has been the rule and constant object of my thoughts and actions. Like the King of Athens I sacrificed myself for my people, in the hope of witnessing the realization of the promise given to guarantee to France her national integrity, her honours, and her rights.

"Indignant on beholding those sacred rights, acquired by twenty-five years of victory, slighted and lost for ever; the cry of insulted French honour, and the wishes of the nation, have brought me back to that throne which is dear to me, because it is the *palladium* of the independence, of the honour, and the rights of the people. Frenchmen! in my progress amidst the public joy, through the different provinces of the empire to my capital, I had every reason to reckon upon a long peace. Nations are bound by the treaties concluded by their governments, whatever they may be. My thoughts were then wholly engaged with the means of founding our liberty on a constitution conformable to the wishes and the interests of the people. I convoked the *Champ de Mai*.

* The number of votes in favour of the constitution were 1,268,267; the negatives amounted to 4,207; the army (for every armed citizen of France had the privilege of a vote) gave in 222,000 names for, and 390 against, the act; and the navy about 22,000 affirmatives, and 275 negatives; exclusive of eleven departments, and some of the regiments, which had not sent in their registers.

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"I was soon apprised that the princes who have violated all principles, who have shocked the public opinion, and the dearest interests of so many nations, design to make war upon us. They meditate the increase of the kingdom of the Netherlands; they would give it for barriers all our northern frontier fortresses, and would make up the quarrels which still divide them, by sharing among themselves Lorraine and Alsace. It was necessary to prepare for war.

"However, before personally exposing myself to the risks of battles, my first care was to give without delay a constitution to the nation. The people has accepted the act which I presented to it. Frenchmen! when we shall have repelled these unjust aggressions, and Europe shall be convinced of what is due to the rights and the independence of twenty-eight millions of Frenchmen, a solemn law, enacted according to the forms prescribed by the constitutional act, shall combine the different provisions of our constitutions that are now scattered.

"Frenchmen! you are about to return into your departments. Tell the citizens that circumstances are arduous!—that with union, energy, and perseverance, we shall come off victorious from this struggle of a great people against its oppressors; that future generations will severely scrutinize our conduct; and that a nation has lost all, when it has lost its independence. Tell them, that the foreign kings whom I either raised to the throne, or who are indebted to me for the preservation of their crowns; who all, in the time of my prosperity, courted my alliance, and the protection of the French people; are now aiming their blows at my person. If I had not seen that it is against the country that they are really directed, I would place at their mercy this life, against which they manifest such animosity. But tell the citizens also, that while the French shall retain for me the sentiments of love of which they give me so many proofs, this rage of our enemies will be impotent.

"Frenchmen! my will is that of the people; my rights are their rights; my honour, my glory, my happiness, can never be distinct from the honour, the glory, and the happiness of France."

The prolonged cries of *Vive l'Empereur! Vive Marie Louise! Vive la Nation!* for some time interrupted the ceremony; but when the popular fervour had expended itself, the grand almoner approached the throne, and kneeling, presented the gospels to the emperor, who took the oath in the following terms:—"I swear to observe the constitutions of the empire, and to cause them to be observed." The arch-chancellor then advanced to the throne, and swore "obedience to the constitutions and to the emperor," and the words *Nous le jurons*—we swear it, were appointed to be said by all the assembly; but not being perfect in their part, this portion of the ceremony was either wholly omitted, or at least only partially performed.

Te Deum was next sung, and the steps to the throne being cleared, the eagles from the wings, borne by the ministers of the interior, of war, and of the marine, pressed forward into the centre of the area, forming one long dazzling mass of gold, from the tribune of the altar to the foot of the throne. Napoleon, with an animation in his manner and countenance which gave to the

ceremony of the presentation of the eagles a superior interest to any other event of this national assembly, threw off his imperial mantle, and leaping from the throne, advanced to meet his eagles. The waving sword and beating drum commanded silence, and taking the standards in his hand, he returned them to the three ministers, and thus addressed them:—

"Soldiers of the national guard of the empire—Soldiers of the land and sea forces, I intrust to you the imperial eagle of the national colours; you will swear to defend it at the expense of your blood against the enemies of the country and of the throne! You swear that it shall always be your rallying sign!—You swear it."

The concluding sentence was delivered in a tone that pierced the immense assembly, and was answered by the exclamation of the troops—"We swear it."

"The drums beat, and shortly afterwards the emperor, still in his short crimson tunic, accompanied by all his marshals and dignitaries, and lost to the sight of the spectators," from one of whom we quote,* "in the blaze of uniforms, and eagles, and banners, descended the steps, traversed the area, passed through the opening of the theatre by the altar, and, crossing between files of soldiers, mounted the platform in the open plain. He seated himself on his throne, surrounded by his marshals and court, who occupied the steps on each of the four sides of the structure. The scene was more magnificent than any pen can describe. The monarch on his open throne, which seemed a glittering pyramid of eagles, and arms, and military, crowned by his own white plumes—an immense plain, as it were, of soldiers, flanked with multitudes so innumerable that the sloping banks on each side presented but one mass of heads—the man—the occasion—all conspired to surprise the mind into a most unqualified, unphilosophical admiration of the whole spectacle; which was not diminished when the bayonets, and cuirasses, and helmets, flashing to the extent of the view, and the flags of the lancers fluttering, and the music bursting from the plain, announced that the whole scene was in motion." In the midst of all this splendour, the emperor, in his character of colonel of the national guard of Paris, and of the imperial guard, then proceeded to present the eagles to the presidents of the departments, and the six arrondissements, and to the chiefs of his guard. The national guards "swore never to suffer the capital to be again polluted by the presence of a foreign army;" and the imperial guard, "to exceed their former prowess, and to die rather than let foreigners dictate laws to their country." The whole army, amounting to fifty thousand, of which twenty-

* Letters from an Englishman resident in Paris during the last reign of the Emperor Napoleon.

seven thousand were national guards, now filed before the throne, with their eagles, in admirable order; and at four o'clock the procession left the amphitheatre in nearly the same order in which it had arrived, passing between a line of spectators the whole length of the *Champ de Mars*. The departure, like the entry, was announced by the batteries of the military school, and the bridge of Jena.

Such was the *Champ de Mai*. As a *spectacle*, nothing could be more splendid and interesting, but as a national assembly, it is scarcely possible to imagine any thing more puerile. It was the assembly of the registration of votes, and of the presentation of colours; but it as little resembled the fields of March and May, at which assembled the warlike estates of Charlemagne and his successors, as it resembled the memorable federation of 1790, when the same plain was thronged by deputations from all parts of the kingdom, collected to celebrate and seal the triumph of the people.

On the day which intervened between the *fête* of the *Champ de Mai* and the meeting of the chambers, the peers, to the number of one hundred and sixteen, of whom nearly one half were general officers, were named by the emperor.

The chambers met on the 3d of June; the peers at the Luxembourg, and the deputies at the palace of the legislative body. M. Thibeaudeau, and M. Valence, were chosen secretaries of the chamber of peers, who, together with the President Cambaceres, and the Counts Sieyes and Rœderer, were named members of the commission for the internal regulation of the assembly. The representatives met at nine o'clock in the morning, and proceeded, by ballot, to the choice of the *bureau*, consisting of the president, the vice-presidents, and the secretaries. The decision of the chamber on this point was sufficiently indicative of its character; Lanjuinais, a legislator, who voted against conferring the imperial title on Bonaparte, and who was one of the most active members of opposition in the late house of peers, was chosen president by a large majority. Flauguergues, an eloquent senator, celebrated for his boldness in the legislative assembly of 1813, was the second on the list; and La Fayette, who had resisted the earnest importunities of the emperor to accept the dignity of the peerage, held the next rank in the scale of suffrages. The preference given to Lanjuinais was grounded upon his known firmness and invincible integrity, which rendered him a faithful and fit channel of communication between the representatives of the people and the monarch. The same motives influenced the assembly in the selection of the four vice-presidents, of whom Flauguergues was first chosen, Dupont the second, La Fayette the third, and General Grenier

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the fourth; all of them men distinguished for their independence of either the court of Louis or Napoleon.

The interval between the 3d and the 7th of June was occupied in those matters of form and arrangement essential to the proper regulation of popular assemblies. It soon became evident, that the representatives of France, freely chosen, were determined to submit to no dictator; and their watchful jealousy over the liberties of their country gave to the proceedings of the chambers a sternness of manner, and an impatience of controul, which the deference due to the head of the state was scarcely sufficient to repress. Four days after the meeting of the chambers the emperor proceeded in state to the hall of the representatives, when the members of the two chambers having taken the oath of obedience to the constitution, and fidelity to his majesty, the session was opened by the following speech from the throne:—

"Messieurs of the chamber of peers, and Messieurs of the chamber of representatives."

"For three months past, circumstances, and the confidence of the people, have invested me with unlimited power. At this moment the most anxious wish of my heart is accomplished. I have commenced a constitutional monarchy. Men are too feeble to secure the future; legal institutions alone fix the destinies of nations. Monarchy is necessary to France, to guarantee the liberty, the independence, and the rights of the people. Our constitutions are scattered; one of our most important occupations will be to consolidate them into one body, and arrange them in one simple system. This labour will recommend the present epoch to the gratitude of future generations. I am anxious that France should enjoy all possible liberty; I say possible, because anarchy always resolves itself into absolute government.

"A formidable coalition of kings threatens our independence; their armies are approaching our frontiers. The *Melpomene* frigate has been attacked and taken in the Mediterranean, after a sanguinary action with an English vessel of seventy-four guns. Blood has been shed in the time of peace. Our enemies rely upon our internal divisions. They excite and foment civil war. Risings have taken place. Communications are held with Ghent, as with Coblenz in 1792. Legislative measures are indispensable. I place unreserved confidence in your patriotism, your wisdom, and your attachment to my person.

"The liberty of the press is inherent in the existing constitution. No change can be made in that respect without altering the whole of our political system; but some restrictions are necessary, more especially in the actual state of the nation. I recommend this important subject to your serious consideration.

"My ministers will acquaint you with the situation of our affairs. The finances would be in a satisfactory state but for the increased expenditure required requisite by existing circumstances. Nevertheless, all might be met, if the receipts comprised in the budget could all be realized within the year; my minister will direct your attention to the means of arriving at this result.

"It is possible that the first duty of a prince may soon call me, at the head of the children of the nation, to combat for the country. The army and myself will do our duty. Do you, peers and representatives! give the

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nation the example of confidence, energy, and patriotism; and, like the senate of the great people of antiquity, resolve to die rather than survive the dishonour and degradation of France. The sacred cause of the country shall triumph!"

While the address, in reply to the emperor's speech, was under discussion, fresh evidence was given of that laudable watchfulness with which the new parliament had determined to guard themselves from every suspicion of undue deference and adulation towards the constitutional monarch. On the day after the opening of the session a proposal was made by Felix Lepelletier, to decree in the address the title of *Saviour of his Country* to Napoleon, in imitation of the title of *Louis The Desired*, given by his senators to the French King. This unpopular proposal, grounded upon so inauspicious a model, was received in all parts of the house with tumultuous cries for the order of the day; and M. Dupin, mounting the tribune, exclaimed, "We are here to counsel, not to flatter, our emperor; would you suffer the poisoned breath of adulation to find its way already within these walls? If we anticipate events, what means will be reserved by which we shall demonstrate our gratitude at the moment when the emperor shall have saved the country?" The president, having put Lepelletier's proposal to the vote, the whole assembly rose to pass to the order of the day.

Four days elapsed before the addresses of the chambers in answer to the speech of the emperor were completely prepared. That of the peers expressed sentiments honourable to the independence of that body; and while they promised not to be depressed by adversity, they

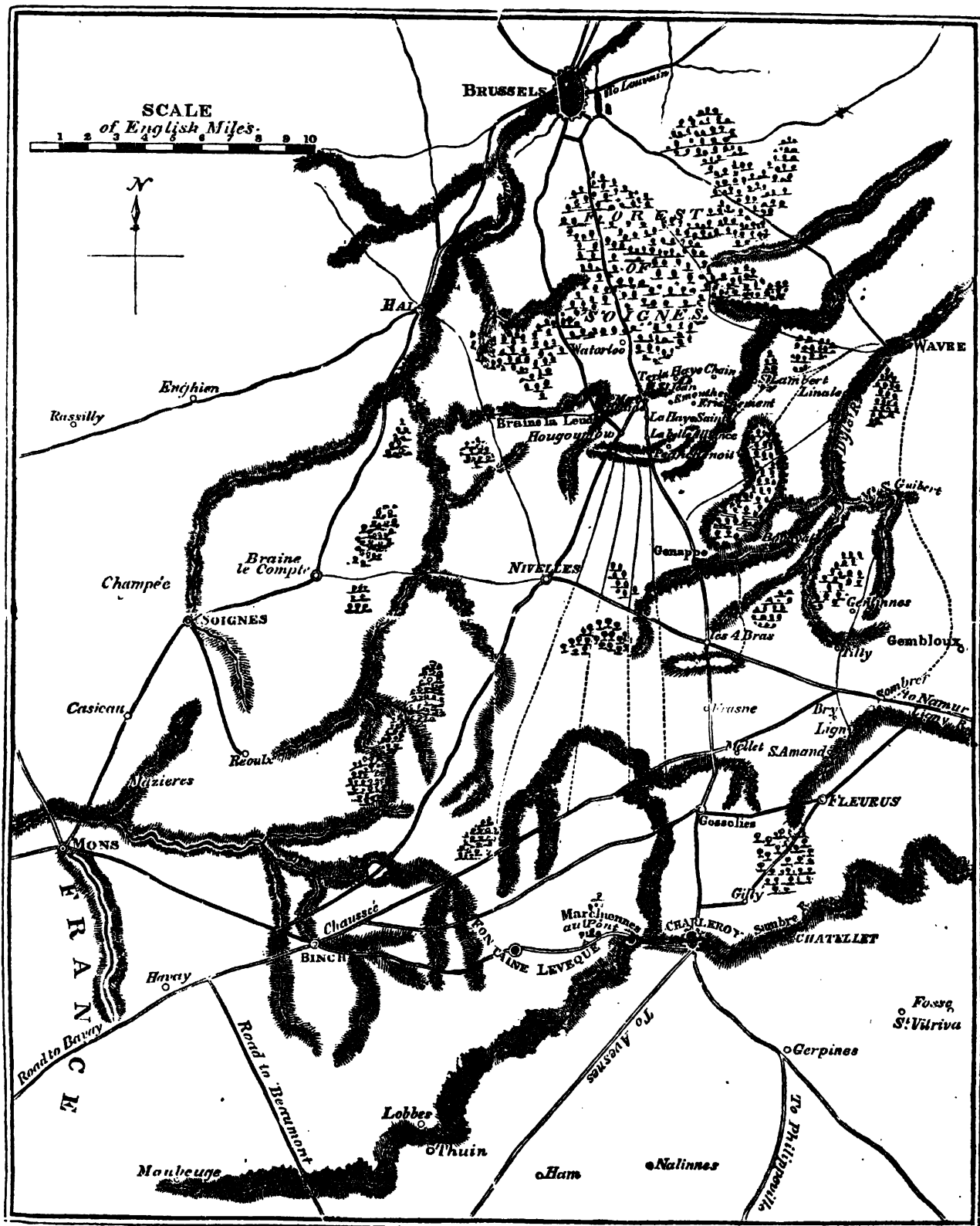
added, that their constitutions guaranteed to all Europe, that the French government could not be carried away by the seductions of victory. To this latter sentiment Napoleon replied, in the very opening of his answer, and sufficiently evinced his feeling of the censure it conveyed on his former conduct, when he said—"The struggle in which we are engaged is serious. The seduction of prosperity is not the danger which menaces us at this moment. It is under the caudine forks that our enemies would now force us to pass."

The address of the deputies was conceived in the same spirit of firmness and moderation; and, at the same time that it expressed their determination to make the establishment of a free constitution their first care, and declared, that the will even of a victorious prince would be impotent in the endeavour to draw the nation beyond the limits necessary for its defence, it declared, that they were ready to co-operate to the utmost with the monarch of their choice, in every effort for maintaining the liberty, the honour, and the dignity of France.

To these declarations Napoleon replied, that he recognized with satisfaction his own sentiments in those expressed by the deputies; and added, "I depart this night to place myself at the head of the army." The expression—"I depart this night," thrilled through the whole assembly. Already the army had marched to the frontier, and the moment now approached when the fate of Europe was to be decided, in a battle more tremendous in its immediate effects, and more important in its ultimate consequences, than any engagement of modern times.



Chart Of the Belgic Campaign of 1815.



CHAPTER VI.

BELGIC CAMPAIGN OF 1815: *Europe again in Arms—Plan of the Campaign, formed by the Allies—Marshal Blücher's Proclamation to his Army on taking the Field—Napoleon's Objects and Means—His Proclamation—Sudden Commencement of Hostilities—Passage of the Sambre by Napoleon on the 15th of June—Battles of Quatre Bras and of Ligny-sous-Fleurus on the 16th—Retreat of the Allied Armies under the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Blücher on the 17th—Advance of the French—British Position—French Position—Battle of Waterloo on the 18th—Furious Attacks made by the French on the Right, the Centre, and the Left of the British Positions—Progress of the Engagement—The British Centre carried—The French Repulsed—Advance of the Prussians on the Right of the French Position—Last desperate Effort made by the French Army—Repulsed—Simultaneous Advance of the whole of the British Forces—Entire Overthrow of the Enemy—Pursuit of the Fugitives by the Prussians under Marshal Blücher—Dreadful Slaughter—Complete Dispersion of the French Army—Marshal Blücher's Official Letter to the Governor of Berlin, with the Writer's Fac Simile Signature—British Official Account of the Battle of Waterloo—French Bulletin of the Campaign—Prussian Proclamation—Honours and Privileges conferred on the British Army.*

THE combined armies of Europe, stretching from the North Sea to the Adriatic Gulph, and from the Rhine to the Oder, were all again in motion; France being the point of concentration, and the overthrow of Napoleon's throne the ultimate object of all this military array. Murat, the brother-in-law, and the only ally of the emperor, had already fallen, and that part of the army of Austria which had been employed in expelling the King of Naples from his kingdom, was left at liberty to advance towards the French frontier, on the side of Italy, for the purpose of co-operating in that mighty effort which appeared too stupendous for human resistance. The army of France, by which alone the power of Bonaparte was to be supported, consisted of eight hundred and fifty thousand men, of whom three hundred and seventy-five thousand were regulars, including the forty thousand imperial guards.*

On the side of the allies, eleven hundred thousand regular troops, flushed with the victorious result of the preceding campaign, and supported by the exchequers of England, Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Holland, the states of Italy, and the minor powers of Germany, had already taken the field. A frontier, of the extent of a thousand British miles, lay before them; and a royalist army, under the command of La Roche Jaqueline, was again in a state of activity

in La Vendée. As a counterpoise to this vast disparity of force, Bonaparte entertained hopes, that by sudden and vigorous efforts he should be enabled to destroy his adversaries in detail, or if the country should be invaded, to rouse the same spirit of enthusiasm against the enemy which displayed itself in the year 1792.

According to the first plan of the allies, three armies were to penetrate into France at one and the same time, independent of each other, but tending towards Paris, the common centre—the army of the Upper Rhine, under Prince Schwartzemberg—the army of the Lower Rhine, under Field-marshal Blücher—and the army of the Netherlands, under the Duke of Wellington. The Russian armies, under Marshal Barclay de Tolly and General Wittgenstein, which could not arrive till a later period, were to form the reserve, and the Austrian army in Italy was destined to press into the south of France immediately after the completion of the conquest of that peninsula. The speedy conclusion of the campaign in Italy induced the Duke of Wellington strenuously to urge the union of the two armies of the Lower Rhine and the Netherlands, each to remain under their respective commanders, and neither of them to be subordinate. The unparalleled exertions of the Prussian government enabled the allies to make the alterations recommended with so much earn-

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* Exposition of the State of the Empire by the Minister Carnot, dated June 14, 1815.

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estness by the Duke of Wellington, and before the end of June a force was accumulated by that power amounting to two hundred and thirty thousand men,* by which the interval was filled up between the army of the Upper Rhine and that of the Netherlands. This army was divided into seven corps, four of which formed the army of the Lower Rhine—the 1st, under Lieutenant-general Ziethen, stationed at Fleurus; the 2d, under Lieutenant-general Count Bulow, between Liege and Hannut; the 3d, under Lieutenant-general Borstel, at Binch; and the 4th, under Lieutenant-general Thielman, at Namur; the four corps forming an army of 120,000 men, under the chief command of Field-marshal Blücher. On placing himself at the head of his troops, the illustrious veteran issued the following proclamation from his head-quarters at Liege:—

“COMRADES! His majesty the king has been pleased to confide to me the chief command of the army. I receive this favour with most lively gratitude. I am rejoiced to see you again—to find you on the field of honour prepared for a new contest, full of new hopes. It is given to us again to combat for the great cause—for general peace. I congratulate you upon it. The course of glory is again open to you. An opportunity offers, to increase, by new deeds, the military renown which you have already acquired. Placed at your head, I doubt not of certain and glorious success. Show me, in this new struggle, the confidence you placed in me during the last, and I am convinced that you will gloriously extend the fame of your brilliant deeds in arms.”

The Duke of Wellington had joined his troops in the month of April, and established his head-quarters at Brussels, in the neighbourhood of which city his army was so disposed that it might be concentrated in twenty-four hours, and directed on any point of the French frontiers. The first corps, commanded by the Prince of Orange, occupied Enghien, Braine-le-Comte, and Nivelles, and consisted of the first and third British divisions, under Generals Cooke and Alten; the first and second Hanoverian divisions; and the second and third Belgic divisions. The second corps, commanded by Lord Hill, included the second and fourth British divisions, under Generals Clinton and Hinuber; the third and sixth Hanoverian, and the first Belgic divisions, were established at Ath, Oudenarde, and Grammont. The reserve, stationed at Brussels and Ghent, comprised the fifth and sixth British divisions, under Generals Picton and Cole, and the fourth, fifth, and seventh Hanoverian divisions; the cavalry occupying Grammont and Ninove. Of this force thirty-eight thousand were British; the German legion consisted of

eight thousand men; the Hanoverian troops comprised fourteen thousand five hundred; and the Belgians, Brunswickers, and Nassau troops amounted to twenty-two thousand; making an aggregate of eighty-two thousand five hundred men.

No part of Napoleon's political life, marked as it has always been by the most rapid and extraordinary promptitude in military preparations, affords such a display of activity, as was manifested during the hundred days which formed the duration of his second reign. Amidst all his political pursuits, he was never for an instant diverted from his military operations. Cannons, muskets, and arms of every description, were forged and issued from the manufactories and arsenals with incredible celerity. The old corps were recruited; the regular army, which on his return from Elba consisted but of one hundred and seventy-five thousand men, was swelled to three hundred and seventy-five thousand;† new levies were instituted under the various names of free-corps, *federés*, and volunteers; the martial spirit of France was again roused to hope and energy; and the whole kingdom seemed transformed at once into an immense camp, of which Napoleon was the spring and the leader. One large army defiled towards Belgium, where the neighbourhood of the English and the Prussian troops excited alarm; other armies were assembled in Alsace, in Lorraine, in Franche Compté, at the foot of the Alps, and on the confines of the Pyrenees.

But it was in Belgium where the decisive blow was to be struck, and quitting Paris early in the morning of the 12th of June, attended by Marshal Soult, his major-general, Napoleon passed Laon on the 13th, and on the 14th presented himself at the head of a formidable army on the old battle-field of Europe.

The French army, already in the highest order, was still further augmented in number and equipments. The marches and combinations of the various corps d'armée were marked in a distinguished manner by that high military talent which planned Napoleon's most fortunate campaigns. In the same day, and almost at the same hour, three armies—the army of Laon, headed by the emperor in person; the army of the Ardennes, commanded by General Vandamme; and the army of the Moselle, under the orders of General Girard; having broken up from the different cantonments, attained by a simultaneous movement an united alignment upon the frontiers of Belgium. The troops, thus combined, composed five corps of infantry, com-

* Life and Campaigns of Field-marshal Prince Blücher, by General Gneisenau, Quarter-master-general of the Prussian Army.

† Carnot's Exposition, June 14, 1815.

manded by Lieutenant-generals d'Erlon, Reille, Vandamme, Girard, and the Count de Lobau. The cavalry were divided into four corps, commanded by the Generals Pajol, Excelmans, Milhaud, and Kellermann, the whole under the orders of Marshal Grouchy. The deficiency of artillery was chiefly apprehended; the allies had, in 1814, carried off most of the French field trains; but by incredible exertions, the loss was more than supplied; for besides the usual train attached to separate corps, each division of the army had a park of reserve, and the imperial guard in particular, had a train of guns, consisting almost entirely of new pieces, and many of them bearing the republican inscriptions of *Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité*. The army of the north possessed in all more than three hundred guns, a quantity which was considered rather beyond the usual proportion. The cavalry was another species of force, in which Bonaparte was supposed to be peculiarly weak, but a finer body of horse never took the field. Their number exceeded twenty thousand, of which the lancers were distinguished by their address, activity, and ferocity; and the cuirassiers, of whom it is stated that there were nine regiments, by the excellence of their appointments, and the superior power of their horses.* The infantry were principally veteran troops. The *élite* of the army consisted of the imperial guards, who were at least twenty thousand strong. The other corps of infantry, all of whom were animated with the most unbounded confidence in themselves and their general, amounted, including the artillery, to one hundred and ten thousand men, which, with the guards and cavalry, formed an aggregate of one hundred and fifty thousand soldiers, completely armed and equipped, and amply supplied with all the munitions of war.

The anniversary of the battles of Marengo and Friedland afforded a proper occasion to renew that charm, or *prestige*, as Napoleon himself was wont to call it, which once attached to his name and fortune, and on the 14th of June the emperor issued from Avesnes the following proclamation to his army:—

GENERAL ORDER.

Avesnes, June 14, 1815.

"SOLDIERS! This day is the anniversary of Marengo and of Friedland, which twice decided the destiny of

Europe. Then, as after Austerlitz, as after Wagram, we were too generous! We believed in the protestations and in the oaths of princes whom we left on the throne! Now, however, concealed among themselves, they would destroy the independence and the most sacred rights of France. They have commenced the most unjust aggressions. Let us march, then, to meet them. Are they and we no longer the same men? Soldiers, at Jena, against these same Prussians, now so arrogant, you were one against three, and at Montmirail one against six! Let those among you who have been prisoners of the English, detail to you the hurls, and the frightful miseries which they suffered! The Saxons, the Belgians, the Hanoverians, the soldiers of the confederation of the Rhine, lament that they are compelled to lend their arms to the cause of princes, the enemies of justice and of the rights of all nations; they know that this coalition is insatiable! After having devoured twelve millions of Poles, twelve millions of Italians, one million of Saxons, six millions of Belgians, it must devour the states of the second rank of Germany. The madmen! a moment of prosperity blinds them. The oppression and humiliation of the French people are beyond their power. If they enter France, they will there find their tomb. Soldiers! we have forced marches to make, battles to fight, dangers to encounter; but, with steadiness, victory will be ours—the rights, the honour, the happiness of the country will be re-conquered! To every Frenchman who has a heart, the moment is arrived to conquer or perish.

(Signed)

"NAPOLEON."

This proclamation was received by the soldiers with transports of joy. The enthusiasm of the French army was at its highest pitch; and at day-break, on the morning of Thursday the 15th, the corps were put in motion on the banks of the Sambre to invade Belgium, with the hope of surprising the Prussian army in its cantonments, and cutting off the communication between Prince Blücher and the Duke of Wellington. The second corps, under General Reille, commenced the attack upon the Prussian posts near Thuin, and General Ziethen, finding himself overpowered by superior numbers, was repulsed as far as Marchiennes-au-Pont. In their retreat the Prussians suffered considerable loss from the charges of cavalry made upon their squares of infantry, and the French troops, after forcing the passage of the Sambre, advanced towards the village of Gosselies, in order to intercept the Prussian garrison of Charleroi, should it attempt to retreat in that direction. About mid-day Napoleon entered Charleroi, and the Prussians, surprised by the suddenness of the attack, retreated precipitately upon Fleurus, where their army was concentrated. Napoleon's

* The French cuirass forms a kind of coat-of-mail, consisting of a thorax or breast-plate, made pigeon-breasted, and joined by clasps to the back-plate, like the ancient armour. Those of the soldiers are of iron highly polished, and those of the officers of brass, inlaid with steel, and are both proof against a musket-ball if it strikes upon them in an inclined direction. To this armour is added a helmet, with cheek-pieces; and the weapons of offence used by the cuirassiers are a long straight broad sword and pistols, but no carbine. In close action they are protected from the sabres of their antagonists by their armour, except the stroke falls on their neck or limbs, but the shape and weight of the cuirass necessarily impedes the motion of their arms, and renders them far inferior to the British in the dexterous use of the sabre.

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squadron of service charged several times in the course of the day upon the routed Prussian infantry; and in one of these charges General Letort, colonel of the French guard, was mortally wounded. The result of these various engagements was decidedly in favour of the French. According to their telegraphic bulletin, fifteen hundred prisoners were made, six pieces of cannon captured, and four Prussian regiments destroyed, with comparatively little loss. However this may be, the passage of the Sambre was carried, Charleroi was gained, with its magazines, and the campaign was opened with that *eclat*, which has its inspiring influence upon all military bodies, but on none so much as on the armies of France. Napoleon, with his usual policy, profited by these early successes; the most exaggerated statements were published; the prisoners were collected and marched into France on the routes by which the corps in the rear were advancing; and the sight of the captives served to inflame the French soldiers, who, with shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur*," were hastening forward to share in the glory of their comrades.

On the night of the 15th the news arrived at Brussels that hostilities had commenced. The Duke of Wellington, who was clearly taken by surprise, was sitting after dinner, with a party of officers, when the dispatches from Marshal Blucher were presented to him. On the same night the Duchess of Richmond gave a ball at Brussels, at which the Duke of Brunswick, and Lord Uxbridge, with many others of the British officers, were present; and the Duke of Wellington, considering the first intimation as merely relating to an affair of posts, after giving orders that the troops should hold themselves in readiness, had joined the assembly. At midnight a second messenger arrived, with intelligence that Charleroi was taken, that the French had advanced to Fleurus, and that a general engagement on the following day seemed inevitable. In the midst of the festivities at the Duke of Richmond's, the bugle sounded, and the drum beat to arms. The officers hastened to place themselves at the head of their troops, and many of them received their death wounds on the approaching day in their ball-room dresses. In less than an hour the troops began to assemble in the park. The artillery, the cavalry, and the waggon-train, were all in motion; and at sun-rise the march began, each regiment quitting the parade with three cheers, while the inhabitants of Brussels crowded their line of march, and followed them with their blessings.

The Duke of Wellington, attended by his staff and some squadrons of light horse, proceeded on the gallop to Les Quatre Bras, where the roads from Charleroi to Brussels, and from Nivelles to Namur, intersect each other, and

give this name to a farm lying between Genappe and Gosselies. Sir Thomas Picton, who had arrived from England on that very night, was seen at the head of his division, mounted upon his charger, with his reconnoitring-glass slung across his shoulder, and gaily accosting his friends as he rode through the streets of Brussels, never to return. The position of Les Quatre Bras was of considerable importance, and was the point by which the Prince of Orange, co-operating with a corps under Prince de Weimar, had kept up the communication from Nivelles and Brussels with Marshal Blucher's army. The Prussians were at this time posted on the heights between Bry and Sombref, and occupied with a large force the two villages of St. Amand and Ligny, in the front of those places. At three o'clock in the morning, the columns of the French army, which were still on the right side of the Sambre, were put in motion, and after effecting their passage, the whole army marched forward. The command of the left wing, composed of the first and second corps of infantry, and four divisions of cavalry under General Kellerman, was conferred on Marshal Ney, who had only arrived on the preceding day at head-quarters, and who, in obedience to his orders, had marched upon Gosselies and Frasnes, towards Brussels. The centre, composed of the third and fourth corps, having the sixth corps and the guard in reserve, constituted the main body of the French army, and was directed upon Ligny-sous-Fleurus, by the emperor in person; and Marshal Grouchy, with the horse of Pajol, and some battalions of infantry, commanded on the right, and manoeuvred towards the village of Sombref, upon the route to Namur.

During the morning there had been much skirmishing in the vicinity of Les Quatre Bras, and about three o'clock in the afternoon Marshal Ney commenced a vigorous attack upon the British position at that place. The Brunswick corps and the fifth division had happily arrived, and maintained the position with the most signal intrepidity, under the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Brunswick, Sir Thomas Picton, Sir James Kempt, and Sir Denis Pack. Early in the engagement a corps of Belgians was ordered to advance, with the 42d highland regiment, to support a detachment which was briskly pushed by the French. From some cause the two battalions were separated, when a column of French lancers, who were lying in ambush, concealed by some hedges and high standing corn, suddenly rushed upon them. Colonel Macara, perceiving the danger to which the troops were exposed, ordered his regiment to form into a square; but, in performing this evolution, two companies were left out, when the lancers

charged upon them with desperate fury, and in a moment overwhelmed and literally annihilated them. Encouraged by this success, the French troops charged on the square, and though repulsed with loss, they succeeded in cutting down great numbers of the highlanders, among whom was their brave colonel. Again and again these charges were repeated, but not a man thought of retreating; the gallant Scots stood like adamant; and it was not until their regiment was reduced to a tenth part of its original number, that the enemy was put to flight. The Prince of Orange, impelled by the ardour of the fight, advanced into the ranks of the enemy, and was made prisoner; but a battalion of Belgians, seeing his danger, rushed to his relief, and in a moment rescued him from the enemy. "There, my brave fellows," said the prince, taking off the insignia of his order and throwing it among them, "take it, you have all deserved it." This mark of affection his soldiers were not slow to return; in a moment the star was fixed to the top of their colours, and they all swore to defend this sacred deposit or to perish. This oath was speedily ratified; numbers of them fell while pronouncing it.

The Duke of Brunswick, who had entered the campaign with a spirit almost chivalrous, and had determined to avenge the death of his father, led to the charge his celebrated "Black Brunswickers," so called from the mourning which they wore for his father. The duke, in the ardour of the battle, rashly exposed himself amidst the fire of small arms, and in this situation he was struck by a musket-ball, which, passing through his bridle-hand, entered his liver, and numbered him with the dead. Sir Thomas Picton, though more fortunate than the duke, received a wound in the early part of the day, but it was not till after his death that this wound, so heroically concealed, and dressed only by himself with a piece of a torn handkerchief, was discovered. Colonel Cameron, who had so often distinguished himself in Spain, fell while leading the 92d regiment to charge a body of cavalry, and many other regretted names were read on the bloody list; but if it was a day of sorrow, it was also a day of triumph. Repeated as were the enemy's attacks with large bodies of infantry and cavalry, they were all repulsed; and the successive arrival of Generals Alten, Cooke, Maitland, and Byng, enabled the Duke of Wellington to maintain his ground against the superior force with which he was assailed. In a battle so warmly contested, the loss on each side must have been considerable,

and we accordingly find that the killed, wounded, and missing, in the British army, amounted to 3,018;* while the loss of the French is stated at 4,200.†

In the heat of the battle, and when the enthusiasm of the allies had attained the highest pitch, Marshal Ney sent orders for the first corps of infantry, which he had stationed in reserve at Frasnes, to march to the front of the *pas-de-charge*, and to throw themselves upon the ranks of the British; but what was his astonishment to learn, that the emperor, who was engaged with the Prussians at the same moment in front of the village of Ligny, had disposed of this powerful reserve without informing him of the circumstance, as well as of the division of Girard, of the second corps, and that instead of eight divisions of infantry he had actually left under his command only three! Confounded by this intelligence, Marshal Ney was obliged to renounce all hopes of victory, and to call forth the utmost efforts of his troops even to maintain his position. Thus twenty-five or thirty thousand men were paralyzed, and idly paraded, during the whole of the battle, from the right to the left and the left to the right, without firing a shot.

No immediate and decisive advantage resulted to the British from the battle of Les Quatre Bras, but a great deliverance had been achieved. The opportunity for striking a decisive blow against the English, before their army was completely assembled, had, by the "false movement" and "bad arrangements" of Napoleon, passed unimproved. "By what fatality," says Marshal Ney, "did the emperor, instead of leading his forces against Lord Wellington, who would have been attacked unawares, and could not have resisted, consider this attack (on Les Quatre Bras) as secondary? How did the emperor, after the passage of the Sambre, conceive it possible to fight two battles on the same day? It was to oppose forces double our's, and to do what military men who were witness to it can scarcely yet comprehend. Instead of this, had he left a corps of observation to watch the Prussians, and marched with his most powerful masses to support me, the English army had undoubtedly been demolished between Les Quatre Bras and Genappe; and this position, which separated the two allied armies, being once in our power, would have opened for the emperor an opportunity of advancing to the right of the Prussians, and of crushing them in their turn."† However well founded Marshal Ney's censure may be, and his authority upon such a subject is

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* London Gazette.

† French Bulletin.

† Report of the Prince of Moskwa to the Duke of Otranto, dated Paris, June 26th, 1815.

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not to be contemned, it is very improbable that all the results he imagines would have flowed from his plan of operations. The Duke of Wellington was not in the habit of permitting his army to be demolished; nor was Marshal Blücher a commander to be held in check by a corps of observation, whilst his allies were seriously engaged within the range of his operations. The British commander-in-chief has observed, with that ingenuousness which forms a leading characteristic in his transcendent military career, "that when other generals commit an error their army is lost by it, and they are sure to be beaten; but that when he gets into a scrape his army always gets him out of it;" and it is more than probable that his army would have extricated him from that danger of demolition which the Prince of Moskwa apprehends awaited him, had Bonaparte directed his principal force against the British, instead of the Prussian army. It may also be urged in favour of the plan pursued by Napoleon, that he obtained on the 16th a signal, though not a decisive victory, over the Prussian army.

When Bonaparte moved with his centre and right wing upon Blücher, he certainly conceived that he had left Marshal Ney a more easy task than his own; and that the marshal would find no difficulty in pushing his way into the vicinity of Brussels, before the English army could be concentrated in sufficient force to arrest his progress. To himself he reserved the task of coping with Marshal Blücher, hoping, by his overthrow, to cut off all communication between the Prussian and British armies, and to compel each to seek safety in isolated and unconnected movements. On advancing to the Prussian position, Marshal Blücher was found posted with his right in the village of St. Amand, his centre at Ligny-sous-Fleurus, and his left at Sombref. In this strong position the Prussian commander had assembled three corps of his army, amounting to eighty thousand men; the fourth corps, under General Bulow, being in distant cantonments between Liège and Hannut, had not yet arrived at the point of concentration. The force of the assailants is stated in the Prussian dispatches at one hundred and thirty thousand; but as Ney had at least thirty thousand in active service, and a still larger number in reserve, it is probable that the troops under Bonaparte's immediate command in the battle of Ligny did not exceed in number the force of his adversary; and the courage and animosity of the two armies was, like their strength, equal. Napoleon, having reconnoitred the strength and position of the enemy, resolved on an immediate attack; and while his left, under General Vandamme, marched upon St. Amand, General Girard, at the head of the

centre, advanced to Ligny, and Marshal Grouchy, with the right wing, presented himself in front of Sombref.

The engagement commenced at three o'clock in the afternoon, by a furious cannonade, under cover of which the third corps of the French army, commanded by Vandamme, attacked the village of St. Amand at the point of the bayonet, and notwithstanding the most determined resistance, succeeded in carrying the village. This village, which formed the key of the right wing of the Prussian position, the most desperate efforts were made to recover; and Marshal Blücher, placing himself at the head of a battalion, impelled his forces upon the French ranks with so much vigour and success, that one end of the village was again occupied by the Prussians. At this moment Bonaparte dispatched his orders for the advance of the first corps, by which the efforts of Marshal Ney were paralyzed, and the left wing of the French army exposed to the most imminent danger, but before the arrival of the reserve, the French had established themselves so firmly in the church and the burial-ground, that all the efforts of the Prussians to dislodge them proved unavailing.

It was now five o'clock in the afternoon; the battle had become general; but the principal efforts of the combatants were directed against Ligny. Here a murderous scene commenced, which for fury and inveteracy had never been equalled in any of the former contests between the French and the Prussians. Each soldier appeared to be avenging his own personal quarrel: the hatred between the two nations was of the most deadly kind; and neither party seemed disposed either to give or to ask quarter. The terrain of action was confined to a very narrow space; fresh troops were on both sides continually brought into the field; and for four hours two hundred pieces of cannon were directed from each side against the village, which was on fire at one and the same time in several places. The possession of the heights of St. Haye, which had been carried by storm three times, and remained in possession of the Prussians, seemed to give a favourable turn to their affairs; but the general fortune of the day was evidently in favour of Napoleon. The issue, however, seemed to depend on the arrival of a reinforcement of English troops, or on the junction of the corps under General Bulow. But in this emergency news was brought that the British division, destined to support Marshal Blücher, was violently attacked by the French army under Marshal Ney, and the arrival of General Bulow was invoked in vain. The danger became every hour more urgent; the Prussian commander-in-chief repeatedly led his divisions into the fire, but he had not a single corps in reserve, and neither

the gallantry of the troops, nor the personal bravery and example of the intrepid Blücher, could much longer maintain the contest against the skill, enterprise, and devotion of the enemy. About eight o'clock in the evening, the French had become masters of the villages of St. Amand and Ligny. But the Prussians still preserved a strong position in the rear of a ravine which separates the village of Ligny from the height of the mill of Bussis. Napoleon, from the commencement of the battle, had been manœuvring in such a way as to give him the power, at the proper moment, to direct a superior force beyond the ravine. This moment had now arrived; and eight battalions of the guard, formed into one formidable column, supported by four squadrons of cavalry, two regiments of cuirassiers, and the horse-grenadiers of the guard, traversed the village of Ligny at the *pas-de-charge*. Advancing into the ravine, they began to ascend the heights, under a dreadful fire of grape and musketry from the Prussians. This murderous discharge they sustained with great gallantry, and on reaching the Prussian line, the impression made upon the masses of which it consisted was so tremendous, that the field was, in an instant, covered with slain, and the centre being broken, the communication between the wings became endangered.

At this crisis of the battle, the gallant Blücher had nearly closed his long and illustrious career. The field-marshal had himself headed an unsuccessful charge against the French cavalry, and, while the enemy was in vigorous pursuit, a musket-ball struck the veteran's horse, which, instead of being stopped by his wound, began to gallop more furiously, and did not stop till he fell down dead. Stunned by the violence of the fall, Marshal Blücher lay entangled under his charger, and the enemy's cuirassiers, following up their advantage, passed over him without observing the prostrate commander. His only attendant was an adjutant in his own army, who, with an honourable self-devotion, had alighted to share his fate. In the mean time the Prussian cavalry had rallied, and having repulsed the French, became in their turn the pursuers. Still the Prussian general was laid on the ground, and was again passed, by both his own troops and the enemy, without being recognized. The danger was imminent; "but," says General Gneisenau, "heaven watched over him;" he was disengaged from the dead animal, and immediately mounted the horse of a trooper.

Night put an end to the sanguinary battle of Ligny. The French became masters of the field; but the Prussians effected their retreat in good order, and formed again at Tilly, a distance not exceeding half a league from the scene of operations. The loss on both sides was ex-

tremely severe; according to the French accounts, the Prussians had fifteen thousand men put *hors de combat*; and, on the same authority it is stated, that their own loss did not exceed three thousand men in killed and wounded.

Marshal Blücher, in his precipitate retreat, left fifteen pieces of cannon in the hands of the enemy, and the whole number of pieces captured on the 16th, is stated, in the French bulletin, to amount to forty. During the night, the villages of Bry and Sombref remained in possession of the Prussians under General Thielman; but at the dawn of the following morning this corps commenced its retreat by the route of Gembloux, where it was joined by General Bulow's division; and in the course of the 17th, the whole of the Prussian army was concentrated in the neighbourhood of Wavre.

The French exaggerated their advantages with a licence more than poetic. Marshal Soult, Napoleon's lieutenant, in a dispatch to the Prince of Eckmühl, the French minister-at-war, did not scruple to announce, "that the emperor had succeeded in separating the line of the allies." "Wellington and Blücher," he adds, "saved themselves with difficulty: the effect was theatrical—in an instant the firing ceased, and the enemy was routed in all directions." Another dispatch, published with great pomp in the French official paper, said, "There are upon the field of battle eight enemies to one Frenchman! Their loss is said to be fifty thousand men!" The cannonade was like that of the battle of Moskwa. Whole bands of prisoners are taken; they do not know what is become of their commanders. The rout is complete on this side, and I hope we shall not so soon hear again of the Prussians, if they should be ever able to rally again. As for the English, we shall see, now the emperor is here, what will become of them."

Napoleon now cherished the hope that the great object of his first movements was effected, and that he had completely succeeded in separating the English and Prussian armies, by cutting off their communication. Under this persuasion, he marched on the morning of the 17th towards Quatre Bras, after leaving the third and fourth corps, with the cavalry of General Pajol, under the orders of Marshal Grouchy, to follow the retreating Prussian army.

The retreat of Marshal Blücher demanded a corresponding movement on the part of Lord Wellington, and at ten o'clock in the morning of Saturday, the 17th, the British army retired from the farm of Quatre Bras upon the forest of Soignies, by the route of Genappe. The Duke of Wellington had scarcely commenced his march, when the masses of the enemy began to appear. The French cuirassiers and lancers

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formed the advanced-guard, and pressed closely upon the rear of the British column. The rain, which fell in torrents, had rendered the roads almost impassable, and the open country could not be traversed even by the cavalry. From this circumstance, the enemy was unable to harass the flanks of the retiring army, and forced to confine all their efforts to the centre, which proceeded on the high road. The Duke of Wellington, on passing Genappe, expressed his surprise that he had been allowed to move through that narrow defile unharassed by the attacks of the enemy, and surmised that Napoleon did not command in person the pursuing divisions of the French army; but in this conjecture the British commander was mistaken, and it was found that the apparent want of activity was to be imputed to the heavy loss sustained on the 16th, to the tempestuous state of the weather, and to the impracticability of the roads. Lord Uxbridge, to whom was confided the duty of covering the rear of the British army, finding his cavalry much pressed by the French lancers, resolved to attack the advancing squadrons as they issued from the pass at Genappe. This attack, which was most gallantly led by the 7th hussars, was received by the French cavalry with distinguished firmness, and the hussars were repulsed with loss. Animated by the native valour of Britons, the attack was again renewed, but the massive columns of the enemy remained unbroken. The heavy household troops were now ordered to charge, and to strike only at the limbs of their adversaries. Dismayed by this novel mode of attack, and unable to withstand the resistless torrent, the lancers turned their horses, and the British troops were permitted to continue their retreat, without further molestation, to the entrance of the forest of Soignies, three miles in front of Waterloo.

At five o'clock in the afternoon the English army arrived at its destination, and the Duke of Wellington, having made his arrangements for the night, established his head-quarters at a petty inn in the small village, on whose name he was destined to confer imperishable renown. The duke had travelled through this part of the country at a time when there was no appearance that hostilities would be soon renewed, and seeing every thing with the eye of a soldier, had observed, that were he ever to fight a battle for the defence of Brussels, Waterloo was the ground which he would choose as the scene of operations. At Brussels, which city had been thrown into extreme consternation, by some runaway Belgic cavalry, who had passed through the town on the morning of the 17th, proclaiming that the French army was in close pursuit, the alarm and despondency of the inhabitants was heightened by the intelligence that the Duke

of Wellington had fallen back to Waterloo. A retrograde movement bears with it so many symptoms of defeat, and it is so often either the consequence or the prelude of an overthrow, that the inhabitants of a large city, where every thing is at stake, may well be excused for giving way to those feelings from which the British army itself was not altogether free. The French, on the contrary, glowed with the most sanguine expectations. No one suffered himself to believe that the English would halt, till they reached their vessels, and Napoleon himself calculated confidently upon holding, on the following day, one of his Sunday reviews in the magnificent square of the Place Royale at Brussels.

On the arrival of the Duke of Wellington in his position at Waterloo, a messenger was dispatched by his lordship to Marshal Blücher, to inform him that the duke was resolved to accept battle on the following day, if the Prussians could support him with two of their corps. The answer of Blücher was highly characteristic—he promised not only to support the duke with two corps, but with his whole army; adding, that if Napoleon did not choose to attack them, the allies should unite their whole force and attack him. The French, whose force was gradually coming up during the evening, occupied a ridge nearly opposite to the position of the English army, and while Napoleon established his head-quarters at the farm of Oaillon, near Planchenoit, a village in the rear of his position, the bivouacs of his numerous army covered the declivity of the hill, and rose to its summit.

The night of the 17th was dreadful; the rain fell incessantly and in torrents; the soldiers, in their open bivouacs, were up to their knees in mud; and many of them, particularly the officers, who had advanced from Brussels in their ball-room dress, worn out by the fatigues they had encountered, stretched themselves on this cheerless bed, to rise no more. Few places could be found sufficiently free from mud to admit of a fire being lighted, and the pelting of the storm, even in those situations, instantly extinguished the flame. The interval usually appropriated to rest was not lost by the British troops. In the course of the night time was found to cleanse their arms, distribute ammunition, and make the necessary preparations for the approaching conflict.

It was the general fear in the French army that the English would disappear during the night, and when the slow and gloomy dawn of the morning of the 18th exhibited them still in possession of the opposite heights, Napoleon could not suppress his satisfaction, but exclaimed, while he stretched his arm towards their posi-

tion, *Ah ! je les tiens donc, ces Anglois !** The adverse armies were now preparing for battle. For the first time, the two generals, the most renowned of their age and nations, were opposed to each other. The previous reputation which each of them had acquired; the rivalry which existed between them; and the almost uniform success which had attended their different systems of tactics; powerfully excited them to call into exercise all the genius of their almost inexhaustible minds. But glory, however stimulating to a military commander, was by no means their principal object. The approaching engagement was not one of those battles that might be lost or won without any material influence upon surrounding nations. The fate of Europe depended upon the result of this day. The stake was immense; one of the chiefs sought to preserve a diadem, and the other, to restore the tranquillity of an agitated world.

The tactic of Napoleon was simple but grand. It resembled that which, adopted by the first of our naval commanders, had raised the renown of the British navy to the summit of glory. The whole weight of his army was usually directed against one point, either where his opponent appeared to be the most weak, or where success must be followed not merely by the discomfiture, but by the demolition of the foe. Regiments, divisions, nay, whole armies, were hazarded without hesitation to accomplish his favourite object. When one body retired in confusion another was immediately ordered to occupy its place. "Forward! Forward!" was the general reply to every intelligence of repulse or disaster; and candour demands the acknowledgment, that his calculations were usually correct, and his efforts crowned with success.

The system of the Duke of Wellington was altogether the reverse. Never was any general more sparing of the blood of his soldiers. He usually awaited the attack of his adversary. No temporary or partial success could allure him to compromise the safety of his army; but his keen and eagle-eye detected the first error of the enemy, and, with a promptitude as characteristic as his previous coolness and immobility, he availed himself of the critical moment, and usually secured the fortune of the day.

The field of the battle of Waterloo, with the aid of the annexed plan, is capable of a very lucid description. The ground occupied by the two armies was the smallest in extent of front, compared with the number engaged, of any field of battle in the recollection of military men. The English line did not exceed a mile and a half in length; and the French line not more

than two miles; and to this circumstance must in part be attributed the unparalleled loss which each party sustained. The forest of Soignies, says a Belgic traveller, from whom we quote, is an immense wood composed of beech-trees, growing usually close together, and is intersected by a long broad road, which, upon issuing from the forest, reaches the small village of Waterloo, at a distance of twelve miles from Brussels. Beyond this point the wood assumes a more straggled and dispersed appearance, till it reaches a ridge called Mount St. Jean, from a farm house situated upon the Brussels road, where the trees disappear, and the country becomes quite open. Along this eminence the British forces were dispersed in two lines. The second line, which consisted chiefly of Lord Hull's corps, lay behind the brow of the hill, and was in some degree sheltered from the enemy's fire. The first line, consisting of the *élite* of the infantry, under the Prince of Orange, occupied the crest of the ridge, and was on the left partly defended by a long hedge and ditch, which, running in a straight line from the hamlet of Mount St. Jean towards the village of Ohain, gives name to two farm houses—La Haye Sainte and Ter la Haye. The ground at Ter la Haye becomes woody and broken, and formed a strong point at which to terminate the left of the British line. A road runs from Ter la Haye to Ohain, and the woody passes of St. Lambert, through which the Duke of Wellington kept up a communication by his left with the Prussian army at Wavre. The centre of the British army occupied the village of Mount St. Jean, in the middle of the ridge, just where the great causeway from Brussels divides into two roads, one of which branches off to Nivelles, and the other continues the straight road to Charleroi. A strong advanced post of Hanoverian sharpshooters occupied the house and farm-yard of the holy hedge, as the name La Haye Sainte imports, situated in advance upon the Charleroi road, and just at the bottom of the hill. The right of the British army, extending along the same eminence, occupied and protected the Nivelles road as far as the inclosures of Hougomont, or more properly Goumont, and turning rather backwards, rested its extreme right upon a deep ravine at Braine la Leude. The ground in front of the British position formed a gentle declivity into a valley, nearly half a mile in breadth, which lay between the two armies, and at that time bore a tall and strong crop of corn.

The French position rang along an eminence parallel to the British lines, at a distance of from twelve to fourteen hundred yards, and the op-

* Ah ! these English, I have them at last.

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posing hills were each of them lined with three hundred pieces of artillery. Early in the morning of the 18th numerous bodies of French cavalry began to occupy the ridge of La Belle Alliance. At nine o'clock the rain had somewhat abated, and the 1st corps was at that hour put in motion, and placed opposite the centre of the British position, with the left on the road to Brussels. The second corps, resting its right upon the same road, and its left upon a small wood in front of Hougoumont, was placed within cannon shot of the English army. The 6th corps; with the cavalry of General D'Aumont, under the order of Count Lobau, was destined to proceed in the rear of the right to oppose a Prussian corps, which, having escaped Marshal Grouchy, threatened to fall upon the French right flank; and the cuirassiers and the guards were in reserve behind the eminence, and upon the heights of La Belle Alliance.*

The force of the two armies has been variously stated; according to the French accounts the English army consisted of eighty thousand men, and the Prussian corps, on the left of the British position, of fifteen thousand; the allied force was therefore upwards of ninety thousand, and the French less numerous.† Marshal Blücher says—"The English army was about eighty thousand strong, and the enemy had about one hundred and thirty thousand."‡ The Duke of Wellington, with his usual caution, makes no statement of numbers—it is to the results mainly that he directs his attention. From a paper indorsed "Enumeration of some corps of the army," in the hand-writing of a French officer, found in Bonaparte's Portfolio, taken at Genappe after the battle, it appears that the French corps which fought at Waterloo did not exceed eighty thousand.§ And it is pretty clear that, after making the proper deduction for the loss in the battle of Quatre Bras, the aggregate amount of the miscellaneous force brought this day into the field by the Duke of Wellington, including British, Belgian, Hanoverian, and Brunswickers, did not amount to more than seventy thousand men.||

A little before mid-day the battle commenced by the almost simultaneous advance of three entire French *corps d'armée*, on the right, left, and centre of the British lines. The Prussian corps under Bulow, struggling with the defiles of St. Lambert, were urging forward their course towards the scene of action, and the cheering cry of "Keep your ground, brave English, till we come up," was addressed on every hand to a British officer of engineers, who had been dispatched early in the morning by Lord Wellington to inform the Prussian commander that an engagement had become inevitable. Both the rival commanders were in full view of the field when the battle began, and remained upon it all day without retiring for a moment. Napoleon's first post was a high temporary observatory, constructed some weeks before, by order of the King of the Netherlands, as a point of observation for the persons employed in making a trigonometrical survey of the country; but his principal station, during the day, was a small elevation in front of the farm of La Belle Alliance, and on the left-hand side of the road leading to Brussels. Soult, Ney, and other officers of distinction, commanded under him, but he issued all orders, and received all reports in person. The well-chosen station of the Duke of Wellington formed the precise centre of the British line, near the top of Mount St. Jean, under a tree, on the Brussels road, which commanded a full view of the intermediate plain, and of the whole of the enemy's force upon the adverse slope, and from which every movement made or threatened, could, with the aid of his achromatic telescope, be distinctly seen. Here the British commander, dressed in a blue regimental frock-coat, and wearing a plain cocked-hat, kept his post during the whole day, except when engaged in confirming the unconquerable spirit of his gallant countrymen, or in leading them on to that final charge which decided the fate of nations.

The two points of the greatest importance in the British lines were, the chateau of Hougoumont, with its wood and garden in front of the

* French Bulletin.

† French Bulletin.

‡ Prussian Official Report.

§ See No. II. of Napoleon's Portfolio, published at Brussels.

|| The Duke of Wellington's force was divided into two *corps d'armée*, under the orders of General the Prince of Orange, and Lieutenant-general Lord Hill, under whom the infantry was commanded by

LIEUTENANT-GENERALS Sir Thomas Picton, Sir Henry Clinton, and Baron Sir C. Alten.

MAJOR-GENERALS Sir H. de Humber, Sir James Kempt, Sir Colin Halkett, Sir Denis Pack, George Cooke, Peregrine Maitland, Frederick Adam, Sir John Byng, and Sir John Lambert.

The cavalry was commanded by Lieutenant-general the Earl of Uxbridge, and under him by MAJOR-GENERALS Lord Edward Somerset, the Honourable Sir William Ponsonby, Count Sir William Dornberg, Sir Colquhoun Grant, Sir R. Husse Vivian, and Sir John Ormsby Vandeleur.

The artillery was under the command of Colonel Sir George Adam Wood; and the engineers under Colonel Smyth.

right; and the farm of La Haye Sainte in front of the left. Hougoumont in particular was the *point d'appui*, or key, of the Duke of Wellington's position, and here three companies of General Byng's brigade of guards, under Lord Saltoun, were placed, while the gardens and woods were lined with Nassau troops as sharp-shooters. The attack on the right was made by a division of the second corps of the French army, under Jerome Bonaparte, and such was its fury and impetuosity, that the Nassau troops abandoned their post at Hougoumont in dismay. The French forced their way to the very gates of the courtyard, but there they were received by the guards with so close and well-directed a fire, that they retired in confusion, or were charged with the bayonet, and repeatedly repulsed. In less than half an hour fifteen hundred men perished in the orchard only, which did not exceed four acres in extent. A station of so much importance was to be obtained if possible at any price, and fresh reinforcements were sent in succession to this scene of carnage. At length the house and out-buildings took fire; but even amidst the flames the combat continued with unabating fury. In one of the out-buildings, the wounded of both armies, who had in this place sought a temporary refuge, perished by the most horrible of deaths. In vain their shrieks reached the ears of the conflicting armies. The combatants were too fiercely engaged to lend them any assistance, and it was soon impossible to extricate them from the devouring element. The house and offices were now reduced to mere shells, and the post of Hougoumont being in some degree insulated, and its defenders no longer in close communication with the British army, the French cavalry were enabled to pour round it in great strength. Here, as in the other parts of the field, the British forces were, during this memorable action, drawn up in squares, each regiment forming a separate square by itself, not quite solid, but nearly so, the men being drawn up several files deep. The distance between these masses afforded space enough to draw up the battalions in line when they should be ordered to deploy, and the regiments were posted with reference to each other, much like the alternate squares upon a chess-board. It was, of course, impossible for a squadron of cavalry to push between two of these squares, without exposing themselves to the danger of being at once assailed by a fire in front from that square which was in the rear, and on both flanks from those between which it had moved forward. These dangers were far from repressing the courage of the French, who pressed forward in defiance of every obstacle,

and in their furious onsets seemed to unsettle the firm earth over which they galloped; but as often as they advanced to the lines they were driven back with the bayonet, and although these efforts were repeated during the whole day, such was the constancy of the troops to which the defence of Hougoumont was confined, that the ruins of the chateau never for a moment passed into the hands of the enemy.

The attack upon Hougoumont was accompanied by a heavy fire with more than two hundred pieces of artillery upon the whole British line; and under cover of this fire repeated attacks were made. Columns of French infantry and cavalry, preceded by formidable artillery, advancing from every point, ascended the eminence on which the British were posted, and precipitated themselves on their squares. In vain the French artillery mowed down whole ranks of their enemies. The chasms were instantly filled, and not a foot of ground was lost. "What brave troops!" exclaimed Napoleon to his staff, "it is a pity to destroy them; but I shall beat them after all." The principal masses of the 6th corps of the French were at this moment directed on the left of the British position, where were posted the divisions of Generals Picton and Kempt. The object of Napoleon in this attack was to turn the left of the allies, and, by separating them from the Prussians, to cut off the retreat of the Duke of Wellington in the direction of Ter la Haye. Nothing could be more tremendous than the mode of attack; it was headed by artillery, which discharged showers of iron grape shot, each bullet larger than a walnut. It was a battle, on the part of the French, of cavalry and cannon; and at the head of their columns were the iron-cased cuirassiers, in complete mail, upon which the musket-balls were heard to ring, as they glanced off without injuring or even stunning the wearer. The 42d, 79th, and 92d, highlanders, supported by the 1st and 28th regiments, met this phalanx without dismay, and displayed all the gallantry by which they had been distinguished in the battle of the 16th. The advancing column marched on amidst the destructive fire of the British artillery, and gained the height, determined to carry the position. Already some of the foreign troops posted at this point had given way, and it required all the skill of the British commander, and all the courage and discipline of his soldiers, to withstand the shock.* The Duke of Wellington, who happened to be in this part of the field at the moment, moved up a body of British troops to a kind of natural embrazure, formed by a hedge and bank in front of the line. Sir Thomas

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* General Alava.

BOOK V. Picton, without waiting for the attack, formed his division into solid squares, and advanced to the charge. The Royals, the Greys, and Enniskellens, co-operating in this bold manœuvre, wheeled upon the flanks of the advancing column; and the French, after suffering immense loss, were driven into the plain. It was at this moment that Sir Thomas Picton fell gloriously while leading his troops to the charge. The enemy, confounded at finding their masses met in such a manner, fired, and retreated; when a musket-ball struck the right temple of the British general, went through the brain, and was retained only by the skin at the opposite side of the skull. In the death of Sir Thomas Picton the British service lost an officer of distinguished merit, who had served his country for five and forty years with a zeal and devotion which age could not damp, and whose skill and gallantry had been displayed in the American Archipelago, in the marshes of Holland, and the peninsula of Spain and Portugal.

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It was in this part of the field, but at a more advanced period of the battle, that the mild, yet intrepid Sir William Ponsonby fell, leading on his men to victory. In order to check the destructive attacks made by the Polish lancers against the British infantry, he led his brigade into the heat of the battle, and a more brilliant and successful charge was never witnessed. Two thousand prisoners served to announce his success; but the impetuous valour of two of his regiments having hurried him too far in the pursuit, he entered a newly ploughed field, and being badly mounted, his horse sunk in the mire, and was incapable of extricating itself. At this instant a body of lancers approached him at full speed; and Sir William, anticipating his fate, took out a picture and his watch, and was in the act of consigning them to his aide-de-camp, to be delivered to his wife, when the lancers came up, and terminated the career of both the general and his attendant. His body was found soon after,

pierced with no less than seven wounds. But he did not fall unavenged; before the close of the day the Polish lancers were almost annihilated; and two of those imperial eagles, on which were emblazoned the names of Austerlitz, Jena, Eylau, Friedland, and Wagram, and which had been presented to the 49th and the 105th regiments only seventeen days before, at the *Champ de Mai*, fell into the hands of the British. The struggle for the eagles was maintained principally by the 92d regiment, who broke into the centre of the French column with the bayonet, and the moment they had pierced the line the Scotch Greys dashed in to their support, both regiments greeting each other with the exhilarating cry of "Scotland for ever!" By the effort which followed, the enemy's column to a man was put to the sword or made prisoners; and the Greys, charging through the second line, took the eagles. The emperor, surrounded by his staff, and attended by the trembling farmer Lacoste,* witnessed the recoil of his choicest troops, and felt himself constrained, in spite of himself, repeatedly to mutter compliments to the spirit, rapidity, and steadiness of the British cavalry:—"These English fight admirably," said he to Soult, "but they must give way." "No, sire," was the reply, "they prefer being cut to pieces." The Scotch Greys especially struck him, and he often repeated—*Regardez ces chevaux gris!*—Observe those grey horses!

The attacks on the right and left of the British line having failed, Napoleon now directed his efforts against the centre. La Haye Sainte was a point as important to be carried as Ter la Haye, and inferior only to Hougomont. If the enemy succeeded here he indulged the hope that the line would be broken, and the communication with Brussels cut off. Both parties felt the importance of this position, and nobly exerted themselves, the French to carry and the British to defend it. Perpetual reinforcements occupied the places of the weakened

* Early in the morning of Sunday, the 18th of June, Jean Baptiste Lacoste, the tenant of the farm of La Belle Alliance, was called upon by three French Officers, who, after having ascertained that he was well acquainted with the country, sent him to Bonaparte, to serve as a guide. On his arrival at the French head-quarters he was placed on a horse immediately between Napoleon and his first aide-de-camp, his saddle being tied to the saddle of a trooper behind him that he might not escape, as a former man employed in the same capacity had done. During the whole day he remained in attendance upon the emperor, and did not quit him till he had re-passed the Sambre. The narrative of this man, if less interesting than might have been expected from the station he occupied, is nevertheless curious, and bears evident marks of authenticity. Observing how the chasms in the British troops were filled up the instant they were made by the French artillery, Napoleon, he says, exclaimed—"Quelles braves troupes! comme ils travaillent! tres-bien!"—"What brave troops! how they do go through their work! admirable! admirable indeed!" During the battle, the emperor held a map of the scene of action in his left hand, and seemed intent upon his military command all the day, incessantly taking snuff from his waistcoat pocket in large pinches. This was all the refreshment he took for fourteen hours. Seeing Lacoste flinch at the shower of shot, he said—"Don't stir, my friend, a shot will kill you equally in the back as in the front, or wound you more disgracefully." The emperor's dress consisted of a grey surtout, with a green uniform coat, and, in honour of his party's badge, a violet-coloured waistcoat and pantaloons.

battalions, and for more than an hour the contest was maintained with doubtful and equal success. While the contest still hung in suspense, it was discovered that the ammunition of the detachment of the legion which occupied La Haye Sainte was expended, and that the enemy had occupied the only communication with that place. But even in this extremity, the German legion scorned to surrender; they defended themselves desperately with the bayonet; nor was the position carried till its defenders had ceased to breathe. Napoleon, with his characteristic promptitude, seized the advantage which now presented itself, and pressing on with immense masses of infantry and cavalry, redoubled his attacks against the exposed centre. The first battalions that he encountered, overwhelmed by superior numbers, gave way; and the emperor, deeming the fortune of the day no longer doubtful, dispatched couriers to Paris with the intelligence that the day was won. An awful crisis had now arisen; and had Napoleon brought up his reserves of infantry, or waited till the British squares had been thrown into confusion, by the tremendous fire of artillery which he was enabled to direct against them from the position he had conquered, it might have been impossible for the unrivalled skill even of the Duke of Wellington to retrieve the disaster. But the impetuosity of the French troops was not to be restrained by the caution of their general; and "by a movement of impatience," says the French bulletin, "so frequent in the military annals of France, and which has been so often fatal to them, the cavalry of reserve, having perceived a retrograde movement made by the English to shelter themselves from the batteries, from which they suffered so much, crowded the heights of Mount St. Jean, and charged the infantry. This movement, which, made in time, and supported by the reserves, might have decided the day, being made in an isolated manner, and before affairs on the right were terminated, became fatal." "Having no means of countermanding it," it is added, "the British showed many masses of cavalry and infantry, and the two divisions of cuirassiers being engaged, all the French cavalry ran at the same moment to support their comrades. There, for three hours, numerous charges were made, which enabled the French troops to penetrate several squares, and to take six standards of the light infantry—an advantage out of proportion with the loss which their cavalry experienced by the grape-shot and musket firing."*

During this part of the conflict the cuirassiers and lancers rushed on at the head of their

columns, and precipitated themselves on the British squares. A few battalions, who were slow or awkward in their evolutions, were in a moment cut to pieces; but wherever the squares were formed the enemy could make no impression. In vain, with unexampled courage and self-devotion, the French cavalry walked their horses round the British squares, and dashed at the slightest opening; in vain, when they arrived within a short distance, a few of them rushed on, and would have nobly sacrificed themselves, by receiving the fire of their adversaries, while the main body waited to charge on the British ere they could re-load their pieces, or fill up the chasm. The troops, with a steadiness to which no language can do justice, did not pull a single trigger, but continued to present a barrier of steel against the advance of the main body of the enemy. Other squadrons of cavalry penetrated between the squares, and desperately charged on the position occupied by the Duke of Wellington and his staff. It was evidently their object to signalise themselves by the death or capture of the British commander. Even his personal escort was compelled to be continually on the alert, and was frequently engaged with the most enterprising of the advancing columns. The cavalry took a distinguished part in the action. They fiercely engaged the cuirassiers, lancers, and chasseurs, who had penetrated the line, and the battle was bravely contested man to man. Notwithstanding the most undaunted exertions on the part of the Earl of Uxbridge, seconded by those of the cavalry officers of the British army, the light cavalry were found to suffer severely in their unequal encounter with the ponderous and sword proof cuirassiers. Even the German legion, so distinguished for discipline and courage during the peninsular conflicts, were found unequal on the field of Waterloo to the shock of the French cavalry. But no sooner had Sir John Elley asked and obtained permission to bring up the heavy brigade, consisting of the Life Guards, the Oxford Blues, and the Scotch Greys, than a charge was made which overwhelmed all resistance. The armour of the cuirassiers, the weight of their squadrons, and the power of their horses, united, proved altogether unable to withstand the shock of the heavy brigade; they were literally ridden down upon the field; and, in the homely but emphatic language of one of the life-guards-men, "hundreds of them were unhorsed, and cracked like lobsters in their shells." Others were forced headlong over a sort of quarry or gravel pit, where they rolled a confused and undistinguished mass of men and horses, exposed

* French Official Account of the Battle of Waterloo, dated Paris, June 21, 1815.

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to the galling fire of the 95th, which, being poured closely in upon them, soon put a period to their struggles.

Napoleon, perceiving the error that had been committed, in the "movement of impatience," brought forward the whole centre of his infantry to assist, and, if possible, to disengage his cavalry. A close column of French pressed forward, with irresistible vigour, and marched on to carry the village of Mount St. Jean, in the rear of the British position. The Duke of Wellington felt the critical situation in which his army was placed, and presenting himself wherever the danger was most imminent, led on in person several successive charges, exclaiming repeatedly—"We must not be beat; what would they say in England?" When any of the squares appeared to falter, he threw himself into the midst of them, and the consciousness of the treasure committed to their care rendered them firm as the rock, against which the spray beats harmlessly. By the constancy of his troops he succeeded in arresting the further progress of the enemy, and snatched from them that advantage which they had gained. The enemy, in his turn, now began to retreat; the farm of La Haye Sainte was retaken, and the combatants again occupied the situation which they had held at the commencement of the attack on the British centre, with this difference only, that the French troops had established themselves on a small mount on the left of the road from Brussels to Charleroi, and never quitted it till the grand advance of the British army at the close of the engagement.

It was with the greatest difficulty the duke could restrain the impetuosity of his troops; and in visiting the different stations he was often received with shouts of impatience. The gallant 95th in particular, wearied with the iron cases and the iron grape shot, requested to be led on: "Not yet, not yet, my brave fellows!" was the duke's reply; "be firm a little longer."

The attacks on the right, the left, and the centre, now described, formed a fair specimen of the reiterated contests till four o'clock in the afternoon. At that hour a new series of attacks commenced along the whole extent of the British line, but principally upon the centre, sometimes with infantry, at others with cavalry, and frequently with both united; while three hundred

pieces of artillery on each side vomited forth their death-dispersing charges. Terrible as the slaughter was, it would have been yet more dreadful, had not the shells, owing to the wetness of the ground, frequently buried themselves in the earth, and when they exploded, produced no other effect than that of casting up a tremendous fountain of mud.

The Duke of Wellington had placed his best troops in the first line; already they had suffered severely, and it was found that the quality of those brought up to support them was in some instances unequal to the duty they were required to discharge. A Belgian regiment, that had given way on entering the first line, was again brought to its post by the duke in person; but no sooner had they crossed the ridge of the hill, and again become exposed to the storm of balls and shells, from which they had before retreated, than they once more marched to the right about, and left their general to find in a Brunswick regiment more steady and resolute followers. In another part of the field the Hanoverian hussars of Cumberland, as they were called, a corps distinguished for their high plumes, and the other embellishments of continental military foppery, were ordered to avail themselves of an opportunity that presented itself to charge the French cavalry; but instead of making the proposed advance they retreated, and took up a position behind the hamlet of St. Jean.*

These instances were by no means characteristic of the general conduct of the Hanoverian or Belgian troops, by both of whom the fight was in other parts of the field gallantly sustained; but they may serve to show that the duke could not repose implicit confidence in the raw troops and militia of whom his second line was chiefly composed, and will still more highly exalt that prudence which induced him to restrain the ardour of his troops, till the arrival of the Prussians. The invitation held out to a Belgic corps by the French troops, and conveyed in the cry "Brave Belgians, come over, and join your old comrades!" was rejected with disdain.

It was now five o'clock, and still the Prussians, so long expected, and so ardently wished for, had not yet arrived. The British reserves were all in action; their loss was already severe

* The colonel of this regiment, when ordered to advance, urged the enemy's strength—their cuirasses—and the consideration, which had unaccountably, he said, escaped the commander-in-chief, that his regiment were all gentlemen. This diverting response was carried back to the Duke of Wellington, who dispatched the messenger again to say, that if the gentlemen would take post upon an eminence, which he pointed in the rear, they would have an excellent view of the battle; and he would leave the choice of a proper time entirely to their own sagacity and discretion, in which he had the fullest confidence! The colonel, not perceiving the sarcasm conveyed by the messenger, actually thanked the aide-de-camp for this distinguished post of honour, and followed by his gallant train, was out of danger in a moment.—*Simpson's Visit to Flanders.*

in the extreme; and the brave Scotch division was reduced to one-third its number. The sixth division, still less fortunate, because less actively engaged, had been almost destroyed without firing a gun; and patient endurance, though still as necessary as ever, began to find its limit. The spirits of the soldiers drooped; they scorned the thoughts of a retreat; and were eager to be led against the enemy; but thus to stand as targets for the French columns to direct their fire against was more than they could much longer endure. An indifference to life was fast spreading through the ranks; and the penetrating mind of the commander became a prey to the most anxious suspense. Success was more than doubtful. Another hour, without the appearance of Blücher, might render defeat inevitable. Still the Duke of Wellington was cool and collected, and while he looked at his watch with a frequency and intentness that sufficiently indicated the anxiety he felt for the arrival of his allies, he continued firm at his post. "All who heard him issue orders took confidence from his quick and decisive intellect; and all who saw him caught metal from his undaunted composure." At this juncture an aide-de-camp came with the information that the fifth division was almost destroyed; and that it was utterly impossible that they could longer maintain their ground against the murderous attacks to which they were exposed: "I cannot help it," said the duke, "they must keep their ground. They and I, and every Englishman in the field, must die on the spot rather than give way. Would to God that night or Blücher were come."

The duke's personal staff, who had shared so many glories and dangers by the side of their commander, fell around him in rapid succession. The Prince of Nassau, one of his aides-de-camp, received two balls. The gallant General de Lancy was struck by a spent ball, while animating and leading back to the charge a battalion of Hanoverians, who had got into confusion; and exclaimed as he fell—"Leave me to die; my wound is mortal; attend to the duke; and do not waste that time on me which may be usefully employed in assisting others."—These orders were too promptly obeyed; and, when, on the following morning, the bloody field was traversed, he was found yet living, and to the satisfaction and joy of his friends, hopes, fallacious one, alas! were entertained of his recovery. He was removed to the village of Waterloo; and Lady de Lancy, who had arrived at Brussels a week before the battle, had the sad consolation to attend her dying husband, who expired six days after the battle—a martyr probably, to his own generous disinterestedness. The same, but a more sudden, and con-

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sequently more enviable fate, awaited Lieutenant-colonel the Honourable Sir Alexander Gordon; while earnestly and affectionately remonstrating with the duke on the too free exposure of his invaluable life, he was struck by a musket-ball, which closed his career by the side of his beloved commander. Colonel Ferrier, of the first life-guards, had led his regiment to the charge no less than eleven times, and several of these charges were made after his head had been laid open by the cut of a sabre; still unsubdued, he made a final effort; it was his last; he sunk in the bloom of life among the slain. Lieutenant-colonel Canning likewise now closed his career of glory. In his capacity of aide-de-camp to the duke he had been sent with some important orders to a distant part of the line, and on his return was struck by a grape shot on the breast. As he fell, his friend, Lord March, hastened to his assistance; the colonel with difficulty raised himself up, and even in his last moments, sensible only to that enthusiastic regard for his commander, which the Duke of Wellington so well knew how to inspire, eagerly inquired "Is the duke yet safe?" "He is, my friend," was the reply. A smile of joy played round the lips of the dying hero—"God bless him!" he exclaimed, and then seizing the hand of the young nobleman, he feelingly added, "And God bless you," and expired. About this period of the battle the Prince of Orange, while rallying some of his troops, who had shrunk from the impetuous attacks of the enemy, received a musket-ball in his arm, which lodged in his shoulder, and obliged him to quit the field.

The frequency and impetuosity of the enemy's attacks were now redoubled; and the French, like the English commander, fought with "infinite skill, perseverance, and bravery." Although no credit is to be given to the accounts of the desperation with which he sought every danger, and his apparently firm determination to die on the field, yet he evinced much personal courage, and was always collected, and in full possession of the ample resources of his own capacious mind. The more the obstacles to his success multiplied, the more determined he became. He was indignant at these unforeseen difficulties; and far from hesitating to expose an army whose confidence in him knew no bounds, he continually sent forward fresh troops, with orders to charge with the bayonet, and to carry every thing before them. He was frequently told that at various points the battle was against him, and that his troops began to waver; but there was no wavering in his purpose—"Forward, forward!" was his only reply: A general sent his aide-de-camp to inform him that he found himself in a position which he could not maintain, owing to the dreadful

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An officer now approached with the intelligence that the Prussians were advancing in the rear of the right wing of the French army; but Napoleon appeared to be incredulous; he furiously dismissed the messenger, and affirmed that it was the corps of the French Marshal Grouchy, and that the success of the day was now certain and complete. It was now seven o'clock in the evening, and General Labedoyere was dispatched by the emperor to Marshal Ney on the left, to inform him that Marshal Grouchy had arrived on the right of the French army, and attacked the left of the English and Prussians united. This general officer, in riding along the lines, spread the intelligence among the soldiers, whose courage and devotion remained unshaken, and who gave new proofs of them at that moment, in spite of the fatigue which they had experienced. But what was the astonishment, not to say indignation, of the French army, when they learned, that so far from Marshal Grouchy having arrived to support them, between forty and fifty thousand Prussians, under General Bulow, had attacked the extreme right of their army.† Whether Napoleon was deceived with regard to the time when Marshal Grouchy could support him, or whether the march of the marshal was retarded by the efforts of the enemy, longer than was calculated upon, the fact is, that at the time when his arrival was announced to the French army, he was only at Wavre, upon the Dyle, which to us, says Marshal Ney, was the same as if he had been a hundred leagues from the field of battle.

The delayed arrival of the Prussians, which had occasioned to the commander of the English army so much anxiety, was to be attributed to no want of energy on the part of the generals. The passage of the Dyle over a narrow bridge had retarded their advance, and the deep defiles of St. Lambert, combined with the badness of the roads, had rendered it almost impossible to reach the scene of action before the fate of the day was decided. The point chosen to issue from the defiles was selected with admirable skill. It was at first proposed to advance above Fritchmont, but the intelligent peasant selected for the guide of the Prussians objected to this proposal, and urged the propriety of descending lower down the vale towards Planchenoit, and more in the rear of the French

reserves, for then, said he, we shall take them all. The moment at which these reinforcements arrived was most critical; and one shudders to think that the fortune of such a day should so much depend on the knowledge and fidelity of a single peasant. Had he guided the Prussian corps wrong; had he led them into a neighbouring narrow way impassable to cannon; or had General Bulow's army come up one hour later, the enemy's 6th corps, stationed on the right, to watch the advance of the Prussians, might have been brought to assist their final operation against the British centre, and consequences, fatal perhaps to the whole campaign, might have ensued.

In the mean time, the French troops of the 6th corps, under Gen. Count Lobau, had repulsed the advanced-guard of the Prussians, and driven them again into the woods. Animated by this success, and fully aware of the exigency of his situation, Napoleon determined to make one of those grand efforts by which he had so frequently snatched victory from the hands of his enemies. Notwithstanding the perseverance with which he had renewed his attacks upon the English positions, and the vast number of his best troops that had already fallen, he had still in reserve four regiments of the middle guard, who, remaining on the heights of La Belle Alliance, or covered by the hill, had never yet come into the battle. On the approach of night, Napoleon determined to devote this proved and faithful reserve, and putting himself at their head, to make one last and desperate effort to force the left centre of the British army at La Haye Sainte. For this purpose, he left the more distant point of observation, which he had for some time occupied on the heights in the rear of the line, and descending from the hill, placed himself in the midst of the highway fronting Mount St. Jean, within a quarter of a mile of the British line. The banks, which rise high on each side of the road, protected him from such balls as did not come in a direct line, but it does not appear that he was protected by any ravine in front. Here he harangued his troops while they defiled before him. He reminded them how often he had relied on their valour in cases of emergency, and told them that he had never relied upon it in vain. The enemy's cavalry and infantry, he said, were almost annihilated, and could offer no effectual resistance; their artillery, it was true, was still numerous and formidable, but this force must give way before the point of the bayonet. This animating address he concluded by pointing to the causeway in front, and exclaiming—"That, gentlemen, is

* Relation par un Témoin Oculaire.

† The Prince of Moskwa's Letter to the Duke of Otranto, dated Paris, June 26, 1815.



BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

The Duke of Wellington now ordered the whole line to move forward - nothing could be more beautiful: The Sun which had hitherto been veiled at this instant shone upon the departing regiments as if to smile upon the officers who were making and saving them with sword.

KEY.



A La Belle Alliance.
B La Sainte Haye, with Prisoners of War.
C Wood of Hougoumont.

D French Lines thrown into disorder by the fugitives of the Imperial Guard and Cuirassiers, and the attack of the Prussians in their rear.

E 42d Scots, in Square. (Col. Macara.) attacked by French Lancers.

F Part of General Johnson's Brigade of Cavalry cutting up the Polish Lancers: (he fell at their head.)

G Panic-struck troops of the Old Imperial Guard and Cuirassiers flying in disorder.

H Grand Combat between Bonaparte's Cuirassiers and the Scots Greys.

I Old Imperial Guard charged at the point of the bayonet by the 1st Foot Guards, (right wing of the army) descending the heights.

K Emuikillen, or Irish Dragoons, dashing into the midst of the Old Imperial Guard, and completing their destruction.

L Lord Wellington.

M Earl of Uxbridge wounded.

N Col. Cameron leading on the 92d Scots to the charge.

O 1st Foot Guards, covered by the 95th Sharp Shooters (left wing of the army) driving the enemy down the heights.

P Combat for one of the Eagles of the Old Guards.

the road to Brussels!" The prodigious shouts of *Vive l'Empereur*, with which the guards answered this appeal, led the Duke of Wellington and the troops under his command to expect an instant renewal of the attack, with Napoleon as the leader; the troops however advanced under the command of Marshal Ney, and the emperor, in failing to take the personal command of his guards, whom he destined to try the last cast of his fortune, disappointed both his friends and his enemies.

The imperial guard, rallying in their progress such of the broken cavalry and infantry of the line as yet maintained the combat, advanced dauntlessly, and a momentary pause took place in the British fire. But no sooner did the head of the French columns present themselves within the range of the British artillery, than an enflating fire opened upon them with an effect so tremendous as to present the appearance of a large body of men advancing perpetually from the hollow way without ever gaining ground on the plain. Enthusiasm, however, joined to the impulse communicated from the rear, at length carried the whole of the attacking force into the plain. A body of Brunswickers at first attempted to oppose them; but after an ineffectual resistance, they were defeated with immense slaughter. The French troops had now penetrated within the British lines; and it seemed impossible for the duke to rally a sufficient force to arrest their progress. They carried every thing before them, and once more in this strange and eventful battle victory inclined to the side of Napoleon: "In this state of affairs," says the French bulletin, "the battle was gained; we occupied all the positions which the enemy occupied at the outset of the battle.....After eight hours' fire, and charges of infantry and cavalry, all the army saw with joy the battle gained, and the field of battle in our power."*

But the English, it appears, did not know when they were beaten. Immediately in the rear was the Duke of Wellington, riding backwards and forwards, and, like the genius of the storm, directing its thunders; and on the brow of the hill, immediately in front of the French advancing columns, a regiment of British guards had been ordered to lie down, to shelter themselves from the enemy's fire. The imperial guard still advanced; and had approached within a hundred yards, when the duke suddenly exclaimed—"Up, guards, and at them." In an instant the guards sprung upon their feet, and assumed the offensive. The unexpected

appearance of this fine body of men startled the French battalions, and they suddenly paused; but immediately recovering themselves, they advanced still more rapidly, and at a given signal, their artillery filed off to the right and left. They approached within twenty yards of their opponents, and were in the act of dashing upon them with the bayonet, when a volley was poured upon them by the British, now formed in line four ranks deep, which literally threw the enemy back with the shock. A second volley heightened their confusion; and before they had time to deploy or to manœuvre, the British cheered, and rushed furiously upon them with the point of the bayonet; but not one of the French guards stopped to cross bayonets with the household troops of the rival nation. Napoleon witnessed the recoil with the same clearness as the English general, but with feelings how different! He wished to rally the fugitives, and lead them in person to another effort; but Bertrand and Drouet threw themselves before him, and representing how much the safety of France and of the army depended upon his life, besought him to forbear. Napoleon suffered himself to be persuaded; and seeing that all was lost, fell back to his former station.

The main body of the Prussians had already arrived—Marshal Blücher by Obain, and General Bulow in the direction of Planchenoit.—As the Prussian commander-in-chief pressed forward upon the enemy, intelligence was brought him that the corps which he had left at Wavre, under General Thielman, was pressed by a superior force, under Marshal Grouchy, and that they could with difficulty maintain their position. This news made little impression upon the veteran—it was at Waterloo, and not at Wavre, that the battle must be decided, and the advancing columns continued, under this impression, to urge on their forward movements. The countenance of the Duke of Wellington now brightened into a smile; his watch, so long held in his hand to mark the progress of time, while he invoked the arrival of night or of the Prussians, was restored to his pocket; and he exclaimed, exultingly, "There goes old Blücher at last; we shall beat them yet."

"The decisive moment had arrived. The duke now ordered the whole line to move forward; nothing could be more beautiful. The sun, which had hitherto been veiled, at this instant shed upon the allies his departing rays, as if to smile upon the efforts they were making, and to bless them with success."† The centre of the advancing army, led on by the Duke of

* French Official Account of the Battle of the 18th, dated Paris, June 21st, 1815.

† See Plate.

BOOK V. Wellington in person,* proceeded in line to the decisive charge, while the flank regiments were formed into hollow squares, in order to repel any attacks that might be made by the enemy's cavalry. Nothing could resist the impetuosity of the attack. The French fought with bravery and desperation; but their first line was speedily penetrated; the second afforded little more resistance, and complete confusion and rout ensued. Cries of "All is lost," issued from all parts of the French army. "The soldiers," says the French bulletin, "pretend that on many points ill-disposed persons cried out *Sauve qui peut*—Let him save himself who can. However this might be, a complete panic at once spread itself through the whole field of battle, and the greatest disorder prevailed on the line of communication; soldiers, cannoniers, caissons, all pressed to this point." Enormous masses of infantry, supported by an immense cavalry, fell upon them in every direction, and summoned the guard to surrender. "The guard never surrender—they die!" was the heroic reply, while they slowly retreated inch by inch. Quarter that was rejected could not be given; and the carnage terminated only with the resistance. The enemy was thus forced from his position on the heights, leaving behind him one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, which fell into the hands of the English.

While these events were passing in the centre the Prussian columns continued to advance. The whole of the 4th corps, and part of the 2d, under General Pirch, had successively come up. The French troops fought with desperate fury; some uncertainty was however perceived in their movements, and it was observed that several pieces of cannon were retreating. At this moment, the first columns of the corps of General Ziethen arrived on the points of attack, near the village of Smouhen, on the enemy's right flank, and instantly charged. The vigour of this charge could not be withstood. The enemy's right wing was broken in three places; they abandoned their position; and the Prussian troops, rushing forward at the *pas de charge*, completed their overthrow.† According to the French official account, their whole army was now nothing but a mass of confusion; all the soldiers, of all arms, were mixed *pêle mêle*, and it was utterly impossible to rally a single corps. Perceiving that all was lost, and "that his personal position was likely to be encircled by the British cavalry, Napoleon exclaimed to Bertrand—" *Il faut que nous sauvons*"

—"We must save ourselves." He then retreated with his staff about forty yards along the road, and halted about twenty yards from La Belle Alliance, where, putting the glass to his eye, he saw the Scotch Greys intermingled with, and furiously cutting, the French troops to pieces. This sight brought from him the exclamation—*Qu'ils sont terribles ces chevaux gris!*—How terrible are these grey horses!—*Il faut nous dépecher; nous dépecher*—we must decamp; we must decamp; and the emperor and his suite galloped off the field.‡

Night had now come on, and the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Blücher met in the dark at La Belle Alliance, and embraced each other with transport. At the request of Marshal Blücher, the pursuit of the retreating army was consigned over to the Prussians, and while the exhausted English were preparing their bivouacs, their gallant allies made a momentary pause to greet them with their favourite air of "God save the King," which was returned with three hearty cheers, combining the mingled feelings of gratitude and exultation.

The tremendous scenes of the day were surpassed by the horrors of the night. Marshal Blücher assembled all the superior officers of his army, and gave orders to send the last man and the last horse in pursuit of the enemy. The sun had long gone down, but no friendly darkness sheltered the fugitives; an unclouded moon, near her full, lighted the pursuers to their prey. The causeway, between Waterloo and Genappe, is described as presenting the appearance of an immense shipwreck; it was covered with innumerable cannon, caissons, carriages, baggage, and arms, forming one vast and almost impenetrable chaos. No rallying point had been given to the French army; and it was now impossible to cause any command to be heard. Fear exaggerated the horrors of the fugitives; and the night, without being dark, considerably augmented the general disorder. Even Marshal Ney, the second in command, was alone, totally ignorant of what had become of the emperor, and altogether incapable of arresting a single soldier to oppose the progress of the victors.§ The Prussians continued the pursuit during the whole night, and revenge itself was satiated with the blood of the panic-struck victims. It may be pleaded, not as a justification, but as an explanation of the ferocious joy with which the Prussians followed and destroyed the retreating army, that a mutual and deadly hatred animated the Prussians and the French, and the san-

* General Alava's Dispatch to the Spanish Secretary of State.

† Marshal Blücher's Official Report.

‡ Lacoste's Narrative.

§ Letter from Marshal Ney to the Duke of Otranto.

guinary scenes of Ligny were amply atoned in the streets of Genappe.

The last stand made, by the wreck of the French army, was at Genappe. Bonaparte effected his escape through this town before midnight; and the fugitives, who had intrenched themselves with cannon, and overturned carriages, awaited the approach of the Prussians with symptoms of reviving resolution. The progress of the Prussian troops was, for a moment, arrested by a brisk fire of musketry: some cannon shot, however, followed by a loud *hurrah*, served to renew the panic, and to put the town in possession of the assailants. Here, among other equipages, the carriage of Napoleon, containing his papers, but not his person, was captured by Major Von Kohler; and his hat, sword, and casket of treasure, well stored with Napoleons, enhanced the value of the prize.* His travelling library, consisting of nearly eight hundred volumes, in six chests, was also taken, and among the books were found French translations of Homer and Ossian, the Bible, and the Pucelle of Voltaire!

The Brunswick cavalry, though they had borne their full share in all the fatigues of the day, asked and obtained permission to join in the pursuit. The destruction on the field of battle had not, in their estimation, sufficiently compensated for the death of their beloved leader. They now eagerly headed the chase, and their savage ferocity knew no

bounds: not a man whom they could sacrifice to the *manes* of their prince was spared. As they charged through Genappe, the French General Duchesme, who commanded the rear-guard of the French army, was standing at the gate of an inn, when one of the Brunswick black hussars, perceiving that he was a superior officer, rode up to him, and instantly cut him down, exclaiming, "The duke fell the day before yesterday, and thou also shalt bite the dust." In some of the villages the officers repeatedly attempted to rally the troops, and to maintain themselves under the protection of the houses; but an inexplicable panic had seized on every heart, and they, whose bravery had, a few hours before, excited the warmest admiration of their enemies, were now incapable of the least resistance. The beat of the drums, or the sound of the trumpet of the Prussians, appalled the stoutest of their number, and they either fled, or threw themselves into the houses, where they were cut down or made prisoners.

Early in the morning of the 19th of June, Marshal Blücher's head-quarters were established at Genappe, and from thence he addressed a letter to the governor of Berlin, announcing "the most complete victory ever obtained."†

At break of day, the feeble wreck of the French army began to arrive at Charleroi and Marchienne, where they eagerly pressed on to re-pass the Sambre. Four days before they had

* This vehicle was afterwards brought over to England, and exhibited for many months at the London Museum. In this favourite carriage Napoleon travelled to Moscow, and afterwards to Dresden. After the campaign of Paris it bore him to the shores of the Mediterranean, and was shipped with him for Elba. On his return from that island, he made in this, his moving palace, his triumphant journey to Paris, and in it he was conveyed to the field of Waterloo. But the Prussian bulletin is in error, when it states, that Napoleon had just quitted the carriage, at the time it was taken:—he had, in fact, never entered it after the battle. The captured carriage is one of the most perfect specimens of elegance and convenience that can well be imagined:—though only of the ordinary size, it is a complete bed-room, dressing-room, dining-room, kitchen, and offices. Packed up in the most compact way are whole services of china, with knives, forks, spoons, and decanters, with a dressing case, containing all the articles for the toilette. A complete wardrobe, bedstead, bed, and mattresses, afforded their respective accommodations; and all so arranged as to present themselves in an instant, without incommoding the traveller.

† AUTOGRAPH LETTER FROM MARSHAL BLÜCHER TO GENERAL VON KALKREUTH.

"I have to inform your Excellency, that, in conjunction with the British army under the Duke of Wellington, I yesterday gained the most complete victory over Napoleon Bonaparte that ever was obtained. The battle took place in the neighbourhood of a few houses, situated on the road from hence to Brussels, called La Belle Alliance; and a better name cannot well be given to this important day. The whole French army is in a state of perfect dissolution, and an extraordinary number of guns have been taken. Time will not permit me to state more particulars to your Excellency. The details shall follow; and I only beg you to impart this news immediately to the loyal citizens of Berlin.



"Head-quarters, Genappe, June 19,
Half-past Five o'Clock, A. M."

BOOK V.

CHAP. VI.

1815

proudly traversed these places as conquerors, which now they stole fearfully through, as if dreading to be recognized, or to find an avenging enemy in the peaceable inhabitants. The most melancholy part of the cavalcade was the long column of wounded, who clung to each other as if they sought consolation or protection in the contemplation of the common misery. Some of them crept slowly along on foot; others were mounted on the horses which they had forcibly taken from the waggons that had been abandoned on every step of the road. They were pale, feeble, and covered, with the bloody linen which they had hastily bound round their streaming wounds. As they approached the bridge of Charleroi the horrors of the passage of the Beresina were renewed.* The road, which had previously been completely filled with the strangely mingled columns of the retreating army, here becomes suddenly contracted. Horsemen, infantry, and carriages rushed on, contending who should cross first; the stronger unfeelingly thrust aside or threw down the weaker, and two often drew their sabres or their bayonets on those who offered any resistance. Numbers fell under the wheels of the waggons or artillery, and at length the heaps of dead bodies, continually increasing, choked up the road, and formed an almost insurmountable obstacle against the advance of the rear. At this dreadful moment the enemy appeared, and the confusion was redoubled. Some hastily cut the traces of their horses, and, springing upon them, abandoned their carriages, forcing their way through the crowd. Others turned off at the foot of the bridge, and driving furiously along the banks of the Sambre, sought for a passage, and at length, madly plunging in, were swept away by the torrent. Those of the French who had escaped from the field, and who had been able to continue their flight without much impediment, did not expect to be so closely pursued. Worn out with fatigue, and fainting from want of food, they halted at some of the villages to recruit their exhausted powers. But they had scarcely tasted their repast, when crowds of fugitives precipitated themselves upon them, exclaiming that the Prussians were coming. The blast of the trumpet too soon confirmed the intelligence, and they were driven from one bivouac to another, till the victors were glutted with slaughter, or they were unable longer to continue the pursuit from mere fatigue.†

A little beyond Charleroi two roads present themselves, one of which conducts to Avesnes and the other to Philippeville. Napoleon, con-

fident of victory, had fixed no rallying point in case of retreat. No general was at hand to direct their route, and the army divided as chance or inclination determined. The most numerous division took the road by which they had advanced, and marched upon Avesnes, while the others moved upon Philippeville. Many fugitives threw themselves into the adjacent woods, with no other design than to avoid the enemy's cavalry; and thus the army became gradually dispersed, and at length nearly disappeared. Thousands of soldiers, wandering about in uncertainty, and quitting the woods in crowds, spread themselves over the country, and raised a general alarm. The unfortunate inhabitants were plunged into despair to find themselves at once a prey to an army let loose from all the restraints of discipline, and to an implacable enemy, rendered still more ferocious by a dear-bought victory. Every where the fortresses hastily closed their gates, from fear of surprise, and refused admittance even to their own unfortunate countrymen, who were in consequence obliged to seek for quarters in the neighbouring hamlets, where they committed every kind of excess.‡

Napoleon, in the mean time, passed through Charleroi in the night of the 18th, and surrounded by a few of his staff, halted about three leagues beyond that city. In the bivouac at this place, pitched upon a grass-plot, a fire was kindled, and refreshments prepared, of which he partook, being the first food he had taken for fourteen hours.§ On his departure from that place his guide was dismissed, with the trifling present of a Napoleon d'or for his services, and the emperor and his suite, directing their course to the French capital, took the route of Philippeville, Rocroi, and Mézières. Marshal Grouchy, who, on the morning of the 18th, had forced the passage of the Dyle at Wavre, was advancing on the rear of General Bulow, to co-operate with the French army at Waterloo; but on hearing of the disaster at that place, he retreated to Namur, and by this retrograde movement had the good fortune to preserve his corps from the general overthrow.

While the Prussian field-marshal was employed in pursuing the flying enemy, the Duke of Wellington slowly led his army over the field of battle. The thunders of the artillery, and the clangour of clashing weapons, wielded by combatants engaged in mortal fight, were heard no more. All was hushed and silent, except where the moans of the wounded, or the agonizing shrieks of the dying, burst upon the ear

* See Vol. II. Book IV. p. 242.

† Boyce's Narrative.

‡ Relation par un Témoin Oculaire.

§ Lacoste's Narrative.

The moon, riding in unveiled majesty, shed a paleful and mournful light on the horrors of the scene. When the duke contemplated the piles of dead which were heaped on every side, and reflected how many hearts even the joyful news of this brilliant but sanguinary victory would sadden; the sternness of the hero was absorbed in the feelings of the man, and he burst into tears. The glory of a victory so dearly bought afforded him no consolation; and nothing but a persuasion that the sacrifices of this day would be crowned with the attainment of the first object of his ambition, alleviated his sorrow for the losses the country and the service had sustained.*

The British troops, though worn out with fatigue, disdained to indulge in the repose which

nature so much required, till they had sought out their wounded companions, bound up their wounds, and dispatched numbers of them to the hospitals at Brussels and Antwerp. Nor was their humanity confined to their own countrymen, even those who had so lately thirsted for their blood—those by whose ranks they had been thinned, shared in their tenderness. In the left wing alone, more than five hundred Frenchmen were indebted for their lives to the generosity and compassion of the British soldiers. On every part of the field the troops were seen diligently employed in constructing litters, and carefully conveying both friends and foes to the huts they had erected for their comfort, where their hunger and thirst were supplied out of the little stock of their generous benefactors.

BOOK V.

CHAP. VI.

1815

* LIST OF BRITISH REGIMENTS.

UNDER THE COMMAND OF FIELD-MARSHAL THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON, ON SUNDAY, JUNE 18TH, 1815, EXHIBITING THEIR TOTAL LOSS FROM THE 16TH TO THE 26TH OF JUNE, 1815, EXTRACTED FROM OFFICIAL RETURNS:—

	OFFICERS.			RANK AND FILE.					OFFICERS.			RANK AND FILE.			
	Kill.	Woun.	Misc.	Kill.	Woun.	Misc.	Total.		Kill.	Woun.	Misc.	Kill.	Woun.	Misc.	Total.
General Staff,	12	46	3				61								
1st Life Guards,	2	4		24	49	4	83								
2d Life Guards,	1		1	16	40	97	155								
Royal Horse Guards, Blue,	1	4	1	19	61	20	106								
1st Dragoon Guards,	3	4	4	40	100	124	275								
2d Dragoon Guards,															
1st, or Royal Dragoons,	4	9	1	36	88	9	197								
2d, or Royal N. B. Dragoons,	6	8		96	89		199								
6th Dragoons,	1	5	1	72	111	27	217								
7th Hussars,		7	3	62	109	15	196								
10th Hussars,	2	6		20	40	26	94								
11th Light Dragoons,	2	5		10	34	25	76								
12th Light Dragoons,	2	3		45	61		111								
13th Light Dragoons,	1	9		11	69	19	109								
15th Hussars,	2	3		21	48	5	79								
16th Light Dragoons,	2	4		8	18		32								
18th Hussars,		2		13	72	17	104								
23d Light Dragoons,		5	1	14	26	33	79								
1st Light Dragoons, K. G. L.	3	11		30	99	10	153								
2d Ditto,	2	4		19	54	3	82								
1st Hussars, ditto,		1		1	5	3	10								
2d Hussars, ditto,															
3d Ditto ditto,	4	8		40	78		130								
Royal Artillery,	5	26		62	228	10	331								
Ditto, K. G. L.															
Royal Engineers,	2						2								
Royal Staff Corps,	2						2								
Royal Sappers and Miners,	1					2	3								
1st Foot Guards,															
2d Battalion,	3	9		73	353		438								
3d Battalion,	4	12		101	487		604								
2d Cold. Regiment,	1	7		54	242	4	308								
3d Foot Guards, 2d Battalion,	3	9		39	195		246								
1st Foot, (Royal Scot.) 3d Bat.	8	26		33	295		362								
4th Foot, 1st Battalion,		9		12	113		134								
2d Battalion,															
7th Foot, 1st Battalion,															
14th Foot, 2d Battalion,		3		7	26		36								
23d Foot,	5	6		13	80		104								
25th Foot, 2d Battalion,															
27th Foot, 1st Battalion,	2	15		103	560		478								
28th Foot, ditto,	1	19		29	203		232								
29th Foot, 1st Battalion,															
30th Foot, ditto,	6	14		51	121	27	279								
32d Foot,	1	50		49	290		370								
33d ditto,	5	17		49	162	58	291								
35th ditto,				1			1								
37th Ditto, 2d Battalion,															
40th Ditto, 1st Battalion,	2	10		30	159	18	219								
42d Foot, 1st Battalion,	3	21		47	266		337								
44th Ditto, 2d Battalion,	2	18		14	151	17	202								
51st Ditto,		2		11	29		42								
52d Ditto, 1st Battalion,	1	8		16	174		199								
54th Ditto,				2	2		4								
59th Ditto,					2		2								
69th Ditto, 2d Battalion,	4	7		51	163	15	240								
71st Foot, 1st Battalion,	1	14		24	160	3	202								
73d Ditto, 2d Battalion,	6	16		54	219	41	286								
78th Ditto, 2d Battalion,															
79th Ditto, 1st Battalion,	3	27	1	57	390	1	479								
81st Foot, 2d Battalion,															
91st Foot,		2		1	6		9								
92d Ditto,	4	27		49	322		402								
95th, 1st Battalion,	2	15		28	175		220								
2d Ditto,		14		54	178	20	246								
3d Ditto,		4		3	36	7	50								
13th Veteran Battalion,															
1st L. Infantry Batt. K. G. L.	4	9		37	88	13	143								
2d Ditto ditto,	3	9	1	40	120	29	202								
1st Line Battalion, K. G. L.	1	6		22	69	17	115								
2d Ditto ditto,	1	2		18	79	7	107								
3d Ditto ditto,	1	5		17	95	31	147								
4th Ditto ditto,	1	7		13	77	15	113								
5th Ditto ditto,	2	3		36	47	74	162								
8th Ditto ditto,	3	4		44	80	16	147								
THE DUTCH LOSS,	27	115		2058	1936		4153								
THE PRUSSIAN Do. viz.															
1st Corps, June 15 to July 3,	38	200	27	2418	5322	6434	14439								
2d Corps, June 15 to 23,	29	151	7	1280	3915	2234	7616								
3d Corps, June 15 to July 3,	16	107	2	834	2686	1129	4794								
4th Corps, June 15 to 23,	23	148	5	1132	3871	1174	6363								
Total Prussian Loss,							33132								

Total Loss of the Allied Armies during the Campaign... BRITISH .. 11,116

HANOVERIAN .. 2,960

DUTCH .. 4,136

PRUSSIAN .. 33,132

Grand Total .. 51,344

Exclusive of the Brunswick Loss, of which no Returns have been exhibited.

BOOK V. In many places a still more interesting scene was presented; the wounded soldiers, after their own injuries had been attended to, were seen carefully and tenderly staunching the wounds of their conquered enemies, many of whom afterwards found an asylum in the hospitals of Antwerp.*

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The murderous charges at the close of the battle had been fatal to many of the British officers. Sir Francis D'Oyly, of the first foot guards, fell in the very last charge to which his regiment was led, and at the moment when the broken battalions of the enemy were preparing to quit the field. Colonel Fitzgerald, of the second regiment of life guards, fell nearly at the same moment, while he was cheering his men to the pursuit of the foe. Almost the last shot which was fired on the British, wounded the gallant Earl of Uxbridge—Paget, as Napoleon called him, and which name was familiar to the ears of his countrymen during the peninsular war. He had personally led every charge of cavalry, and was not wounded until almost all danger had ceased. The chair is yet shown in the farm of La Belle Alliance in which his lordship sat and endured the amputation of his right leg without a single groan or contortion of countenance, exclaiming in the midst of the operation—"Who would not lose a leg for such a victory?"

The total loss of the British and Hanoverian troops in the allied army, in the battle of Waterloo, was stated, on official authority, to amount to 10,676† men in killed, wounded, and missing; the Prussians lost, on the same day, from five to six thousand men; and the loss of the French was incalculable. In the chamber of peers, on the 22d of June, Marshal Ney stated, that so fatal had been the campaign, that the Duke of Dalmatia, on whom the command of the fugitive army devolved after Napoleon quitted Flanders, could not rally sixty thousand, including the corps under Marshal Grouchy; so that, in the brief campaign of a week, ninety thousand men were lost to the French army; and of this

number, at least sixty thousand were killed, wounded, or prisoners, among the latter of whom were Count Lobau and General Cambronne. To add to this enormous disaster, three hundred pieces of cannon were captured from the vanquished, and the whole *matériel* of their army fell into the hands of the allies.

Never did France, in her brightest days, send into the field a nobler army than that which fought at Waterloo. It was an army of veterans, whom many years of service had accustomed to all the evolutions of the field, and rendered expert, fearless, and, in their own estimation, invincible. This army was under the command of a general in the enjoyment of the most unbounded confidence of his legions, who had vanquished and over-run every state in continental Europe; and who had shown, by the events of the four last days, that his eagles, lately checked in their flight, were once more triumphantly expanding their wings, and promising again to soar to the pinnacle of glory. Against this formidable phalanx the British general had to oppose an army inferior in numbers; somewhat dispirited at the retreat of the former day, and a little in awe of those who had two days before conquered, though not subdued, the most celebrated general of northern Europe. The courage and impetuosity of the French had never been exceeded. Charges more desperate and persevering modern warfare had not witnessed. Napoleon had studied the character of the French nation profoundly, and his system of warfare, though exposed to the censures which always await the unfortunate, was best suited to their peculiar energies, and was the truest proof of his genius. The French soldiers are capable only of active courage;—daring, impetuous, enthusiastic, they brave every danger, and surmount every obstacle, when their energies are called into full activity. But of passive courage they are incapable; and when cool, determined resolution is necessary, the hopes reposed in them are generally disappointed.

On this principle Napoleon adopted his *en*

* The inextinguishable zeal of the French soldiery towards their emperor, here assumed a character bordering on romance. Far from considering themselves as wantonly sacrificed, and afterwards basely deserted at Waterloo, the resources of their fertile imaginations were exhausted in order to express their profound attachment to their fallen chief. One man, whose wounds rendered the loss of his arm necessary, tossed his amputated limb in the air, with the exclamation of *Vive l'Empereur*. Another, at the moment of the preparation to take off his leg, declared that there was one thing which would cure him on the spot, and save his limb and the operator's trouble. When asked to explain this strange remark, he said—"a single sight of the emperor!" The indispensable amputation did not save his life; he died under the surgeon's hands; and his last words, while steadfastly looking on his own blood, consisted in a declaration that he would cheerfully shed the last drop in his veins for the great Napoleon! A singularly wild, and almost poetic fancy, was the form in which a third displayed his enthusiasm: he was undergoing, with great steadiness, the operation of the extraction of a ball from his left side, when in the moment of his greatest suffering, he exclaimed—"An inch deeper and you'll find the emperor!"—*Simpson's Visit to Flanders*.

† London Gazette, July 8th, 1815.

avant system of tactics. The brilliant success which attended his career, until rendered insane by ambition, is a proof that he had calculated justly. Never were these national characteristics more decisively shown than at the battle of Waterloo. While the French were employed in a succession of desperate charges, their courage seemed invincible: at the voice of their commander they returned again and again to the charge, with undiminished alacrity; and, at the very close of the day, the last and desperate attack of the guards was accompanied with loud and rapturous shouts of *Vive l'Empereur!* But when the English, in their turn, became the assailants, the scene was suddenly and completely changed: they, whose bravery had excited the warmest applause of their enemies, sunk to the level of poltroons. Their first line was easily broken, the second offered no effectual resistance, and the whole army abandoned itself to a flight more disorderly and disgraceful than any which the annals of ancient or modern warfare record.

In both active and passive courage, the allies, under a British commander, showed themselves decidedly superior to the French. The tremendous and murderous charges of the foe were received by the British with a courage that never faltered. Though their ranks were thinned, and their squares diminished, they still presented a stern and unbroken front. Although, at the close of the day, some of their battalions were nearly annihilated, and the soldiers began to murmur, and almost to despair, yet they did not disgrace their character or their cause. It was not the murmur of fear, or the depression of cowardice. It was the complaint which protracted inactivity produced; the irresistible and intolerable pain that arose from the long repression of their energies. They murmured, not because they were forbidden to retreat before a superior and impetuous foe, but because they were restrained from rushing upon him, and convincing him what British valour could do as well as suffer. The moment the duke ordered the general charge, every bosom swelled with enthusiasm, and one universal shout proclaimed their exultation. Though enfeebled by a desperate and protracted contest, their strength and activity were in an instant restored:—they pressed on to the attack, and the day was their own. They had withstood, without confusion or fear, innumerable charges of the enemy, but the first general charge which they were permitted to make, drove the French in disorder from the field.

This splendid victory was not more owing to the unequalled bravery of the troops, than to

the skill, the gallantry, and the firmness of their illustrious commander. In all the great achievements which he had hitherto performed, he had never maintained so arduous a struggle, he had never gained so complete and glorious a triumph.* There was no species of heroism or of military science which could adorn a field of battle, which was not displayed by the Duke of Wellington on this memorable day. Wherever danger was most imminent there he was uniformly present. "To see a commander of his eminence," said one of our distinguished statesmen, who scorned the language of adulation, "throw himself into a hollow square of infantry as a secure refuge, till the rage and torrent of the attack was passed, and that not once only, but twice or thrice in the course of the battle, proved that his confidence was placed, not in any particular corps, but in the whole army. In that mutual confidence lay the power and strength of the troops. The duke knew that he was safe when he thus trusted himself to the fidelity and valour of his men; and they knew and felt that the sacred charge thus confided to them could never be wrested from their hands."* In this "agony of his fame," his staff rapidly fell around him; every one, except the Spanish General Alava, suffered in his life or his limbs, yet the duke continued fearlessly to expose himself in the very thickest of the fire, and how he escaped unhurt, that power can alone tell who vouchsafed to the allied armies the issue of this pre-eminent contest.

Often in the day he was urged by the officers, and wherever he appeared he was intreated by the men, to lead them against the enemy. "Not yet, not yet," so frequently repeated by their general, served to restrain the impatience of his troops till the decisive moment; and it does infinite credit to his discretion and penetration, that not even the partial successes which attended the operations of several periods of the day, could tempt him to depart from the prudent and well digested plan on which he had determined to act. Had he assumed offensive operations, before the arrival of the main body of the Prussians, he could scarcely have hoped to have beaten the superior numbers and veteran troops to whom he was opposed; or, had he been victorious, all that he could have effected, inferior as he was in cavalry, would have been to have compelled the French to a hasty but orderly retreat. Merely to have repulsed the French army would have been to little purpose. It was necessary to strike a decisive blow, and the Duke of Wellington anxiously awaited the favourable moment. He felt all the tortures of suspense, but despair was always far from him.

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* Speech of Mr. Whitbread, in the House of Commons, on the grant to the Duke of Wellington, June 23, 1815.

BOOK V. At length the thunder of General Bulow's artillery was heard on the left : a violent and convulsive struggle ensued : symptoms of indecision began to show themselves in the enemy's ranks. The system of defence was instantly abandoned by the British commander : the restraint, so long imposed upon the impetuous valour of his troops, was withdrawn : the whole line was led on to the charge, and the decisive blow was struck. All the consequences were produced which the sagacious mind of Wellington had predicted. The campaign was terminated, the throne of Napoleon tottered to its

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fall, and the peace of Europe, excepting only the forms, was again re-established.

The glory of the Duke of Wellington had now reached its summit. Even Napoleon had acknowledged that the duke was the *second* captain of the age, and on the field of Waterloo he established his claim to the title of *le vainqueur du vainqueur de la terre*. If any thing could add to the lustre of his fame, it was the singular modesty with which, in his official dispatches, the glorious and important events of the day were related ;* and his private letters are distinguished by that characteristic modesty

* LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Downing-Street, June 22d, 1815.

Major the Honourable H. Percy arrived late last night with a dispatch from Field-marshal the Duke of Wellington, K. G. to Earl Bathurst, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the war Department, of which the following is a copy :—

MR LORD,

Bonaparte having collected the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, and 6th corps of the French army, and the Imperial Guards, and nearly all the cavalry, on the Sambre, and between that river and the Meuse, between the 10th and the 14th of the month, advanced on the 14th, and attacked the Prussian posts at Thuin, and Lobez, on the Sambre, at day-light in the morning.

I did not hear of these events till the evening of the 15th, and I immediately ordered the troops to prepare to march ; and afterwards to march to their left, as soon as I had intelligence from other quarters to prove that the enemy's movement upon Charleroi was the real attack.

The enemy drove the Prussian posts from the Sambre on that day ; and General Ziethen, who commanded the corps which had been at Charleroi, retired upon Fleurus ; and Marshal Prince Blucher concentrated the Prussian army upon Sombref, holding the villages in front of his position of St. Amand and Ligny.

The enemy continued his march along the road from Charleroi towards Brussels, and on the same evening, the 15th, attacked a brigade of the army of the Netherlands, under Prince de Weimar, posted at Frane, and forced it back to the farm-house on the same road, called Les Quatre Bras.

The Prince of Orange immediately reinforced this brigade with another of the same division, under General Perponcher, and, in the morning early, regained part of the ground which had been lost, so as to have the command of the communication leading from Nivelles and Brussels, with Marshal Blucher's position.

In the mean time, I had directed the whole army to march upon Les Quatre Bras, and the 5th division, under Lieut.-general Sir Thomas Picton, arrived at about half-past two in the day, followed by the corps of troops under the Duke of Brunswick, and afterwards by the contingent of Nassau.

At this time the enemy commenced an attack upon Prince Blucher with his whole force, excepting the 1st and 2d corps ; and a corps of cavalry under General Kellerman, with which he attacked our post at Les Quatre Bras.

The Prussian army maintained their position with their usual gallantry and perseverance, against a great disparity of numbers, as the 4th corps of their army, under General Bulow, had not joined, and I was not able to assist them as I wished, as I was attacked myself, and the troops, the cavalry in particular, which had a long distance to march, had not arrived.

We maintained our position also, and completely defeated and repulsed all the enemy's attempts to get possession of it. The enemy repeatedly attacked us with a large body of infantry and cavalry, supported by a numerous and powerful artillery ; he made several charges with the cavalry upon our infantry, but all were repulsed in the steadiest manner. In this affair, his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Brunswick, and Lieut.-general Sir Thomas Picton, and Major-general Sir James Kempt, and Sir Denis Pack, who were engaged from the commencement of the enemy's attack, highly distinguished themselves, as well as Lieut.-general Charles Baron Alten, Major-general Sir C. Halket, Lieut.-general Cooke, and Major-generals Maitland and Byng, as they successively arrived. The troops of the 5th division, and those of the Brunswick corps, were long and severely engaged, and conducted themselves with the utmost gallantry. I must particularly mention the 28th, 42d, 79th, 92d regiments, and the battalion of Hanoverians.

Our loss was great, as your lordship will perceive by the inclosed return ; and I have particularly to regret His Serene Highness the Duke of Brunswick, who fell, fighting gallantly, at the head of his troops.

Although Marshal Blucher had maintained his position at Sombref, he still found himself much weakened by the severity of the contest in which he had been engaged, and, as the 4th corps had not arrived, he determined to fall back, and concentrated his army upon Wavre ; and he marched in the night after the action was over.

This movement of the marshal's rendered necessary a corresponding one on my part ; and I retired from the farm of Quatre Bras upon Genappe, and thence upon Waterloo the next morning, the 17th, at ten o'clock.

The enemy made no effort to pursue Marshal Blucher. On the contrary, a patrol which I sent to Sombref, in the morning, found all quiet, and the enemy's videttes fell back as the patrol advanced. Neither did he attempt to molest our march to the rear, although made in the middle of the day, excepting by following with a large body of cavalry, (brought from his right) the cavalry under the Earl of Uxbridge.

This gave Lord Uxbridge an opportunity of charging them with the 1st Life Guards, upon their debouche from the village of Genappe, upon which occasion his lordship has declared himself to be well satisfied with that regiment.

The position which I took up, in front of Waterloo, crossed the high roads from Charleroi and Nivelles, and had its right thrown back to a ravine near Merke Braine, which was occupied, and its left extended to a height above the hamlet Ter-la-Haye, which was likewise occupied. In front of the right centre, and near the Nivelles road, we occupied the house and garden of Hougomont, which covered the return of that flank ; and, in front of the left centre, we occupied the farm of La Haye Sainte. By our left we

and candour which run through his official communications. In a letter to his mother, written after the battle, speaking of Napoleon, he says:—"He did his duty—he fought the battle with infinite skill, perseverance, and bravery; and this I do not state from any personal motive

communicated with Marshal Prince Blucher, at Wavre, through Ohain; and the marshal had promised me, that in case we should be attacked, he would support me with one or more corps, as might be necessary.

The enemy collected his army, with the exception of the third corps, which had been sent to observe Marshal Blucher, on a range of heights in our front, in the course of the night of the 17th and yesterday morning; and at about ten o'clock he commenced a furious attack upon our post at Hougoumont. I had occupied that post with a detachment from General Byng's brigade of guards, which was in position in its rear; and it was for some time under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Macdonald, and afterwards of Colonel Home; and I am happy to add, that it was maintained, throughout the day, with the utmost gallantry, by these brave troops, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of large bodies of the enemy to obtain possession of it.

This attack upon the right of our centre was accompanied by a very heavy cannonade upon our whole line, which was destined to support the repeated attacks of cavalry and infantry, occasionally mixed, but sometimes separate, which were made upon it. In one of these, the enemy carried the farm-house of La Haye Sainte, as the detachment of the light battalion of the legion which occupied it had expended all its ammunition, and the enemy occupied the only communication there was with them.

The enemy repeatedly charged our infantry with his cavalry; but these attacks were uniformly unsuccessful, and they afforded opportunities to our cavalry to charge, in one of which, Lord E. Somerset's brigade, Life Guards, Royal Horse Guards, and 1st Dragoon Guards, highly distinguished themselves; as did that of Major-general Sir W. Ponsonby, having taken many prisoners and an eagle.

These attacks were repeated till about seven in the evening, when the enemy made a desperate effort with the cavalry and infantry, supported by the fire of artillery, to force our left centre, near the farm of La Haye Sainte, which, after a severe contest, was defeated; and having observed that the troops retired from this attack in great confusion, and that the march of General Bulow's corps by Frichermont upon Planchenoit and La Belle Alliance, had begun to take effect; and as I could perceive the fire of his cannon, and as Marshal Prince Blucher had joined in person, with a corps of his army, to the left of our line, by Ohain; I determined to attack the enemy, and immediately advanced the whole line of infantry, supported by the cavalry and artillery. The attack succeeded in every point; the enemy was forced from his position on the heights, and fled in the utmost confusion, leaving behind him, as far as I could judge, one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, with their ammunition, which fell into our hands.

I continued the pursuit till long after dark, and then discontinued it only on account of the fatigue of our troops, who had been engaged during twelve hours, and because I found myself on the same road with Marshal Blucher, who assured me of his intention to follow the enemy throughout the night; he has sent me word this morning, that he had taken sixty pieces of cannon belonging to the Imperial guard, and several carriages, baggage, &c. belonging to Bonaparte, in Genappe.

I propose to move, this morning, upon Nivelles, and not to discontinue my operations.

Your lordship will observe, that such a desperate action could not be fought, and such advantages could not be gained, without great loss; and, I am sorry to add, that our's has been immense. In Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Picton, his majesty has sustained the loss of an officer who has frequently distinguished himself in his service; and he fell gloriously leading his division to a charge with bayonets, by which one of the most serious attacks made by the enemy on our position was defeated.

The Earl of Uxbridge, after having successfully got through this arduous day, received a wound, by almost the last shot fired, which will, I am afraid, deprive his majesty for some time of his services.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Orange distinguished himself by his gallantry and conduct till he received a wound from a musket-ball, through the shoulder, which obliged him to quit the field.

It gives me the greatest satisfaction to assure your lordship, that the army never, upon any occasion, conducted itself better. The division of guards, under Lieutenant-general Cooke, who was severely wounded, Major-general Maitland, and Major-general Byng, set an example which was followed by all; and there is no officer, nor description of troops, that did not behave well.

I must, however, particularly mention, for his royal highness's approbation, Lieutenant-general Sir H. Clinton, Major-general Adam, Lieutenant-general Charles Baron Alten, severely wounded; Major-general Sir Colin Halket, severely wounded; Colonel Ompteda, Colonel Mitchele, commanding a brigade of the 4th division; Major-generals Sir James Kempt, and Sir Denis Pack, Major-general Lambert, Major-general Lord E. Somerset, Major-general Sir W. Ponsonby, Major-general Sir C. Grant, and Major-general Sir H. Vivian; Major-general Sir O. Vandeleur; Major-general Count Dornberg. I am also particularly indebted to General Lord Hill for his assistance and conduct upon this as upon all former occasions.

The artillery and engineer departments were conducted much to my satisfaction by Colonel Sir G. Wood, and Colonel Smyth; and I had every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Adjutant-general, Major-general Barnes, who was wounded, and of the Quartermaster-general, Colonel Delancy, who was killed by a cannon shot in the middle of the action. This officer is a serious loss to his majesty's service, and to me at this moment. I was likewise much indebted to the assistance of Lieutenant-colonel Lord Fitzroy Somerset, who was severely wounded, and of the officers composing my personal staff, who have suffered severely in this action. Lieutenant-colonel the Honourable Sir Alexander Gordon, who has died of his wounds, was a most promising officer, and is a serious loss to his majesty's service.

General Kruse, of the Nassau service, likewise conducted himself much to my satisfaction, as did General Trip, commanding the heavy brigade of cavalry, and General Vanhope, commanding a brigade of infantry of the King of the Netherlands.

General Pozzo di Borgo, General Baron Vincent, General Muffling, and General Alava, were in the field during the action, and rendered me every assistance in their power. Baron Vincent is wounded, but I hope not severely; and General Pozzo di Borgo received a contusion. I should not do justice to my feelings, or to Marshal Blucher and the Prussian army, if I did not attribute the successful result of this arduous day to the cordial and timely assistance received from them. The operation of General Bulow upon the enemy's flank, was a most decisive one; and, even if I had not found myself in a situation to make the attack, which produced the final result, it would have forced the enemy to retire, if his attacks should have failed, and would have prevented him from taking advantage of them, if they should unfortunately have succeeded.

I send, with this dispatch, two eagles, taken by the troops in this action, which Major Percy will have the honour of laying at the feet of his royal highness—I beg leave to recommend him to your lordship's protection. I have the honour, &c.

(Signed)

WELLINGTON.

P. S. Since writing the above, I have received a report, that Major-general Sir W. Ponsonby is killed; and, in announcing this intelligence to your lordship, I have to add the expression of my grief for the fate of an officer, who had already rendered very brilliant and important services, and who was an ornament to his profession.

2d P. S. I have not yet got the returns of killed and wounded, but I inclose a list of officers killed and wounded on the two days, as far as the same can be made out without the returns; and I am very happy to add, that Colonel Delancy is not dead, and that strong hopes of his recovery are entertained.

BOOK V. of claiming merit to myself, for the victory is to be ascribed to the superior physical force and constancy of British soldiers." In the same spirit of honourable frankness, he says, in a letter to his brother, the Hon. Wellesley Pole,—

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"I never fought so hard for victory, and never, from the gallantry of the enemy, was so near being beaten." The force of this observation will be felt from a perusal of the enemy's bulletin.*

* FRENCH OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF THE BELGIC CAMPAIGN.

POSITION OF THE FRENCH ARMY.

Charleroi, June 16th, 1815.

On the 14th the army was placed in the following order:—The Imperial head-quarters at Beaumont—The first corps, commanded by General Count D'Erlon, was at Solre-sur-Sambre.—The second corps, commanded by General Reille, was at Ham-sur-Heure.—The third corps, commanded by General Vandamme, was on the right of Beaumont.—The fourth corps, commanded by General Girard, was arriving at Philippeville.

On the 15th, at three in the morning, General Reille attacked the enemy, and advanced upon Marchiennes-au-Pont. He had several engagements, in which his cavalry charged a Prussian battalion, and made 300 prisoners. At one o'clock in the morning, the emperor was at Jamignan-sur-Heure. General D'Aumont's division of light cavalry sabred two Prussian battalions, and made 400 prisoners. General Pajol entered Charleroi at noon. The sappers and the miners of the guard were with the van to repair the bridges. They penetrated the first into the town as sharpshooters. General Clari, with the first regiment of hussars, advanced upon Gosselies, on the road to Brussels, and General Pajol upon Gilly, on the road to Namur. At three in the afternoon, General Vandamme, with his corps, debouched upon Gilly. Marshal Grouchy arrived with the cavalry of General Excelmans. The enemy occupied the left of the position of Fleurus. At five o'clock in the afternoon, the emperor ordered the attack. The position was turned and carried. The four squadrons, on service, of the guard, commanded by General Letort, broke three squares. The 26th, 27th, and 28th Prussian regiments were put to the route. Our squadrons sabred 4 or 500 men, and made 160 prisoners. During this time General Reille passed the Sambre, at Marchiennes-au-pont, to advance upon Gosselies, with the divisions of Prince Jerome and General Bachelu, attacked the enemy, took from him 250 prisoners, and pursued him on the road to Brussels.

Thus we became masters of the whole position of Fleurus. At eight in the evening, the emperor returned to his head-quarters at Charleroi. This day cost the enemy five pieces of cannon, and 2,000 men, of whom 1,000 are prisoners. Our loss is ten killed and eighty wounded, chiefly of the squadrons of service which made the charges, and of the three squadrons of the 20th regiment of dragoons, who also charged a square with the greatest intrepidity. Our loss, though trifling as to number, is sensibly felt by the emperor, on account of the severe wound received by General Letort, his aide-de-camp, while charging at the head of the squadrons of service. This is an officer of the most distinguished merit; he is wounded by a ball in the stomach, and the surgeon is apprehensive that his wound will prove mortal. We have found some magazines at Charleroi. The joy of the Belgians is not to be described. There are villages, where, on the sight of their deliverers, they made dances; and every-where it is a transport which comes from the heart. The emperor has given the command of the left to the Prince of Moskwa, who had his head-quarters, this evening, at Quatre Chemiers (Quatre Bras,) on the road to Brussels. The Duke of Treviso, to whom the emperor had given the command of the young guard, has remained at Beaumont, being confined to his bed by a sciatica. The fourth corps, commanded by General Girard, arrived this evening at Chatel. General Girard reports, that Lieutenant-general Beaumont, Colonel Clouet, and Captain Villontreys, of the cavalry, have gone over to the enemy. A lieutenant of the 11th chasseurs has also gone over to the enemy. The major-general has ordered the sentence of the law to be pronounced against these deserters.

Nothing can paint the good spirit and the ardour of the army. It considers, as a happy event, the desertion of this small number of traitors, who thus throw off the mask.

BATTLE OF LIGNY-UNDER-FLEURUS.

Paris, June 21.

On the morning of the 16th the army occupied the following position:—The left wing, commanded by the Marshal Duke of Elchingen, and consisting of the 1st and 2d corps of infantry, and the 2d of cavalry, occupied the positions of Fraasne. The light wing, commanded by Marshal Grouchy, and composed of the 3d and 4th corps of infantry, and the 3d corps of cavalry, occupied the heights in rear of Fleurus. The emperor's head-quarters were at Charleroi, where were the imperial guard and the 6th corps. The left wing had orders to march upon Quatre Bras, and the right wing upon Sombref. The emperor advanced to Fleurus with his reserve.

The columns of Marshal Grouchy being in march, perceived, after having passed Fleurus, the enemy's army, commanded by Field-marshal Blucher, occupying with its left the heights of the mill of Bussey, the village of Sombref, and extending its cavalry a great way forward on the road to Namur; its right was at St. Amand, and occupied that large village in great force, having before it a ravine which formed its position. The emperor reconnoitred the strength and the positions of the enemy, and resolved to attack immediately. It became necessary to change front, the right in advance, and pivoting upon Fleurus. General Vandamme marched upon St. Amand, General Girard upon Ligny, and Marshal Grouchy upon Sombref. The 4th division of the 2d corps, commanded by General Girard, marched in reserve behind the corps of General Vandamme. The guard was drawn up on the heights of Fleurus, as well as the cuirassiers of General Milhaud.

At three in the afternoon, these dispositions were finished. The division of General Lefol, forming part of the corps of General Vandamme, was first engaged, and made itself master of St. Amand, whence it drove out the enemy at the point of the bayonet. It kept its ground during the whole of the engagement, at the burial ground and steeple of St. Amand; but that village, which is very extensive, was the theatre of various combats during the evening; the whole corps of General Vandamme was there engaged, and the enemy there fought in considerable force. General Girard, placed as a reserve to the corps of General Vandamme, turned the village by its right, and fought there with his accustomed valour. The respective forces were supported on both sides by about fifty pieces of cannon each.

On the right, General Girard came into action with the 4th corps, at the village of Ligny, which was taken and re-taken several times. Marshal Grouchy, on the extreme right, and General Pajol, fought at the village of Sombref. The enemy showed from 80 to 90,000 men, and a great number of cannon. At seven o'clock we were masters of all the villages situate on the bank of the ravine, which covered the enemy's position; but he still occupied, with all his masses, the heights of the mill of Bussey. The emperor returned with his guard to the village of Ligny; General Girard directed General Pecheux to debouch with what remained of the reserve, almost all the troops having been engaged in that village.

Eight battalions of the guard debouched with fixed bayonets, and behind them, four squadrons of the guards, the cuirassiers of

But while the historian dwells with fond exultation on the glory of the British army, and their illustrious commander, a large tribute of praise must be awarded to Marshal Blücher

and his intrepid legions. The successful result of this arduous day is, by the British commander himself, attributed to the cordial and timely assistance received from his allies. Both

General Delort, those of General Milhaud, and the grenadiers of the horse guards. The old guard attacked with the bayonet the enemy's columns, which were on the heights of Bussey, and in an instant covered the field of battle with dead. The squadron of the guard attacked and broke a square, and the cuirassiers repulsed the enemy in all directions. At half past nine o'clock we had forty pieces of cannon, several carriages, colours, and prisoners, and the enemy sought safety in a precipitate retreat. At ten o'clock the battle was finished, and we found ourselves masters of the field of battle. General Lützow, a partisan, was taken prisoner. The prisoners assure us, that Field-marshal Blücher was wounded. The flower of the Prussian army was destroyed in this battle. Its loss could not be less than 15,000 men. Our's was 3,000 killed and wounded.

On the left, Marshal Ney had marched on Quatre Bras with a division, which cut in pieces an English division which was stationed there; but being attacked by the Prince of Orange with 25,000 men, partly English, partly Hanoverians in the pay of England, he retired upon his position at Frasne. There a multiplicity of combats took place; the enemy obstinately endeavoured to force it, but in vain. The Duke of Elchingen waited for the 1st corps, which did not arrive till night; he confined himself to maintaining his position. In a square, attacked by the 8th regiment of cuirassiers, the colours of the 69th regiment of English infantry fell into our hands. The Duke of Brunswick was killed. The Prince of Orange has been wounded. We are assured that the enemy had many personages and generals of note killed or wounded; we estimate the loss of the English at from 4 to 5,000 men; our's on this side was very considerable, it amounts to 4,200 killed or wounded. The combat ended with the approach of night. Lord Wellington then evacuated Quatre Bras, and proceeded to Genappe.

In the morning of the 17th, the emperor repaired to Quatre Bras, whence he marched to attack the English army: he drove it to the entrance of the forest of Soignies with the left wing and the reserve. The right wing advanced by Sombref, in pursuit of Field-marshal Blücher, who was going towards Wavre, where he appeared to wish to take a position. At ten o'clock in the evening, the English army occupied Mount St. Jean with its centre, and was in position before the forest of Soignies; it would have required three hours to attack it; we were therefore obliged to postpone it till the next day. The head-quarters of the emperor were established at the farm of Oaillon, near Planchenoit. The rain fell in torrents. Thus, on the 16th, the left wing, the right, and the reserve, were equally engaged, at a distance of about two leagues.

BATTLE OF MOUNT ST. JEAN—JUNE 18.

At nine in the morning, the rain having somewhat abated, the 1st corps put itself in motion, and placed itself with the left on the road to Brussels, and opposite the village of Mount St. Jean, which appeared the centre of the enemy's position. The 2d corps leaned its right upon the road to Brussels, and its left upon a small wood, within cannon shot of the English army. The cuirassiers were in reserve behind, and the guards in reserve upon the heights. The 6th corps, with the cavalry of General D'Aumont, under the order of General Lobau, was destined to proceed in rear of our right to oppose a Prussian corps, which appeared to have escaped Marshal Grouchy, and to intend to fall upon our right flank, an intention which had been made known to us by our reports, and by the letter of a Prussian general, inclosing an order of battle, and which was taken by our light troops.

The troops were full of ardour. We estimated the force of the English army at 80,000 men. We supposed that the Prussian corps, which might be in line towards the right, might be 15,000 men. The enemy's force, then, was upwards of 90,000 men, our's less numerous.

At noon, all the preparations being terminated, Prince Jerome, commanding a division of the second corps, and destined to form the extreme left of it, advanced upon the wood of which the enemy occupied a part. The cannonade began. The enemy supported, with thirty pieces of cannon, the troops he had sent to keep the wood. We made also on our side dispositions of artillery. At one o'clock, Prince Jerome was master of all the wood, and the whole English army fell back behind a curtain. Count d'Erlon then attacked the village of Mount St. Jean, and supported his attack with eighty pieces of cannon, which must have occasioned great loss to the English army. All the efforts were made towards the ridge. A brigade of the 1st division of Count d'Erlon took the village of Mount St. Jean; a second brigade was charged by a corps of English cavalry, which occasioned it much loss. At the same moment, a division of English cavalry charged the battery of Count d'Erlon by its right, and disorganized several pieces; but the cuirassiers of General Milhaud charged that division, three regiments of which were broken and cut up.

It was three in the afternoon. The emperor made the guard advance, to place it in the plain upon the ground which the first corps had occupied at the outset of the battle; his corps being already in advance. The Prussian division, whose movement had been foreseen, then engaged with the light troops of Count Lobau, spreading its fire upon our whole right flank. It was expedient, before undertaking any thing elsewhere, to wait for the event of this attack. Hence, all the means in reserve were ready to succour Count Lobau, and overwhelm the Prussian corps when it should be advanced.

This done, the emperor had a design of leading an attack upon the village of Mount St. Jean, from which we expected decisive success; but, by a movement of impatience so frequent in our military annals, and which has often been so fatal to us, the cavalry of reserve having perceived a retrograde movement made by the English to shelter themselves from our batteries, from which they suffered so much, crowned the heights of Mount St. Jean, and charged the infantry. This movement, which, made in time, and supported by the reserves, must have decided the day, made in an isolated manner, and before affairs on the right were terminated, became fatal.

Having no means of countermanding it, the enemy showing many masses of cavalry and infantry, and our two divisions of cuirassiers being engaged, all our cavalry ran at the same moment to support their comrades. There, for three hours, numerous charges were made, which enabled us to penetrate several squares, and to take six standards of the light infantry, an advantage out of proportion with the loss which our cavalry experienced by the grape shot and musket firing. It was impossible to dispose of our reserves of infantry until we had repulsed the flank attack of the Prussian corps. This attack always prolonged itself perpendicularly upon our right flank. The emperor sent thither General Duhesme with the young guard, and several batteries of reserve. The enemy was kept in check, repulsed, and fell back—he had exhausted his forces, and we had nothing more to fear. It was this moment that was indicated for an attack upon the centre of the enemy. As the cuirassiers suffered by the grape shot, we sent four battalions of the middle guard to protect the cuirassiers, keep the position, and, if possible, disengage and draw back into the plain a part of our cavalry.

Two other battalions were sent to keep themselves *en potence* upon the extreme left of the division, which had manœuvred upon the flanks, in order not to have any uneasiness on that side—the rest was disposed in reserve, part to occupy the *potence* in rear of Mount St. Jean, part upon the ridge in rear of the field of battle, which formed our position of retreat.

In this state of affairs the battle was gained; we occupied all the positions which the enemy occupied at the outset of the battle: our cavalry having been too soon, and ill employed, we could no longer hope for decisive success; but Marshal Grouchy have learned the move-

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nations claim a share in the victory; the British, for having so long sustained the furious attack of superior numbers, and for having, at the close of the day, thrown the enemy into confusion by their brilliant charge; and the Prussians, for occupying all the French reserves, when they were about to be directed—perhaps successfully, against the weakened lines of the British, to whom the issue of the contest was becoming every moment more dubious, and for effecting the total overthrow and dissolution of the enemy's army by their active and vigorous pursuit. In truth, the victory of the 18th of June was the result of *La Belle Alliance* between the arms of Great Britain and Prussia; and the united names of Wellington and Blücher will descend to posterity as the conquerors at Waterloo, and the most distinguished heroes of their respective age and nations.

In one battle the allies had dealt to France a blow that had gone to her heart. The throne she had so lately sworn to defend to the last drop of her blood, was shaken as by an earthquake; her emperor had quitted his troops in despair, and her army retained nothing but the name. The battles of Cressy, of Agincourt, and of Poitiers, were eclipsed on the field of Waterloo; and the feelings of national exultation were in England happily combined with the tribute of national gratitude. The mighty debt which was due to the living and the dead it was impossible to repay. There remained no new title for the commander-in-chief; from his knighthood to his dukedom he had won and exhausted them all;

but the parliament added two hundred thousand pounds to his former munificent grants, in order that a palace, not less magnificent than that of Blenheim, might be erected for a general who had surpassed the achievements of Marlborough.

The merits of the army also were properly estimated, and the rewards were, with great propriety, extended to every rank and every individual. The thanks of both houses of parliament were awarded, *nemine contradicente*, to Field-marshal the Duke of Wellington, to the generals and other officers, and to the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers of his majesty's forces serving under the command of the duke in the glorious victory obtained on the 18th of June. In this vote of thanks, the allied forces, serving under the British commander, were not forgotten; and Marshal Prince Blücher, and the Prussian army, had the satisfaction to receive the unanimous testimony of the British parliament, that the cordial and timely assistance afforded by them on the 18th of June, contributed mainly to the successful result of that arduous day. By an order from the war office, issued in the name of the prince regent, every British regiment which was present in that battle, was from henceforth permitted to bear the word "Waterloo," inscribed upon their colours and appointments. All the privates were to be enrolled upon the muster-rolls and pay-lists of their respective corps as *Waterloo-men*, and every Waterloo-man was allowed to count the 18th of June as two years' service in reckoning his time for increase of pay, while

ment of the Prussian corps, marched upon the rear of that corps, which insured us a signal success for the next day. After eight hours' fire, and charges of infantry and cavalry, all the army saw with joy the battle gained, and the field of battle in our power.

At half-after eight o'clock, the four battalions of the middle guard, who had been sent to the ridge on the other side of Mount St. Jean, in order to support the cuirassiers, being greatly annoyed by the grape shot, endeavoured to carry the batteries with the bayonet. At the end of the day, a charge directed against their flank, by several English squadrons, put them in disorder. The fugitives recrossed the ravine. Several regiments, near at hand, seeing some troops belonging to the guard in confusion, believed it was the old guard, and in consequence were thrown into disorder. Cries of *All is lost, the guard is driven back*, were heard on every side. The soldiers pretend even that on many points ill-disposed persons cried out, *Sauve qui peut*. However this may be, a complete panic at once spread itself throughout the whole field of battle, and they threw themselves in the greatest disorder on the line of communication; soldiers, cannoniers, caissons, all pressed to this point; the old guard, which was in reserve, was infected, and was itself hurried along.

In an instant the whole army was nothing but a mass of confusion; all the soldiers, of all arms, were mixed *pêle mêle*, and it was utterly impossible to rally a single corps. The enemy, who perceived this astonishing confusion, immediately attacked with their cavalry, and increased the disorder, and such was the confusion, owing to night coming on, that it was impossible to rally the troops, and point out to them their error. Thus a battle terminated, a day of false manoeuvres rectified, the greatest success insured for the next day—all was lost by a moment of panic terror. Even the squadron of service, drawn up by the side of the emperor, were overthrown and disorganized by these tumultuous waves, and there was then nothing else to be done but to follow the torrent. The parks of reserve, the baggage which had not repassed the Sambre, in short, every thing that was on the field of battle, remained in the power of the enemy. It was impossible to wait for the troops on our right; every one knows what the bravest army in the world is when thus mixed and thrown into confusion, and when its organization no longer exists.

The emperor crossed the Sambre at Charleroi, at five o'clock in the morning of the 19th. Philippeville and Avesnes have been given as the points of re-union. Prince Jerome, General Morand, and other generals, have there already rallied a part of the army. Marshal Grouchy, with the corps on the right, is moving on the lower Sambre.

The loss of the enemy must have been very great, if we may judge from the number of standards we have taken from them, and from the retrograde movements which he made;—our's cannot be calculated till after the troops shall have been collected. Before the disorder broke out, we had already experienced a very considerable loss, particularly in our cavalry, so fatally, though so bravely, engaged. Notwithstanding these losses, this brave cavalry constantly kept the position it had taken from the English, and only abandoned it when the tumult and disorder of the field of battle forced it. In the midst of the night, and the obstacles which encumbered their route, it could not preserve its own organization.

The artillery has, as usual, covered itself with glory. The carriages belonging to the head-quarters remained in their ordinary position: no retrograde movement being judged necessary. In the course of the night, they fell into the enemy's hands.

Such has been the issue of the battle of Mount St. Jean, glorious for the French arms, and yet so fatal.

he continued in the army, or for pension when no longer engaged in the service of his country. The subaltern officers were in like manner to reckon two years' service for that victory; and a benefit not less important was extended to the

whole army, by a regulation, directing that henceforward the pension granted to an officer on account of wounds, should not be confined to the amount attached by the scale to the rank which he held at the time when he was wounded,

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PRUSSIAN OFFICIAL BULLETIN.

BATTLE OF THE 18TH OF JUNE.

At break of day the Prussian army began to move from Wavre. The fourth and second corps marched by St. Lambert, where they were to take a position, covered by the forest, near Frichemont, to take the enemy in the rear when the moment should appear favourable. The first corps was to operate by Ohain, on the right flank of the enemy. The third corps was to follow slowly, in order to afford succour in case of need. The battle began about ten o'clock in the morning. The English army occupied the heights of Mount St. Jean; that of the French was on the heights before Planchenoit: the former was about eighty thousand strong; the enemy had above one hundred and thirty thousand. In a short time, the battle became general along the whole line. It seems Napoleon had the design to throw the left wing upon the centre, and thus to effect the separation of the English army from the Prussian, which he believed to be retreating upon Maestricht. For this purpose he had placed the greatest part of his reserve in the centre; against his right wing, and upon this point he attacked with fury. The English army fought with a valour which it is impossible to surpass. The repeated charges of the old guard were baffled by the intrepidity of the Scotch regiments; and at every charge the French cavalry was overthrown by the English cavalry. But the superiority of the enemy in numbers was too great; Napoleon continually brought forward considerable masses, and with whatever firmness the English troops maintained themselves in their position, it was not possible but that such heroic exertions must have a limit.

It was half-past four o'clock. The excessive difficulties of the passage by the defile of St. Lambert had considerably retarded the march of the Prussian columns, so that only two brigades of the fourth corps had arrived at the covered position which was assigned them. The decisive moment was come; there was not an instant to be lost. The generals did not suffer it to escape. They resolved immediately to begin the attack with the troops which they had at hand. General Bulow, therefore, with two brigades and a corps of cavalry, advanced rapidly upon the rear of the enemy's right wing. The enemy did not lose his presence of mind; he instantly turned his reserve against us, and a murderous conflict began on that side. The combat remained long uncertain, while the battle with the English army still continued with the same violence.

Towards six o'clock in the evening, we received the news that General Thiekman, with the third corps, was attacked near Wavre by a very considerable corps of the enemy, and that they were already disputing the possession of the town. The field-marshal, however, did not suffer himself to be disturbed by this news; it was on the spot where he was, and no where else, that the affair was to be decided. A conflict continually supported by the same obstinacy, and kept up by fresh troops, could alone insure the victory, and if it could be obtained here, any reverse sustained near Wavre was of little consequence. The columns, therefore, continued their movements. It was half an hour past seven, and the issue of the battle was still uncertain. The whole of the fourth corps, and a part of the second, under General Pirch, had successively come up. The French troops fought with desperate fury; however, some uncertainty was perceived in their movements, and it was observed that some pieces of cannon were retreating. At this moment the first columns of the corps of General Ziethen arrived on the points of attack, near the village of Smouthen, on the enemy's right flank, and instantly charged. This moment decided the defeat of the enemy. His right wing was broken in three places; he abandoned his positions. Our troops rushed forward at the *pas de charge*, and attacked him on all sides, while at the same time the whole English line advanced.

Circumstances were extremely favourable to the attack formed by the Prussian army; the ground rose in an amphitheatre, so that our artillery could freely open its fire from the summit of a great many heights which rose gradually above each other, and in the intervals of which the troops descended into the plain, formed into brigades, and in the greatest order; while fresh troops continually unfolded themselves, issuing from the forest on the height behind us. The enemy, however, still preserved means to retreat, till the village of Planchenoit, which he had on his rear, and which was defended by the guard, was, after several bloody attacks, carried by storm. From that time the retreat became a rout, which soon spread through the whole French army, and in its dreadful confusion, hurrying away every thing that attempted to stop it, soon assumed the appearance of the flight of an army of barbarians. It was half-past nine. The field-marshal assembled all the superior officers, and gave orders to send the last horse and last man in pursuit of the enemy. The van of the army accelerated its march. The French army being pursued without intermission, was absolutely disorganized. The causeway presented the appearance of an immense shipwreck; it was covered with an innumerable quantity of cannon, caissons, carriages, baggage, arms, and wrecks of every kind. Those of the enemy who had attempted to repose for a time, and had not expected to be so quickly pursued, were driven from more than nine bivouacs. In some villages they attempted to maintain themselves: but as soon as they heard the beating of our drums, or the sound of the trumpet, they either fled or threw themselves into the houses, where they were cut down or made prisoners. It was moonlight, which greatly favoured the pursuit, for the whole march was but a continued chase, either in the corn-fields or the houses.

At Genappe the enemy had intrenched himself with cannon and overturned carriages; at our approach we suddenly heard in the town a great noise and a motion of carriages; at the entrance we were exposed to a brisk fire of musketry; we replied by some cannon shot, followed by a *hurrah*, and, an instant after, the town was ours. It was here that, among many other equipages, the carriage of Napoleon was taken; he had just left it to mount on horseback, and, in his hurry, had forgotten in it his sword and hat. Thus the affairs continued till break of day. About forty thousand men, in the most complete disorder, the remains of the whole army, have saved themselves, retreating through Charleroi, partly without arms, and carrying with them only twenty-seven pieces of their numerous artillery.

The enemy in his flight has passed all his fortresses, the only defence of his frontiers, which are now passed by our armies.

At three o'clock, Napoleon had dispatched from the field of battle a courier to Paris, with the news that victory was no longer doubtful: a few hours after, he had no longer any army left. We have not yet an exact account of the enemy's loss; it is enough to know that two-thirds of the whole were killed, wounded, or prisoners: among the latter are Generals Monton, Duhesme, and Compans. Up to this time about three hundred cannon, and above five hundred caissons, are in our hands.

Few victories have been so complete; and there is certainly no example that an army, two days after losing a battle, engaged in such an action, and so gloriously maintained it. Honour be to troops capable of so much firmness and valour! In the middle of the position occupied by the French army, and exactly upon the height, is a farm, called La Belle Alliance. The march of all the Prussian columns was directed towards this farm, which was visible from every side. It was there that Napoleon was during the battle: it was thence that he gave his orders, that he flattered himself with the hopes of victory; and it was there that his ruin was decided. There, too, it was, that, by a happy chance, Field-marshal Blücher and Lord Wellington met in the dark, and mutually saluted each other as victors.

In commemoration of the alliance which now subsists between the English and the Prussian nations, of the union of the two armies, and their reciprocal confidence, the field-marshal desired that this battle should bear the name of *La Belle Alliance*.

By the order of Field-marshal Blücher,

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but should progressively increase with the rank to which he might from time to time be promoted. More was yet due, and the legislature were not slow in expressing the universal feeling of the nation. A national column was decreed to be erected in the metropolis in honour of the victory, and it was determined that the name of every man who had fallen should be inscribed upon this memorial of national glory and public gratitude. Funeral monuments in memory of Lieut.-general Sir Thomas Picton and Major-general the Honourable Sir William Ponsonby were also ordered to be erected among the tombs of the illustrious dead in St. Paul's Cathedral. It was further directed that a medal, a copy of which is subjoined, should be struck commemorative of the victory, to be given to each of the survivors, of the same material for officers and for men, that they who had been fellows in danger might bear the same badge of honourable distinction.

The dignity of a Marquis of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland was granted by the Prince Regent to Lieut.-general Henry William Earl of Uxbridge, by the style and title of Marquis of Anglesey. An extensive brevet promotion in the army took place in consequence of the battle of Waterloo, and all the commissions bore date from the 18th of June. That the honours of the British heroes might still further be increased, the honours of the order of the Bath were greatly extended, and one hundred and twenty officers were, on the recommendation of the Duke of Wellington, elevated to the dignity of COMPANIONS of that military order, for their services in the battles

fought on the 16th and 18th of June. The decorations of the Austrian orders of Maria Theresa, and the Russian orders of St. George, St. Anne, and St. Wladimir, were conferred upon a number of British officers who had distinguished themselves in the battles during the short but decisive campaign of 1815. The King of the Netherlands, whose dominions had been rescued from the presence of an invading army, manifested his gratitude by elevating the Duke of Wellington to the rank of a prince, under the appropriate title of Prince of Waterloo; while the states general settled upon the duke and his family an estate, consisting of woods and demesnes in the neighbourhood of La Belle Alliance and Hougoumont, producing an annual revenue of twenty thousand Dutch florins.

The annals of the world do not produce a military achievement of more distinguished merit, or more sublime importance, than the victory of Waterloo. When it is considered with a view to the immediate loss inflicted upon the enemy; when its moral and political effects upon the belligerent states, and upon surrounding nations, are taken into consideration; and when it is remembered that the fate of England, of France, and of Europe, were closely bound up in the issue of this day, the prospect becomes transcendently bright, and language labours with a vain effort to describe the feelings it inspired, not only in the British dominions, but in every country in Europe where the rigours of an universally pervading military despotism had been felt, and where the terrors of its revival had out-lived the means by which it had been sustained.



CHAPTER VII.

Sensation produced by the Return of Napoleon to Paris—Proposal to appoint him Dictator broached in the Council—Declined by himself—Meeting of the Chambers—Their Sitting declared permanent—Meeting of the Imperial Committee in Council—Suggestion in the Presence of the Emperor that his Abdication could alone save the Country—Act of Abdication—Its Reception—Appointment of a Provisional Government—Stormy Discussion in the Chamber of Peers—Napoleon II. acknowledged by the Deputies—Commissioners sent to treat with the Allies for Peace at Haguenau—Departure of Napoleon for Rochefort—Advance of the Allies upon Paris—Arrival of Louis XVIII. at Cambray—Memorial of the Duke of Otranto to the Duke of Wellington—Failure of the Negotiations at Haguenau—Arrival of the Armies under the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Blucher before Paris—Siege—Capitulation—State of Parties—Interview of the Duke of Otranto with the Duke of Wellington—With the King—Dissolution of the Provisional Government—Conduct of the Chambers—Their Dissolution—Louis XVIII. re-ascends the Throne—Arrival of Napoleon at Rochefort—His Indecision fatal to him—Surrenders to Captain Maitland on board the Bellerophon Man of War—Brought to England—Impression made by his Presence off the Coast—Resolution of the British Government to send him to St. Helena—His Protest—Deportation—Character.

BRIEF as was the interval between the return of Napoleon to the French capital and the close of his political existence, it is a point of time into which much historical incident is crowded. The motive assigned for his return to Paris, was the wish to be himself the messenger of the fatal intelligence of his defeat, and to prevent, by his presence, any strong measures which the chambers might feel disposed to take against his crown. But the impulse under which he acted conducted him to the rock which it was the object of his policy to avoid; and his precipitate departure from the army was the immediate cause of his fall. Even among the soldiers, he lost by this step his most able partizans, and to be the first to despair of his country was an offence never to be forgiven.

The arrival of the emperor in Paris, in the evening of the 20th of June, was considered as the precursor of some disastrous annunciation. The painful suspense of the two last days gave place to feelings of dismay, and the same breath which whispered "the emperor is here," added, "and the army has been defeated." Immediately on his arrival at the Thuilleries, Napoleon convoked a council; and the first business of the ministers was to draw up the bulletin of the battle of Mont St. Jean,* the principal part of which was dictated by Napoleon, with more

than ordinary frankness. The next business BOOK V. which claimed the attention of the council, was an inquiry into the best method of re-organizing CHAP. VII. the army; and the emperor expressed his persuasion that the chambers would readily afford him the requisite supply of men and money to repair its disasters. To a suggestion made by the Duke of Bassano, that the deputies would speak of sparing the water and the engine when the house was on fire; seconded by an observation from Count Regnault, that nothing but the energy and promptitude of a dictatorship could now save the country; the emperor replied, that he had commenced a constitutional monarchy and could not consent to dissolve the chambers.† In these sentiments the Duke of Otranto, who had now joined the council, cordially acquiesced, and depicted in animated language, the fatal consequences which must infallibly flow from any attempt to dismiss the representatives of the people, and assume the power of a dictator. Such a measure, he said, was the less necessary since all the parties were tranquil, and so far from meditating any design against either the person or the authority of the emperor, they would all zealously co-operate in re-organizing the army and defending the country. Napoleon listened with doubt and embarrassment to these assurances. He hoped that credit might be

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* The name given by the French to "The Battle of Waterloo"—called by the Prussians "The Battle of La Belle Alliance."

† Nuits de l'Abdication de l'Empereur Napoleon par M. St. Didier.

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given to the minister of police, but he had private reasons for suspecting that ever since he quitted Paris private meetings had been held nightly, at the houses of the principal agents of both the royalist and republican party, and that though the latter were far from wishing that disasters should overtake the army, yet should they happen, both parties stood ready to take advantage of them. The emperor, however, expressed his determination to adhere to the forms of the constitution, and rather abruptly broke up the council, appointing a meeting to be held at eight o'clock on the following morning, when the state of public feeling might be discussed, and the necessary measures adopted.

At the appointed hour the ministers again assembled in council; and the question of the dictatorship was again discussed. Prince Lucien vehemently urged the necessity of averting from his brother the disgrace which his enemies were preparing for him, and contended that the only means of preserving his authority and saving the country, were to be found in taking the relaxed reins of government into his own hands. The Duke of Otranto adhered to the opinion, that the loyal and patriotic sentiments of the chambers rendered such a measure perfectly unnecessary. Count Carnot opposed the dictatorship, as resembling too much the despotism by which Napoleon's former government had been characterised; but he added, that having professed himself the friend of the emperor, he would zealously defend him to the last extremity, and would rather see his master assume the power of dictator, and assert his constitutional privilege in dissolving the chambers, than suffer him to be driven from his throne either by external or internal violence. The Duke of Parma expressed similar sentiments. Count Regnault warmly supported the assumption of the dictatorship, and the Duke of Decrès, and the Prince of Eckmühl, favoured the same opinion. Napoleon, without mixing in the debate, listened with profound attention to the arguments of each party, and at length expressed his determination to cast himself upon the loyalty of the chambers, and concert with them the measures which the present critical situation of the country required.

While the council was deliberating the chambers assembled; and when the first tumult of surprise and consternation had subsided, General Lafayette mounted the tribune, and thus addressed the deputies:—

"GENTLEMEN—When, for the first time during many years, I raise a voice which the ancient friends of liberty will even yet recognize, I feel myself called upon to speak to you of the danger of our country, which you alone at this juncture have the power to save. Sinister rumours have gone abroad; unfortunately they are all

confirmed. This is the moment to rally round the old tri-coloured standard—the standard of eighty-nine—the standard of liberty, of equality, of public order; the standard which alone we have to defend against foreign pretensions, and internal treason. Permit, gentlemen, a veteran in the sacred cause, who has always been a stranger to the spirit of faction, to submit to you some preliminary resolutions, of which you will, I hope, appreciate the necessity."

Article I.—The chamber of representatives declares, that the independence of the nation is menaced.

II.—The chamber declares its sitting permanent. All attempt to dissolve it is a crime of high treason: whoever shall show himself capable of this attempt shall be regarded as a traitor to his country, and be arraigned as such.

III.—The army of the line and the national guards, who have fought, and still fight, to defend the liberty, the independence, and the territory of France, have deserved well of their country.

IV.—The minister of the interior is invited to call together the general staff, the commanders and legiary majors of the national guard of Paris, to advise on the means of arming and completing that urban guard, whose patriotism and approved zeal, for six and twenty years, offer a sure guarantee to the liberty, the prosperity, and tranquillity of the capital, and to the inviolability of the representatives of the nation.

V.—The ministers of war, of foreign affairs, of police, and of the interior, are invited so present themselves instantly to the assembly.

These propositions were listened to with deep attention, and all, except the fourth, were adopted without opposition. But although the eulogium upon the national guard was thought to convey an invidious distinction, and on that ground rejected, yet the members of that corps immediately assembled at their rendezvous, and a picquet was sent from each arrondissement to do duty at the hall of the deputies, and to charge themselves with the protection of the national representatives. The next step taken by the deputies was to transmit copies of the articles just passed to the emperor and to the peers; and such was the supposed urgency of the case, that in passing the last article one of the deputies observed, that in a few moments perhaps the chamber might be dissolved.

A message from the Thuilleries, delivered by M. Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, announced the arrival of the emperor in Paris at eleven o'clock on the preceding night, and informed the assembly that his majesty was at that moment occupied in framing propositions for the consideration of the chambers. After some time passed in the nomination of a commission of administration to provide for the reception of the national guard, destined for their protection, a second invitation was sent to the ministers, requiring them immediately to repair to the assembly. In reply to this invitation a letter was received by the president from Carnot, Caulincourt, Fouché, and Davoust, stating that they had been detained up to the present moment at the chamber of peers, and in council, but that they were about to present themselves in the chamber of deputies. The four ministers

now entered the hall, accompanied by Prince Lucien in the capacity of extraordinary commissary. The gallery being cleared, and the whole house having formed itself into a committee, a message was read from the emperor, informing the chamber of the loss of the battle of the 18th in its fullest extent; and of the nomination of the Dukes of Vicenza and Otranto, and Count Carnot, as commissioners to treat for peace and the independence of the country with the allies. An ominous silence reigned for some moments at the close of this communication, but at length one of the members rose, and addressing himself to the minister for foreign affairs, said :—

“ You talk of peace. What untried means of communication have you in your power? What new basis can you give to your negotiations? What is that you call the national independence? Europe has declared war against Napoleon. Do you henceforward separate the chief from the nation? For myself, I distinctly declare that I hear no voice but that of the nation; that I see nothing but one man between us and peace. In the name of the public safety, unveil the secrets of your policy; show us all the depths of the abyss, and perchance there may still be left in our courage some resources, and our country may be saved.”

The general plaudits which followed this remonstrance showed to Prince Lucien that the fate of his brother was decided. In vain did he appeal to the honour, the love of glory, the oaths, and the constancy of the assembly. “ We have followed your brother,” exclaimed Lafayette, interrupting him, “ across the sands of Africa, and the deserts of Russia; the bones of our countrymen, scattered in every region, bear witness to our patience and fidelity.” Lucien, in continuation, by turns menaced and implored, without success; and at the conclusion of his speech, Marshal Davoust, the minister at war, assured the assembly that the report which had obtained currency that he had ordered the advance of the troops for the purpose of overawing their deliberations, was utterly destitute of foundation. The last act in the proceedings of this momentous sitting was the appointment of a committee of safety, to sit during the night, and to co-operate with the ministers and the house of peers in the measures that might be judged necessary to preserve the general tranquillity.

In the house of peers the articles passed by the chamber of deputies were adopted nearly in the same terms as those used by M. de Lafayette, and a committee of safety was appointed to act in concert with the commission of the commons in the imperial committee.

At night the imperial committee assembled. This body consisted of the ministers of state; the president and four members of the chamber of peers; the president and four vice-presidents of the representatives; the heads of the civil

and military authorities of Paris; and several state counsellors, peers, representatives, and citizens, who were invited by the emperor, and gave to his party a decided preponderance. The emperor attempted to speak, but the agitation under which he laboured rendered his voice almost inaudible. At first his sentences were imperfect and without connexion, but by degrees he became calm and self-possessed. He described in forcible language the extent of the disasters which had befallen his army. He confessed that he had now no resource but in the affection, fidelity, and zeal of the people; and entreated the advice of the committee as to the measures which it might be necessary to pursue.

Count Regnault proposed that the chambers should make an appeal to French valour, while the emperor was treating for peace in the most steady and dignified manner. “ With what prospect of success can the emperor treat for peace?” said M. de Lafayette; “ Have not our enemies pledged themselves to a line of conduct, which, adopted when the issue of the contest was uncertain, and while all France appeared to have rallied round the emperor of their choice, will not be readily abandoned now that victory has crowned their efforts? Mingled sentiments of affection and respect prevent me from being more explicit; there is but one measure which can save the country, and if the ministers of the emperor will not advise him to adopt it, his great soul will reveal it to him.” This speech, which was received with cordiality by one part of the audience, excited loud murmurs among the court party; and the Duke of Bassano, with little preface, proposed that all who for twelve years had made parts of different factions, whose common object was the dethronement of the emperor, should be placed under the *surveillance* of a more severe police—“ Cause those chiefs to be punished,” said he, “ who from Paris, from La Vendée, from Lisle, from Toulouse, from Marseilles, and from Bourdeaux, feed the hopes of the court of Ghent, and the animosity of Europe, which they have determined to unite in one coalition. Exclude their accomplices of greatest influence from public functions. Watch over the inferior agents with more strictness, and you will have produced the double effect of disconcerting the foreign enemy, and of strengthening the government and its friends. Had this measure been adopted, a person who now hears me, and who well understands me, would not smile at the misfortunes of the country, and Wellington would not be marching to Paris.” A burst of disapprobation, which even the presence of the emperor could not repress, followed this insinuation; and the indignation of the assembly drowned the voice of the speaker.

BOOK V. The deliberations continued during several hours, but the assembly broke up without arriving at any satisfactory conclusion.

CHAP. VII.

1815

Scattered parties of the fugitive army began now to arrive from the north, and though shame and despair lowered on their countenances, they still vociferated with unabated enthusiasm their favourite shout of *Vive l'Empereur!* The inhabitants of the suburbs began to be agitated. Many designs against the independence of the chambers were attributed to the federates; and it was well known that deputations had been sent to the palace of the Elysée to demand arms, with a determination to repeat the dreadful scenes which had disgraced the early periods of the revolution. Opposed to these factions were the constitutional monarchists, the Bourbon royalists, and the federalist republicans, who all united to effect the abdication of Napoleon.

The imposing attitude assumed by the chambers on the first notice of the public calamity, was steadfastly maintained in every stage of their proceedings, and when the deputies assembled in the morning of the 22d, they eagerly demanded the report of the imperial committee. This report, when read by General Grenier, contained nothing but the recognition of the necessity of treating with the allies, and of supporting at the same time the negotiation, by arraying the whole military force of the empire. M. Duchesne considered the report as unsatisfactory, and insisted that the chamber had but one step to take, which was to prevail upon the emperor, in the name of their suffering country, to declare his abdication. This sentiment was received with favour by a large majority of the deputies, but they were prevented from submitting the proposition to a vote, by a communication from the president, who informed them that he had just received an assurance, that before three o'clock that day they would receive from the emperor a message which would accomplish their wishes. General Solignac demanded that a commission of five members should wait upon his majesty, and declare personally the urgency of his decision, but this proposition was retracted upon information received of the forthcoming message, and it was agreed to protract the demand one hour;* in other words, it was consented that Napoleon should wear the crown for one hour longer, and should have the opportunity of resigning that which would otherwise be snatched from him. At eleven o'clock the sitting adjourned, but was resumed at twelve. At one o'clock the Dukes of Otranto and Vicenza, the Prince of Eckmühl, and Count Carnot, were introduced. The president then arose, and

looking towards the galleries, said—"I am about to read an important act, which is communicated to me by his majesty's ministers. I beg to remind you of the regulation which forbids all signs of disapproval or approbation." He then proceeded thus:—

DECLARATION TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

"FRENCHMEN!—In beginning the war to sustain the national independence, I reckoned upon the union of all efforts and of all inclinations, and upon the concurrence of all the national authorities. I had sufficient foundation in hoping for success, and I braved all the declarations of the potentates against me. Circumstances appear to me to be changed. I offer myself as a sacrifice to the hate of the enemies of France. I pray that their declarations may prove sincere, and that their real object of attack has been myself alone. My political life is come to a close; and I proclaim my son, under the title of Napoleon the Second, Emperor of the French. The present ministers will form provisionally a council of government. The interest which I feel for my son induces me to invite the chambers to organize a regency, by a law, and without delay: Unite all of you, if you would consult the public safety, and if you would remain an independent nation.

(Signed)

"NAPOLEON."

The act of abdication of Napoleon was received with respectful silence. It was known that he had hesitated, and that, taking counsel of his courtiers, he appeared at one time resolved to measure his strength with the chambers. But that danger was now past, and his apparently spontaneous resignation was hailed with inward pleasure by the representatives, whose authority it confirmed. They who had been the most eager in the cries for his abdication or forfeiture, were the foremost in expressing their gratitude for the sacrifice which Napoleon had made. M. de Lafayette proposed that his person and interest should be placed under the protection of the national honour, and the resolution was carried by acclamation. M. Dupin pronounced the abdication to be a grand and generous act, worthy of the national gratitude. M. Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, in an eloquent and affecting speech, demanded, not as a minister, which he was no longer, but as a citizen of the state and a representative of the people, some expression of national gratitude towards the man who was yesterday at the head of the nation; whom they had proclaimed Great; and whom posterity would judge. "Napoleon," said the orator, "was invested by the people with sovereign power. He has laid it aside without reserve, without personal consideration. The chambers should become the interpreter of the sentiments which are due to him, and which the nation will preserve towards him. I propose that the president and the bureau shall proceed

* Proceeding in the Chamber of Deputies, June 22d, 1815.

to Napoleon, to express to him, in the name of the nation, the gratitude and respect with which it accepts the noble sacrifice which he has made for the independence and happiness of France."

This motion was carried unanimously, and Lanjuinais, the president, attended by the vice-presidents and secretaries, proceeded to the palace to discharge the duty confided to them. On their return to the chamber, the president informed the assembly, that his majesty had replied to their message by testifying the most touching interest for the French nation, and his most lively desire to see it secure its liberty, independence, and happiness; that his majesty had, above all, insisted upon the motive which had determined his abdication, and had recommended the chamber not to forget, that he transferred the right which France had given him to his son, whom he therefore proclaimed emperor.

Before the departure of the deputation to the palace, the chamber had resolved, that there should be named without delay a commission of five members, of which three should be chosen by the chamber of representatives, and two by the chamber of peers, for the purpose of exercising provisionally the functions of government; and on the president resuming his seat, the deputies, on their part, conferred this distinguished office on Count Carnot, the Duke of Otranto, and General Grenier.

The deliberations of the peers on this day were unusually tumultuous. They assembled at half past one o'clock, and at their meeting Count Carnot read the act of abdication, which, being already pretty generally known, excited neither surprise or discussion. The count then gave the details of the minister of war, relative to the position of the army of the north, under Marshal Soult, which, according to the report, had rallied at Rocroy on the 20th, and was in free communication with Marshal Grouchy, whose corps remained unbroken. This flattering representation Marshal Ney stigmatised as false. "Marshal Grouchy, and the Duke of Dalmatia," said he, "cannot collect sixty thousand men. That number cannot be brought together on the northern frontier; Marshal Grouchy, for his part, has been able only to rally seven or eight thousand men. The Duke of Dalmatia has not been able to make any stand at Rocroy. You have no other means of saving your country but by negotiation." A warm altercation ensued, which ended by Marshal Ney positively asserting that forty thousand men could not be brought together by Grouchy, at any point, or by any means.

The house now adjourned till half past nine o'clock, and at their re-assembling, the president informed the peers, that he had, in the interval,

waited on the emperor with their acceptance of his abdication, and that his majesty had answered, that he received with pleasure their sentiments; but had added:—"I repeat that which I have said to the chamber of representatives—I have abdicated only for my son." Prince Lucien, in an animated speech, in which he asserted, that the chief of a constitutional monarchy never dies, exclaimed—"L'empereur est mort, vive l'empereur! The emperor is dead, live the emperor! L'empereur a abdiqué, vive l'empereur!" The emperor has abdicated, live the emperor! and concluded by proposing an oath of fidelity to Napoleon II. of which at the moment he gave the first example. Count Labédoyère demanded of the peers to proclaim Napoleon II. otherwise the abdication, which was conditional, would be null and void, and the emperor, surrounded by his faithful soldiers, would draw his sword to assert his rights. "He may," continued the count, "be abandoned by some base generals who have already betrayed him; but if we declare that every Frenchman, who quits his standard, shall be covered with infamy, his house razed, and his family proscribed, we shall then hear no more of traitors—no more of those manœuvres which have occasioned our late catastrophes, of which some of the authors, perhaps, have seats in this assembly." A cry of order interrupted the orator. "Listen to me," he exclaimed. "I will not listen to you," said Count Valence, "retract what you have said." "Young man," said Marshal Massena, "you forget yourself—you are not at the *Corps de Garde*." After much similar discussion, Count Decrès, raising his voice, inquired—"Is this the moment to occupy yourselves about individuals? Let our country be the first consideration—it is in danger; let us not lose a moment in taking the measures which its safety requires. I demand the close of this discussion." This appeal prevailed. The president put the question, which was carried, and the further consideration of Prince Lucien's proposal regarding the oath of fidelity to Napoleon II. was deferred until the next day. The chamber then proceeded to the choice of two members to fill up the commission for exercising provisionally the functions of government, when the Duke of Vicenza, and Baron Quinette, were elected by large majorities.

On the 23d the chamber of deputies met about eleven o'clock, and after disposing of the orders of the day, M. Berenger proposed, in a speech in which he compared Napoleon to Marcus Aurelius and Titus, that the commission of government appointed on the preceding day should be declared collectively responsible. M. Defermon, immediately ascending the tribune, said—"That the provisional government should

BOOK V.
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be responsible to the nation cannot admit of a doubt; but in whose name does this government act? Do we, or do we not, acknowledge an Emperor of the French? Have we not an emperor in the name of Napoleon II.? (Yes! yes! exclaimed the greater part of the assembly.) Do the representatives of the nation wait for Louis XVIII.? The whole chamber here rose, held up their hats, and exclaimed—"No, no; *Vive l'empereur!*" with a general emotion, which it was proposed to note in the *procès verbal*. M. Boulay de la Meurthe next presented himself, and insisted on the necessity of making some explicit declaration of the succession of Napoleon II. M. Regnault said—"Without some ostensible and positive name, the army will not know whom it obeys, under what colours it fights, and for whom it sheds its blood. In whose name shall our negotiations speak?" "In the name of the nation," exclaimed many voices. M. Dupin objected resolutely to the choice of an infant, who could not be expected to do what his father had failed to accomplish. "What," said he, "have we to oppose to the efforts of our enemies?—the nation. It is in the name of the nation we shall fight, that we shall negotiate. From the nation we must await the choice of a sovereign: the nation precedes every government, and survives them all." To these observations a member sarcastically enquired—"Why do you not propose a republic?" M. Dupin, whose voice was drowned in the general tumult that ensued, showed by his action that he repelled this insinuation, and it is worthy of remark, that during these days of agitation and division, no one proposed the establishment of a republic, nor indeed did any one declare in favour of any other government than a constitutional monarchy. M. Manuel entered into an examination of the question of the succession, and in a long and eloquent speech exhibited a correct representation of the state of parties in France. As to a republican party, he saw no reason to think that it existed, either among the inexperienced, or among those whose judgments time and experience had matured. The Orleans party united the opinions of many, because they seemed to admit more chances for the liberty and happiness of the people, under the guarantee of the principles and the men of the revolution, but the discussion of their pretensions seemed to him idle in the extreme. Of the royalist party he said—I hasten to repel the conclusion which may be drawn from what has been said in this place; for although there may be among us some shades of opinion, there is but one wish, but one sentiment, with regard to the end, and the means of this party, and with respect to the lot which it would reserve to France. Would you suffer each of these parties to flatter

itself that your secret intention is to labour for it? Would you desire, that in order to fix your decision, the different parties should raise each his standard and collect his adherents? What would then become of the safety of the country? Since this discussion has been opened, it is necessary, it is urgent for us to recognize Napoleon II.; but at the same time it is fit that France should know the motives which influenced us in the nomination of the executive commission, and that, in composing it of wise and upright men, we intended to form a council of regency. This discussion has sufficiently made known our firm resolution to do every thing henceforth for France, and not for a family. If the foreign powers refuse to acknowledge Napoleon II. there will still be time to come to a determination, and no one will balance between one individual and twenty millions of men. I move that we pass to the order of the day, on the following grounds:—

I.—"That Napoleon II. is become Emperor of the French by the act of abdication of Napoleon I. and by the power of the constitution of the empire.

II.—"That the two chambers desired and meant by their decree of yesterday, in nominating a commission of provisional government, to assure to the nation the guarantees necessary under the present extraordinary circumstances for their liberty and repose, by means of an administration possessed of all the confidence of the people."

When the president read this declaration, and put the question, the whole assembly, without one exception, rose spontaneously; and when he said, "the proposition is adopted," cries of *Vive l'empereur!* burst from all parts of the hall, and were reiterated from the galleries. But when it was proposed that the commission of government should take the oath of allegiance to Napoleon II. the house passed to the order of the day; several voices crying "no more oaths," as if enow had already been broken, and as if those now proposed might speedily share the same fate.

The new government hastened to assume its functions; and on the morning of the 23d the inhabitants of Paris learned that the commission had chosen for their president the Duke of Otranto. Marshal Massena was named commander-in-chief of the national guard of Paris, Count Andreossy commander of the first military division, and Count Drouet of the imperial guard. Baron Bignon was chosen minister provisionally for foreign affairs, Count Carnot of the interior, and Count Pelet de la Lozère of the police. The first public act of the provisional government was the publication of a proclamation, dated the 24th, by which the nation was informed that a great sacrifice had become necessary, and that that sacrifice was

already made—Napoleon had abdicated the imperial power, and his son was proclaimed in his stead. The new constitution, which possessed as yet only good principles, was, it was said, about to undergo its practical application, and even those principles were to be purified and extended. There no longer existed powers jealous of each other. The space was free to the enlightened patriotism of the representatives, and the peers felt, thought, and voted, according to the dictates of the public will. Plenipotentiaries had departed in order to treat, in the name of the nation, and to negotiate with the powers of Europe, that peace which they had promised on one condition, which was now fulfilled. The whole world, like the people of France, would be attentive to their reply; and their answer would show whether justice and promises were still held sacred. In conclusion, the French nation was conjured to be united, and reminded that the experience of all ages had proved, that an intrepid people, combating for justice and liberty, could not be vanquished.

The commissioners sent to treat with the allies were M. de Lafayette, General Sebastiani, M. d'Argenson, M. Laforest, and Count Pontecoulant, attended by M. de Constant as secretary; and on the evening of the 24th they left Paris to repair to the head-quarters of the allies. On the same day, the government, upon the resolution of the chambers; that all Frenchmen were called to the defence of their country, decreed, that the remainder of the conscripts of 1815, and the grenadiers and chasseurs of the moveable national guards, should be completed in all the garrisons. The house this day heard an important communication from General Lamarque, dated the 20th of June, announcing distinguished successes in La Vendée, and the demand of an armistice from M. Augustus Laroche Jacquelin, the royalist chief, which General Lamarque hoped would end in the general pacification of the country.

By a decree of the 24th, Marshal Davoust, minister of war, was ordered to take every measure relative to the defence of Paris; and the seal of the war department was, *ad interim*, intrusted to his secretary, Baron Marchant. Another decree of the following day ordered all soldiers absent from their regiments to join the nearest corps, or to repair to Paris; and on the 27th, a law was proposed to the chambers, enabling the state to borrow one hundred and fifty millions of francs, for the payment of the debts and arrears of the military and other establishments.

On the 25th a communication was read from the commission of government to the chambers,

regarding the state of the army, in which it was stated, that Marshal Grouchy had arrived at Rocroy with twenty thousand infantry, six thousand cavalry, and a corresponding train of artillery, and that Marshal Soult was making every effort to rally the army. It was added, however, that in three days from the 19th the allies would reach the neighbourhood of Laon. The armies of the east and of the south were stated to be in a satisfactory position. The day following the government transmitted to the chambers a bulletin tending to confirm the favourable accounts from the army; and on the same day, a proclamation, signed by all the members of the provisional government, was placarded on the walls of Paris, announcing, that "the decrees and judgments of the courts and tribunals, and the acts of the notaries, shall provisionally be intitled—*In the name of the people.*" Thus Napoleon II. after an equivocal reign of three days, was replaced by the French people, and the Duke of Otranto, who was in reality the head of the government, had disembarrassed himself in his communications with the allies from even the mention of the fallen dynasty.

The abdication of Napoleon had excited a violent emotion in the metropolis. The military and the federates clung to the hope that affairs had not come to such an extremity as to call for the sacrifice of the imperial authority, and on the night of the 23d a plot was discovered to seize the military depôts, to march to the Hotel Elysée, and to re-seat the emperor on his throne. But the vigilance of the Duke of Otranto frustrated this design, and under his direction, two hundred of the ring-leaders of the sedition were seized by the national guard of Paris, and placed in a state of security. Napoleon, although he does not appear to have identified himself with this plot, still lingered at the Elysée, and on the advance of the allies, demanded to be put at the head of the French army, and to march as their general,* but the proposal could not be entertained. Nine hundred thousand bayonets had already penetrated the French territory on all sides, and the government had not one hundred thousand men under arms.* The retreat of the army was therefore resolved on, and Napoleon was invited first to quit Paris for Malmaison, and afterwards to take his departure from thence to the United States. Finding himself deserted by victory, stripped of his imperial power, and urged to quit his country by those who had so lately obeyed his commands, it was expected that he would have exercised the convenient privilege of ancient heroism, and this thought suggested itself to his mind; but in a conversa-

* Letter of the Duke of Otranto to the Duke of Wellington, dated Dresden, January 1, 1816.

tion held with Count Labédoyère at Malmaison, on the subject of suicide, he magnanimously observed—that whatever might happen he would not anticipate his fate one hour—his words were, *Quelque chose qui arrive, je n'avancerai pas d'a destinte d'une heure.*

On the 25th Napoleon applied to the provisional government for two frigates to convey himself and his suite to America, which were immediately granted, and at the same time a letter was addressed to the Duke of Wellington, by Count Bignon, minister *ad interim* for foreign affairs, requesting that the emperor might be furnished with passports for his voyage. To this application the duke replied, that he had no authority from his government to grant the required passports; and without authority he did not choose to act in an affair of such moment. The unfavourable nature of this reply did not prevent Napoleon from entering upon his proposed journey, and at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 29th he quitted Malmaison for Roebfort, uttering his wishes for the establishment of the peace and prosperity of France.*

After the battle of Waterloo, the fugitive army continued for several days its disastrous retreat. At Metziers, where Marshal Soult first endeavoured to rally the broken regiments, not more than four thousand men could be collected; but under the walls of Laon his efforts to recall the troops to their standard were more successful; and when, at length, Marshal Grouchy, who had retained the principal part of his artillery, had formed a junction with Soult's corps, their united force amounted to upwards of fifty thousand men.

In the mean time Marshal Blücher afforded the enemy no respite. On the day after the battle the Prussian army crossed the Sambre, and penetrated into France by Beaumont.† From thence they advanced to Avesnes, and having carried that fortress by escalade, captured forty pieces of cannon. The country through which the invading army advanced suffered considerably from the Prussians, who seemed determined to avenge the horrible devastations committed in their own country in former campaigns. Even the veteran field-marshal had drank deeply into that spirit of vindictive animosity which actuated the hostile nations, and in a letter to Major-general Dobschütz, he directs that the garrison of Avesnes shall be marched to Cologne, that the soldiers

shall be "employed in working in the fortifications, and that all the prisoners shall be treated with the necessary severity." On the 24th Marshal Blücher took possession of St. Quintin, after it had been abandoned by the enemy; and the Prussians, flushed with victory, pursued their rapid march on Paris. At Villars Coterets, on the 28th, the van-guard was attacked, but the main body of the troops coming up during the engagement, the French were defeated, with the loss of six pieces of cannon and one thousand prisoners.

The Duke of Wellington remained at Waterloo on the 19th to provide for the wounded, and to re-organise his army for future operations. On the 20th the British army, with the auxiliary troops, under the command of the duke, were put in motion, and in the course of that day they arrived at Blücher, at which place the following regulations for the government of the conduct of the army were issued:—

ORDER OF THE DAY, JUNE 20th, 1815.

"As the army is about to enter the French territory, the troops of the nations which are at present under the command of Field-marshal the Duke of Wellington are desired to recollect that their respective sovereigns are the allies of his Majesty the King of France, and that France therefore ought to be treated as a friendly country. It is then required that nothing should be taken either by the officers or soldiers, for which payment is not made. The commissaries of the army will provide for the wants of the troops in the usual manner, and it is not permitted, either to officers or soldiers, to extort contributions. The commissaries will be authorised, either by the marshal, or by the generals who command the troops of the respective nations, in cases where their provisions are not supplied by an English commissary, to make the proper requisitions, for which regular receipts will be given; and it must be strictly understood, that they will themselves be held responsible for whatever they obtain in the way of requisition from the inhabitants of France, in the same manner in which they would be esteemed accountable for purchases made for their own government in the several dominions to which they belong.

(Signed)

"J. WATERS, A.A.G."

The Prussian and English armies advanced in nearly parallel lines towards the capital of France, but the country presented to each a strangely different appearance. The Prussians found only depopulated and deserted villages. The wretched inhabitants had fled into the woods, and the soldiers were often compelled to break open the secret recesses in which the provisions and property of the fugitives were concealed; and it too frequently happened that the

* Letter from General Count Beker to the Duke of Otranto, dated Malmaison, June 29.

† The forces of the allied armies which were on their march into France at this period have been estimated as follows:—Russians, 225,000; Austrians, 250,000; Prussians, 150,000; British, Dutch, and Hanoverians, 100,000; Saxons, 15,000; Bavarians, 40,000; Wirtembergers, 12,000; contingents of the German Princes, 30,000; making a grand total of 822,000 men.

hamlet which had afforded shelter to the troops during the night, was early on the following morning enveloped in flames.

After the British, who took the direction of Bavay, had advanced a few stages into France, the report of their moderation and good conduct preceded them, and the inhabitants tranquilly awaited their approach. Every accommodation in their power was eagerly produced, and they often refused the recompense which the soldiers, faithful to the orders of their chief, uniformly offered. In this glorious campaign it will be recorded to the honour of the British nation, that they twice conquered their enemy—first, by their valour on the plains of Waterloo, and afterwards, by their unexampled forbearance and generosity during their march to Paris. If the former was the more splendid, the latter was the more honourable, victory.

From Bavay the Duke of Wellington advanced to Cateau Cambresis, from whence he dispatched a corps to the right to take Cambray. The command of these troops was intrusted to Lieutenant-general Sir Charles Colville, who, on the 24th, attacked the town by escalade, at four different points, in every one of which the efforts of the British troops were crowned with complete success. The town being in the hands of the allies, and the citadel not showing itself disposed to offer any serious opposition, a messenger was dispatched by the British commander to Louis XVIII. who, on the 22d, had quitted Ghent, on his route to Paris, urging him to repair to Cambray, and proposing to confer upon

him the honour of summoning and taking the place. The summons of the citadel, by a French officer, in the name of the king, was promptly obeyed, and Cambray surrendered in the course of the day by capitulation.

The entrance of the king into Cambray, which took place on the 27th, was attended by acclamations as loud, and no doubt as sincere, as those which the inhabitants had a fortnight before bestowed upon a division of Napoleon's troops, on their march through that place to the army. The French monarch, on his advance towards his capital, was advised to issue two proclamations indicative of his future intentions, and in which, while he held out the promise of clemency to his misled subjects, he denounced the vengeance of the law against "the instigators and authors of a treason of which the annals of the world present no example."*

While the allied armies continued to advance upon Paris, the French legislature was occupied in preparing a civil compact or bill of rights, to be signed by the prince that might be called to reign over them; and the provisional government left no effort untried to arrest the progress of the invading armies, by setting on foot a negotiation for peace. With this view, the Duke of Otranto dispatched a memorial to the Duke of Wellington, explanatory of the intention of the French nation, and lamenting the hostility between France and England.† To this document the duke returned no reply. The resolution was already taken by the allied courts to dictate the terms of peace within the

* PROCLAMATION OF LOUIS XVIII.

Louis, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre,—To all our faithful subjects health.

At the time when the most cruel of enterprises, seconded by the most inconceivable defection, compelled us to quit momentarily our kingdom, we informed you of the dangers which threatened you, unless you hastened to shake off the yoke of a tyrannical usurper.—We were not willing to unite our arms, nor those of our family, to the instruments which Providence has employed to punish treason. But now that the powerful efforts of our allies have dissipated the satellites of the tyrant, we hasten to re-enter our states, there to re-establish the constitution which we have given to France; to repair, by all the means in our power, the evils of revolt, and of the war, its necessary consequences; to reward the good, and to put in execution the existing laws against the guilty; in short, to call round our paternal throne the immense majority of Frenchmen, whose fidelity, courage, and devotedness, have brought such pleasing consolations to our heart.

Given at Cateau-Cambresis, 25th of June, in the year of Grace 1815, and our reign the 20th.

(Signed)

LOUIS.

The Minister of War, DUKE OF FELTRE.

[The second proclamation, issued three days afterwards, is of the same tenor.]

† MEMORIAL FROM THE DUKE OF OTRANTO TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"Paris, June 27, 1815.

"MY LORD,—You have just illustrated your name by new victories over the French. It is you especially who can appreciate the French nation. In the council of sovereigns, united to fix the destinies of Europe, your influence and your credit cannot be less than your glory. Your law of nations has always been justice, and your conscience has ever been the guide of your policy. The French nation wishes to live under a monarch, but it wishes that that monarch should live under the empire of the laws. The republic made us acquainted with the extreme of liberty. The empire with the extreme of despotism. Our wish now (and it is immovable) is to keep at an equal distance from both those extremes. All eyes are fixed upon England. We do not claim to be more free than she, we do not wish to be less. The representatives of the nation are incessantly employed on a civil compact, of which the component powers, separated but not divided, all contribute by their reciprocal action to harmony and unity. From the moment this compact shall be signed by the prince called to reign over us, the sovereign shall receive the sceptre and the crown from the hands of the nation. In the existing state of Europe, one of the greatest calamities is hostility between France and England. No man, my Lord, has it more in his power than yourself to replace Europe under a better influence, and in a finer position. Accept, my Lord, the assurance of my highest consideration.

(Signed)

THE DUKE OF OTRANTO,
President of the Government.

BOOK V. walls of the French capital, and to restore Louis to the throne unfettered by conditions which might abridge his prerogatives, or restrain the exercise of his power.

CHAP. VII.

1815

The commissioners appointed to treat for peace arrived at the head-quarters of Prince Blücher on the 25th, and requested a suspension of arms, on the ground that the change which had taken place in the government of France, by the abdication of the Emperor Napoleon, had removed the obstacles to peace. To the application for an armistice the Prussian field-marshal gave a peremptory refusal; and it was not till after much altercation and recrimination that passports were granted to the French plenipotentiaries to proceed to Haguenau, in the department of the Lower Rhine, at which place the coalesced sovereigns had now arrived. The conferences were conducted by Count Walmoden, for Austria; Count Capo d'Istria, for Russia; and General Knessebeck, for Prussia. Lord Stewart, though not invested with any direct powers, attended also, by invitation, on the part of England, and took a very prominent part in the discussions. The conferences, which took place on the 1st of July, were conducted with due regard to diplomatic etiquette, but the French commissioners received no definitive answer to their applications. They were, indeed, informed, that it was not the intention of the allied sovereigns to controul France in the choice of her government,* but it was added, that no negotiations could be entered into except in concert with England, whose minister had not arrived.† The plenipotentiaries on their return were accompanied by two Prussian officers, and the road they were obliged to take was so cir-

cuitous, that they did not arrive in Paris till the morning of the 5th of July.

The steady march of the allied armies brought them on the 29th of June under the walls of Paris. During their advance the fortifications which had been commenced by Napoleon before his departure for Flanders, were hastily completed, and the remnant of the army of the north, under Soult and Grouchy, had arrived in the capital, where they were, in the course of the following day, joined by the troops under Vandamme. In the midst of the military preparations with which they were menaced, neither the government nor the people betrayed any indications of dismay. Although the thunder of the cannon was heard at a distance, and every hour continued to approach nearer the city, not a single voice was heard, either in the chamber of the peers or of the representatives, to plead for submission; and even in the streets and promenades, though much levity and indifference were betrayed, no one uttered a wish for the return of the Bourbons. The army, feeling still more strongly than either the people or their deputies an aversion towards the restoration of the king, put forth an address to the representatives of France, in which they expressed the most entire devotion to the national cause, and their readiness to die in its defence.‡

Addresses equally energetic, though less hostile to the Bourbons, were received from the national guard, from the fédérés, and from all the constituted authorities. Every description of people seemed animated by the same spirit, and the city presented the strange spectacle of an universal and determined resistance against the allies of a monarch, to whom some

* M. le Comte de Pentecoulant's communication, as reported to the chamber of Deputies, July 6.

† In the Imperial Gazette of the 10th of July, it is stated, that a positive demand was made to deliver up Napoleon into the power of the allies. To this demand General La Fayette is reported to have answered, that the person of the ex-emperor was under the protection of the national gratitude and honour, and that when a proposal was made to the French people to commit an act of unexampled treachery, he did not expect that the prisoner of Olmutz would be selected as the fit medium for its execution.

‡ ADDRESS FROM THE ARMY.

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE! We are in the presence of our enemies. We swear before you and the world to defend, to our last breath, the cause of our independence and the national honour.

It is wished to impose the Bourbons upon us, and these princes are rejected by the immense majority of Frenchmen. If their return could be subscribed to, recollect, representatives! that you would sign the annihilation of the army, which for twenty years has been the palladium of French honour. There are in war, especially when it has been long conducted, successes and reverses. In our successes we have been seen great and generous. If it is wished to humble us in our reverses, we shall know how to die.

The Bourbons present no guarantee to the nation. We received them with sentiments of the most generous confidence, we forgot all the calamities they had caused us in their rage to deprive us of our most sacred rights. Well! what return did they make for this confidence? They treated us as rebels and vanquished. Representatives! these reflections are terrible because they are true. Inexorable history will one day relate what the Bourbons have done to replace themselves on the throne of France; it will also tell the conduct of the army, of that army essentially national, and posterity will judge which best deserved the esteem of the world.

Camp at Villette, June 30.

(Signed)

THE MARSHAL PRINCE OF ECKMÜHL, Minister-of-War.
COUNT PAJOL, commanding the First Corps of Cavalry.
COUNT D'ERLON, commanding the Right Wing.
COUNT VANDAMME, General-in-chief;
And fifteen other Generals.

of them wished success, and to whom they were all convinced they must soon bow as a master.

The advanced guard of the allied army, under the Duke of Wellington, crossed the Oise on the 29th of June, and on the 1st of July the whole of the British army took up a position with the right on the heights of Rochembourg, and the left upon the Bois de Bondy. On the 30th, Marshal Blücher attacked the village of Aubervilliers, where a severe engagement took place between the Prussians and the French, the latter of whom had rallied a force for the defence of the capital amounting to upwards of seventy thousand men, of whom fourteen thousand were of the old guard.* This village, which was taken and retaken several times, at last remained in the hands of the Prussians. The obstinacy with which Aubervilliers had been defended, showed the danger of attacking Paris on the side of Montmartre and Belleville, both of which were strongly fortified, and could not have been carried without immense loss. The Prussian commander resolved therefore to file off to the right, and crossing the Seine at St. Germain, he took up a position to the south, with his right at Plessis Pique, his left at St. Cloud, and the reserve at Versailles. At this point the ground was more obstinately contested than on the north of Paris; and the town of Versailles was the scene of the most sanguinary combat. Several times in the course of the 2d of July the city was alternately in the power of the Prussians and of the French; but the determined valour and superior numbers of the troops under General Ziethen surmounted every obstacle, and they succeeded finally in establishing themselves on the heights of Meudon, and in the valley of Issy. While these events were taking place at Versailles, the Duke of Wellington threw a bridge over the Seine at Argenteuil, and sent forward a corps towards the bridge of Neuilly. Paris was thus completely invested by an army consisting of one hundred and fifty thousand troops, and fears began to be entertained of an approaching famine; but the Duke of Wellington, unwilling to drive the inhabitants to desperation, allowed the usual supply of provisions to pass through the British camp, and thus disarmed the hostility of a numerous party, who, indignant at the inexplicable conduct of the allies, had almost resolved to join the ranks of the army and the federates.

It was now determined to make one final effort to raise the siege of the capital; and at three o'clock in the morning of the 3d the French army commenced a desperate attack upon the

Prussians in the valley of Issy. The assailants fought with the fury of despair. They were, however, repulsed at every point, and driven to the very gates of Paris. The ramparts and the windows, as well as the tops of the houses near the walls, were crowded with spectators, who viewed with unutterable anguish the failure of this last struggle for the safety of their capital, and the independence of their nation. On a sudden the firing ceased. As soon as the government perceived that the case was hopeless, a herald was dispatched to the allied generals, demanding a suspension of arms for a few hours, while commissioners could be appointed to treat for the surrender of the city. To this proposal the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Blücher readily consented; and at two o'clock in the afternoon, the commissioners authorised by the respective parties, met in the palace of St. Cloud. This conference was conducted not merely in the favourite palace of Napoleon, but in the very chamber in which he had been accustomed to hold his councils of state. In that chamber which had so often been the scene of discussions, which had for their object the subjugation of Europe, English and Prussian commissioners were now negotiating for the surrender of the French capital, and the final overthrow of the imperial sway! Both parties were in earnest, and the negotiations were speedily brought to a close. The convention, which bears date the 3d of July, provides, that there shall be an immediate suspension of arms under the walls of Paris. That on the following day the French army shall be put in march to take up a position behind the Loire; Paris to be completely evacuated in three days, and the movement behind the Loire effected within eight days. That at mid-day on the 4th, St. Denis, St. Ouen, Clichy, and Neuilly, shall be given up; the day after Montmartre to be surrendered; and on the 6th the barriers of Paris to be opened to the allied army. That the duty of the city of Paris shall continue to be done by the national guard and the corps of the municipal *gen d'armes*, and that the actual authorities shall be respected so long as they shall exist. The eleventh article provides, that public property shall be respected; and the twelfth, on which much discussion afterwards arose, runs thus:—"Private persons and property shall be equally respected. The inhabitants, and in general all individuals who shall be in the capital, shall continue to enjoy their rights and liberties, without being disturbed or called to account either as to the situations which they hold, or may have held, or as to their conduct or political opinions." The re-

* Report of the French Commissioners appointed to communicate the thanks of the Representatives to the Army.

BOOK V. maining articles stipulate, that the foreign troops shall not interpose any obstacle to the provisioning of the capital; that the present convention shall serve to regulate the mutual relations till the conclusion of peace; and that should any difficulty arise in the execution of any article of the present convention, the interpretation of it shall be made in favour of the French army and of the city of Paris. This convention is declared common to all the allied armies; the ratification to be exchanged at six o'clock in the morning of the 4th, at the bridge of Neuilly, and commissioners to be named to watch over its execution.

CHAP. VII.
1815

The inhabitants of Paris had, during the morning, been a prey to the most anxious and gloomy suspense; but no sooner was it proclaimed that a suspension of arms was concluded, and that the generals of the allied armies had guaranteed the city from pillage and destruction, than the most frantic joy succeeded this feeling of despondency. Very different, however, were the feelings of the army. They had been kept in ignorance of the determination of their generals to abandon a city which they had pledged themselves to defend to the last extremity, and their mortification was extreme to find that Paris was surrendered without a struggle within its walls. A persuasion of treachery soon became prevalent, and some insurrectionary movement on the part of the troops and the federates was confidently anticipated. During the night several skirmishes took place between the irritated troops of the enemy and the out-post of the allied armies; but by degrees the indefatigable exertions of the superior officers of the French army succeeded in reconciling the troops to a convention in which their reputation had not been compromised; and on the morning of the 4th several regiments were under arms, and on their march towards the Loire. The conduct of the federates was still more tumultuous than that of the regular army. Their rage was not directed against the enemy, but was levelled against those who in their estimation had disgraced their country by the surrender of the metropolis. For a while the destruction of Paris seemed to be threatened by this part of its misguided population; but the national guard, under the Prince of Essling, acted with most exemplary firmness, and to the thirty thousand armed citizens who formed this body, the Parisians were probably indebted for their preservation from plunder and outrage. The discontents produced by the capitulation were by no means confined to the soldiery, or to the lower classes. They found their way into the chambers, and some of the members, in their confidential conversations, did not hesitate to urge against the Duke of

Otranto the heinous imputation of treachery and treason.

Up to the moment of the capitulation of Paris the chambers continued their deliberations, and on the day when the humiliation of their country seemed completed, the national representatives issued a declaration of the rights of Frenchmen, resembling in its spirit and in its principal features the bill of rights claimed by the parliament of England from William III. and it is surely a tribute of no ordinary value offered to the constitution of England, that at the very time when her army was at the gates of the French capital, our national institutions were the objects of the perpetual eulogy, and the subjects of the imitation, of the statesmen of the hostile nation. The constancy of the chambers was put to a severe trial. The king had arrived at Compiègne, and nearly a million of foreign troops were hastening from every quarter to reinstate him on the throne, and yet not one member in either house thought proper to propose his restoration.

To tranquillize the public mind, the provisional government published a proclamation, stating the motives by which they had been actuated in the surrender of Paris. "Called upon, says the proclamation, to defend the interest of the people and of the army, which had been equally compromised in the cause of a prince abandoned by fortune and the national will, they conceived it their duty to rescue the capital from the horrors of a siege, and the chance of a battle. And inspired with too much confidence by the declarations of the sovereigns of Europe, to dispute that those promises could be violated, or that the liberty and dearest interests of France could be sacrificed to victory, they did not hesitate to accept that peace which was necessary to the prosperity and happiness of a nation which for five and twenty years had been a prey to the alternate and temporary triumphs of factions. The guarantees which had hitherto existed only in the principles and courage of Frenchmen, they would now find in their laws and constitution, and above all, in their representative system."

The national representatives also addressed the people with a firmness of tone, and in a spirit of independence, that will entitle them to the admiration of future ages:—"A monarch," say they, in language similar to that held by the convention parliament of England, "cannot offer any real guarantee, if he does not swear to observe the constitution framed by the national representation, and accepted by the people; it hence follows, that any government which shall have no other title than the acclamation and will of a party, or which shall be imposed by

force; and every government which shall not guarantee the rights and liberties of a people claiming the privileges of freemen, will have only an ephemeral existence, and will neither secure the tranquillity of France nor of Europe."

In the crisis which had now arisen, France was greatly divided respecting the choice of the sovereign who should succeed Napoleon. The return of the Bourbons, it was feared, would be signalized by a system of vengeance and re-action, and the proclamations of the 25th and 28th of June, gave too much countenance to these apprehensions. It was supposed impossible that a dynasty which had suffered so much from revolutions, could sincerely pardon the actors in the revolutionary drama. All those, both in the civil and military orders, who, during the last five and twenty years, had acquired rank, fortune, and glory, felt the most affecting and gloomy disquietudes in contemplating the recall of Louis XVIII. One party desired a foreign prince as the most likely to guarantee with impartiality all existing arrangements, and the Prince of Waterloo was said to stand high in the list of those on whose head it was proposed to place a crown, and whose hands were to wield a diadem. Another party was desirous to maintain the regency. But an authority which should have governed in the name of the spouse and the son of Napoleon, would have favoured the belief that it was Napoleon himself who governed. The name of the Duke of Orleans was invoked by one portion of the public. His personal qualities—his name as a Bourbon, and the facility with which a social compact entirely new could be acceded to with him, presented a tranquillizing aspect, and pointed him out to his supporters as a fit occupant of the throne. Others insisted upon the principles of legitimacy; but the Duke of Otranto, from whom we quote, considers the principles of legitimacy as the mere political law of a country; and Montesquieu shows, that there may occur, between a dynasty and a people, such incompatibilities, as to render it necessary to change the law in order to save that very country.

Amidst these conflicts of opinion, Louis XVIII. approached towards Paris. Wherever the invading army appeared the king was proclaimed, and apprehensions were entertained that it was the determination of the allied powers to force the Bourbons upon the French people, notwithstanding the declaration made by the Prince Regent of England upon the coalition treaty of the 25th of March,* and the still

more recent assurances given to the French commissioners at Haguenau. To this act of national degradation, the Duke of Otranto, the head of the provisional government, does not appear to have urged any very strenuous objections, though in his letter to the Duke of Wellington he states, that those form a very false idea of the position in which he stood, who reproach him with not having defended the rights of the nation to choose their own prince, and to fix the condition of his power. "These two points," he adds, "were decided by the force of circumstances. The present was no longer in our power. All would have been easy, if, as I had proposed, Napoleon had abdicated at the *Champ de Mai*—his tardy abdication subjected us to the yoke of events."†

On the 6th of July, the Duke of Otranto had a conference with the Duke of Wellington at Neuilly, in which he was informed, that all the allied powers had engaged to replace Louis upon the throne of France. This decision it was found impossible to revoke; and the president of the provisional government, passing to a subject second only in importance to that which had just been discussed, said, that at the instant when the throne was about to be re-established, it was the interest of the king to adopt a system of clemency and oblivion; urging, that that which is crime in a well regulated state, may be only delirium in a state of disorder. Several individuals, who had been suspected of treason, had, he said, been only misled in the path in which the crisis had engaged them; and that as long as a man believed that he had not abandoned his duty, it was possible to reclaim him from his error. These views met the approbation of the duke.† On the following day the Duke of Otranto held the same language to the king, in a conference to which he had the honour to be admitted with him at St. Denis. The king seemed sensible that the nation had need of repose, to re-unite all the elements of order dispersed by the times and by misfortunes; that it was necessary to veil all errors with extreme benevolence, and to employ every possible means to inspire all hearts with sentiments of sincere attachment to the throne. From this interview, the particulars of which were immediately communicated to those most interested in its result, it was presaged that the nation had reached the close of its dissensions. But the French people required something more than presages, and nothing but a positive engagement on the part of the sovereign was considered as a sufficient guarantee for the liberty of the

* See Vol. II. Book V. Page 436.

† Letter from the Duke of Otranto to the Duke of Wellington, dated Dresden, January 1, 1816.

BOOK V. nation, and the security of those who had borne arms against the Bourbons.*

CHAP. VII.

1815

In the afternoon of the 6th a sight was witnessed at the barriers of Paris of which history furnishes no former example—the surrender of the capital of France to a British army. This ceremony took place at half past four o'clock, when all the gates of the city were placed in the hands of their new masters. Numerous regiments of the allies now traversed the streets, on their way to their respective quarters, and their peaceable demeanour and modest deportment made a considerable impression in their favour on the minds of every well disposed spectator. In addition to the sprig of laurel which each soldier wore in his cap, his arm was bound round with a white scarf. This, the federates, and a portion of the populace, considered as a symbol of adherence to the cause of the king, and pursuing the march of the troops, they vociferated in their ears—"No Bourbons;" "The representative government for ever;" while others continued to indulge in their still favourite cry of "*Vive l'empereur!*" The allied troops were prepared for these popular ebullitions, and treated the cries and the insults offered to them by the infuriated mob with silent disdain. Some of the Prussians were quartered upon the inhabitants; and others encamped in the Elysian Fields: but the whole of the British army encamped on the night of the 6th under the walls, or on the Boulevards of Paris.

During the progress of these military movements the chambers continued their deliberations without interruption; but on the morning of the 7th, the provisional government, finding that foreign troops had occupied the Thuilleries, and that their deliberations were no longer free, came to the resolution to dissolve themselves, and on the meeting of the chambers a communication to that effect was made to the deputies.†

This annunciation, though not altogether unexpected, filled the members with astonishment and dismay. A profound silence ensued. At length, M. Manuel, advancing to the tribune, thus addressed the assembly:—

"What has happened you have all foreseen; with whatever rapidity events have succeeded each other, they have not surprised you; and already your declaration, founded upon the deep feelings of your duty, has told to all France that you are able to fulfil and complete your glorious design. The commission of government has been reduced to a position which leaves it incapable of farther defence. As to ourselves, it is our duty to allot to our country all our last moments, and, if need be, the last drops of our blood. The time, perhaps, is not far distant, which shall restore you to all your rights, consecrate public liberty, accomplish all your wishes, and fulfil all the desires of every Frenchman: that time it becomes us to look forward to with the calm dignity worthy the representatives of a great people. Let there be neither shouts, nor complaints, nor acclamations. You are animated by one firm resolve, which the dictates of wisdom must develop, adorned with her characteristic qualities, and clearly demonstrated to be the settled impression of every generous heart. Forget, I demand it of you, every personal interest; suffer no apprehension to hide from your eyes the good of your country: you will complete your work by continuing your deliberations. Gentlemen, one of two things must happen; either the allied armies will permit the usual sittings of your assembly, or violence will tear you from this sanctuary. If we are to remain free, let us not have to reproach ourselves with any hesitation or interruption; if we are to bend beneath the laws of force, let us leave to others the odium of such a violation, and let the disgrace of having stifled the accents of independence fall with all its weight upon those who dare to undertake so base an office. You have protested beforehand; you protest again, against every act aggressive on our liberties, and the rights of your constituents. Alas! would you have to fear such evils; if the promises of kings were not given in vain? What, then, remains, but to exclaim with that orator whose words have resounded throughout the whole of Europe: 'We are here by the will of the people—the bayonet alone shall drive us hence.'"

Four distinct peals of applause greeted the orator as he concluded his speech, and the chamber having agreed unanimously to M. Manuel's

* Letter from the Duke of Otranto to the Duke of Wellington, dated Dresden, January 1, 1816.

† DISSOLUTION OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

"To the Representatives of the French People,

"Hitherto we believed that the intentions of the allied sovereigns were not unanimous upon the choice of the prince who is to reign in France. Our plenipotentiaries gave us the same assurance at their return.

"However, the ministers and generals of the allied powers declared yesterday, in the conferences they had with the president of the commission, that all the sovereigns had engaged to place Louis XVIII. upon the throne; that he is to make his entrance into the capital this evening or to-morrow.

"Foreign troops have just occupied the Thuilleries, where the government is sitting.

"In this state of affairs, we can only breathe wishes for the country; and our deliberations being no longer free, we think it our duty to separate.

"The Marshal Prince of Essling, and the Prefect of the Seine, have been charged to watch over the maintenance of public order, safety, and tranquillity.

(Signed)

"THE DUKE OF OTRANTO.

"COUNT GRENIER.

"QUINETTE.

"CARNOT.

"CAULAINCOURT, DUKE OF VICENZA."

proposal, entered upon the business of the day. The articles of the constitution were still under the consideration of the assembly, and among other votes come to this day, it was decided, after two divisions, that the peerage should be hereditary and unlimited. After this vote, which was concluded at six o'clock, the chamber adjourned till eight o'clock the next morning.

In the peers, the sitting had no sooner commenced, than Marshal Lefebvre, the Duke of Dantzic, notified to the house that Prussian troops had taken possession of the Luxembourg Gardens, in defiance of the convention of Paris, and moved that a deputation should remonstrate with Marshal Blucher on this subject. At that moment a messenger from the provisional government announced its dissolution. The communication was listened to in silence, and the example immediately followed by the spontaneous and final separation of the peers.

At the appointed hour on the morning of the 8th, a number of the members of the chamber of deputies presented themselves at the palace of the legislative body, where they found the gates shut, and guarded by sentinels of the national guard, who invited them to retire. The alternative of M. Mirabeau and M. Manuel had occurred: the representatives indeed were not expelled, but they were excluded by the bayonet. Although the members had neither the power nor the inclination to resist the mandate by which the doors of their hall were closed against them, they had too much courage and patriotism to depart without solemnly protesting against the injustice of the proceeding. About one hundred of their number repaired to the house of the president, Lanjuinais, and there drew up and signed the following process verbal:—

"In the sittings of yesterday, the chamber of representatives passed to the order of the day on the message by which the provisional committee gave notice that it had ceased its functions. It afterwards continued its deliberations on the constitution which it had pledged itself to frame, and when its sittings were suspended, adjourned to this day, the 8th of July, at eight o'clock in the morning. In consequence of this adjournment, the members of the chamber of representatives repaired to the usual place of their meeting. But the gates of the palace being closed, the avenues being guarded by a military force, and the officers who commanded it having declared that they received a peremptory order not to grant admittance to any of the members; the undersigned members of the chamber have assembled at the house of M. Lanjuinais, their president, and there they have formed, and signed individually, the present process verbal, to authenticate the above facts."

Signed by all the members present.

July 8th, 1815.

The white standard of the Bourbons now displaced the tri-coloured flag on the towers of Paris, and the intention of the king to make his entry this day into his capital was publicly announced. The Parisians, to whom a public spectacle has irresistible charms, hastened to

behold, and to swell, the royal procession. When the king reached the barriers, which were thrown open for his admission, the acclamations of the populace became unbounded, and the prefect of Paris, attended by the whole municipal body, addressed a congratulatory speech to his majesty, full of those protestations of inextinguishable loyalty to his person and his house, which had, one hundred days before, been lavished with equal profusion upon the returning emperor. The reply of the king to this courtly address was cool and sententious:—"In removing from Paris," said he, "I experienced the greatest sorrow and regret. The testimonies of the fidelity of my good city of Paris reached me. I return with emotion. I foresaw the misfortunes with which it was threatened; it is my wish to prevent and repair them."

The day after his arrival the king announced his new ministry, which consisted of Prince Talleyrand, president of the council of ministers, and secretary of state for foreign affairs; Baron Louis, minister of finance; the Duke of Otranto, minister of police; Baron Pasquier, minister of justice; Marshal St. Cyr, minister of war; Count de Jaucour, minister of marine; and the Duke of Richelieu, minister of the household. The object of the king in the choice of this ministry was to include men of all parties, and thereby to inspire universal confidence; but this was a vain effort, and a short time served to dissolve a body in which there was no common principle of adhesion.

Louis XVIII. was thus once more seated upon the throne of his fathers, but he reigned only in the Thuilleries. To the foreign troops by which he was surrounded he was solely indebted for his elevation. The national will had not been consulted; and the same potent agency which placed him on the throne could alone maintain him in his present situation. Indebted to the enemies of his country for his elevation—surrounded by a discordant ministry—compelled to impose heavy burthens upon his people as the price of his restoration—and forced to subscribe to conditions humiliating to the glory of France, the opening of his second reign was inauspicious in the extreme, but it was not utterly hopeless. Whatever might have been the errors of his former government, or however unpromising his present circumstances, he enjoyed personally the respect of the French nation. The people were wearied with revolutions. Their military passion, which, before the return of Napoleon, constituted the great danger of the French monarchy, was subdued; and the nation wished for peace and a moderate share of freedom, both of which the king possessed the power and the inclination to confer.

BOOK V.

CHAP. VII.

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The English army, ever since its entrance into Paris, continued to maintain that noble character for strict discipline which it had acquired during its march to the capital. Not a single act of atrocity was laid to their charge. The inhabitants traversed their camp in perfect security, and soon began to regard them rather as visitors than as conquerors. In the quarters and in the camp of the Prussians a different scene was presented. The inhabitants of the houses in which they were quartered were frequently treated with unjustifiable severity; their best apartments were seized; their furniture was wantonly injured and destroyed; and when their wretched hosts were no longer able to supply their exorbitant demands, their houses were frequently stripped, and every portable article carried away and sold. Both officers and men seemed less solicitous to conciliate the subjects of their ally, Louis XVIII. and to secure the permanency of his reign, than to avenge themselves of the French nation for the enormities to which the inhabitants of Prussia had been exposed from French cruelty and exactions during the invasions of their country. They forgot, that in the revolutionary wars, Prussia, not France, was the first aggressor; and the coalition of Pilsnitz, the invasion of the Duke of Brunswick, and the denunciations of his famous proclamation, were events which a recollection of the wrongs of Germany had entirely obliterated from their minds. Even the Prussian commander-in-chief so far suffered his resentment to overcome his magnanimity, that the bridge of Jena was mined by his order, and would have been blown into the air, in spite of the king's remonstrances, had not the Duke of Wellington placed a sentinel upon it, with orders not to quit his station.

The short but splendid campaign of the allied armies, under the command of the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Blücher, obscured the operations of the Austrian and the Russian armies, and their advance from the Rhine to the French capital, though distinguished by several spirited engagements, did not fix for a moment the attention of Europe. Two days after the return of Louis XVIII. the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, arrived in Paris; and Lord Castlereagh, with several of the most distinguished statesmen and ministers attached to the principal courts of Europe, had repaired to the same city, to negotiate those treaties by which the political relations of France with the other states of Europe, were to be regulated and guaranteed.

The 3d of July, the day of the capitulation of Paris, was signalized also by the arrival

of Napoleon at Rochfort, with the intention of embarking for the United States of America. The two frigates appointed by the provisional government to convey the emperor and his suite to the western shores of the Atlantic, had already arrived, and that promptitude of action for which he was once so much distinguished, was alone wanting to secure his escape. Hesitation now proved his ruin. Misfortune seemed to have paralysed his energies; and in the language of one who was perfectly acquainted with all his movements, "he was too unfortunate to have a will."* On his arrival at Rochfort he established himself at the maritime prefecture; and from the 3d to the 10th of July he occupied himself in preparations for a voyage which he was doomed never to undertake. In the mean time the British cruisers hovered off the coast, and Captain Maitland, in his majesty's ship the *Bellerophon*, of seventy-four guns, appeared in Basque Roads. The situation of Napoleon now became every moment more perilous. The expectation that he might be recalled by the affection of the army, or the difficulties of the state, to re-assume the reins of government, forsook him when he learned that the allies had actually entered Paris. He now determined instantly to depart; but the moment for escape had passed away; all his efforts for that purpose proved unavailing; and that navy which, in the days of his prosperity, had opposed the principal obstacle to the fulfilment of his schemes of universal empire, relaxed not its vigilance when adversity had hurled the imperial fugitive from his throne, and compelled him to seek an asylum in a foreign land.

In this extremity he formed the resolution to cast himself upon the generosity of the British nation; and on the morning of the 14th, Count Las Cases, and General L'Allemand, were dispatched on board the *Bellerophon*, with a proposal to Captain Maitland to receive Napoleon and his suite on board his vessel. This proposal was of course accepted without hesitation; but that no misunderstanding might arise, the captain explicitly and clearly explained, that he had no authority whatever for granting terms of any sort; and that all that he could engage to do, was to convey Napoleon and his suite to England, to be received in such a manner as the prince regent might direct.

During the night between the 13th and 14th, Napoleon had repaired on board the French brig *l'Epervier*; and on the evening of the 14th, the Count Las Cases, and General L'Allemand, having returned, he ordered his suite and his baggage to embark on board the same vessel. At the dawn of day on the 15th, *l'Epervier* set

* The Duke of Otranto.

sail with a flag of truce, and Napoleon, with all those who had attached themselves to his fate, amounting in the whole to about fifty persons, and including the Count and Countess Bertrand, and three children; the Count and Countess Montholon Semonville, and one child; Marshal Savary, Duke of Rovigo; and Generals L'Allemand, Gourgaud, and Las Cases, embarked in the course of the morning on board the Bellerophon. On ascending the quarter-deck Napoleon advanced to Captain Maitland, and in a firm tone of voice, and with a dignified manner, said—"I am come to claim the protection of your prince, and of your laws." The British captain, having received no orders to the contrary, received him with all the respect due to his former rank, and offered him all the accommodation in his power.

Captain Maitland lost not a moment in dispatching a frigate to England with the important intelligence of the surrender of the fallen emperor, and in the same vessel Marshal Gourgaud was embarked, charged with the delivery of a letter from his master to the prince regent, claiming the hospitality of the British nation.* To this letter it does not appear that any answer was returned, except the conduct adopted towards Napoleon may be considered in this light. On the 16th the Bellerophon sailed from the French coast for England, and on the 24th the telegraph at Plymouth announced her arrival in Torbay. During the voyage the officers and crew of the English man of war treated Napoleon with all the respect they would have shown to a sovereign prince; and although orders were soon after issued by the British government to consider and treat him merely as a general officer, yet so completely had he ingratiated himself into the favour of all on board during his short voyage, that these orders were but very imperfectly obeyed.

His suite treated him with the most profound respect. They never approached him, or entered into conversation with him, but at his invitation, and always uncovered; but he conversed frequently and familiarly with the officers

of the Bellerophon, and even with the seamen and marines. On every political subject he expressed his opinions freely and without reserve. He declared that he would have perished rather than he would have delivered himself up to either Russia, Austria, or Prussia. The sovereigns of these countries were despotic, and might have violated with impunity all justice and good faith, by his imprisonment or death, but in surrendering himself to the British nation he threw himself upon the generosity of every individual, and on the protection of the laws. Politics he had for ever abandoned; and to the invitation of the French army of the Loire to place himself at their head, he had, before he left Rochefort, returned a decided negative, from a determination that not *une goutte de sang*—drop of blood, should be shed on his account. Speaking of the battle of Waterloo, he gave a similar account of the cause of his disaster to that which had already been given in his memorable bulletin of the battle of Mount St. Jean—adding, that he was betrayed by some of his generals, and that he had no chance against the bravery of the best troops in the world, and the treachery of those in whom he most confided. Speaking of his former achievements—"I ought," said he, "to have died when I entered Moscow; then I had attained the pinnacle of my glory, but from that hour reverses and disgrace have perpetually pursued me. And yet, had I followed the dictates of my own mind, I might now have been great and happy. I would have made peace at Dresden. I would have made peace at Chatillon, had not the Duke of Bassano, with well meant, but fatal zeal, dissuaded me."†

While the British cabinet was deliberating upon the proper course to be pursued towards their fallen enemy, Napoleon yielded to the illusory hope that he should be permitted to reside in England, under some strict, but not oppressive, *surveillance*. Cheered by this expectation, he seemed almost to forget his misfortunes, and the novel and impressive scene exhibited by upwards of a thousand boats, occupied by at least ten thousand spectators, which

* COPY OF BONAPARTE'S LETTER TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE REGENT.

Rochefort, 13 Juillet, 1815.

"*Altesse Royale—En butte aux factions qui divisent mon pays, et à l'inimitié des plus grandes puissances de l'Europe, j'ai terminé ma carrière politique; et je viens, comme Themistocle, m'asseoir sur les foyers du peuple Britannique. Je me mets sous la protection de ses lois; que je réclame de V. A. R. comme la plus puissante, la plus constante, et la plus généreuse de mes ennemis.*

"NAPOLEON."

Rochefort, 13th July, 1815.

"Your Royal Highness—Exposed to the factions which divide my country, and to the enmity of the greatest powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career, and I come, like Themistocles, to throw myself upon the hospitality of the British nation. I place myself under the protection of its laws, which (protection) I claim from your Royal Highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies."

"NAPOLEON."

† See Narrative of an Embassy to Warsaw and Wilna, by M. de Pradt, Archbishop of Malines.

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floated around the *Bellerophon*, to catch a sight of its imperial guest, dissipated for a moment the gloom that hung over his future destiny. On his appearance on deck, the officers and seamen, by a simultaneous movement, uncovered without orders, and when he advanced to the starboard gang-way to view the sublime spectacle before him, and to gratify the curiosity of his visitors, the spectators in their turn became uncovered, and the bay resounded with acclamations. During several days these scenes were repeated, and the sensation made along the coast by the presence of this too celebrated personage is indescribable. Misfortune had not impaired his personal appearance. When he was chief consul of France his figure was slender, and his visage thin, and somewhat haggard; at the time when he assumed the imperial purple he was more robust; but since adversity first hurled him from his giddy eminence, he had become absolutely corpulent.* His person is thus described by an officer on board the *Bellerophon*:—"Napoleon is about five feet seven inches in height, very strongly made, and well proportioned; very broad and deep chest; legs and thighs proportioned, with great symmetry and strength; a small, round, and handsome foot. His countenance is sallow, and as it were deeply tinged by hot climates; but the most commanding air I ever saw. His eyes grey, and the most piercing that you can imagine. His glance, you fancy, searches into your inmost thoughts. His hair dark brown, and no appearance of grey. His features are handsome now, and when younger he must have been a very handsome man. He is rather fat, and his belly protuberant, but he appears active notwithstanding. His step and demeanour altogether commanding. He looks about forty-five or forty-six years of age."

The decision of the British government, acting "in conjunction with the allied sovereigns,"† disappointed Napoleon's expectations, and doomed him to pass the remainder of his life in the island of St. Helena; and as a place of security, the world does not afford one more eligible. Situated in the middle of the Southern Atlantic; at a distance of twelve hundred miles from the coast of Africa, and eighteen hundred from South America, with an inaccessible coast, formed by an almost uninterrupted chain of rocks, rising in nearly a perpendicular direction

to the height of from six to twelve hundred feet, it is absolutely impregnable either by surprise and external stratagem, or by an open and regular attack. Gibraltar or Malta are neither of them to be compared with St. Helena as a place of security. Nature has, indeed, been so profuse in strengthening this station, and has left so little for art to perform, that out of twenty-eight miles of coast, the fortified lines of defence collectively do not exceed eight hundred and fifty yards.‡ To this settlement it was determined that Napoleon should be sent, on board the Northumberland man of war, under the command of Rear-admiral Sir George Cockburn. And in thus disposing of an august stranger, who had sought the protection of the British laws, without the sanction of parliament, there is no doubt but the ministers of the crown incurred a heavy responsibility, but the necessity of the case justified the decision, and parliament, at their meeting, did not hesitate to grant them an indemnity.

In confiding to British officers a mission of such importance, the prince regent felt it necessary to express to them his earnest desire, that no greater personal restraint might be employed than what should be found necessary faithfully to perform the duties of which Admiral Cockburn, as well as the governor of St. Helena, were never to lose sight, namely, the perfectly secure detention of *General Bonaparte*. Every thing which, without opposing this grand object, could be granted as an indulgence; it was the wish of his royal highness should be allowed to the general; but the admiral was cautioned not to suffer himself to be misled, or imprudently to deviate from the performance of his duty.

Napoleon heard of the decision of the council, through the medium of the newspapers, before it was officially announced to him, and his rage and mortification were extreme. At first he peremptorily declared that he would never be taken over the sides of the *Bellerophon* alive; and his suite fully participated in his feelings. Sir Henry Banbury was the commissioner charged to make known to Bonaparte the determination of the British government to send him to St. Helena. This explanation took place on the 2d of August, on board the *Bellerophon*; and at the same time he was informed, that four of his friends, (with their families) to be chosen by himself, and twelve of his domestics, would

* Isabey's celebrated portrait of Napoleon, from which the engraving introduced into a former part of this work is copied, presents a striking portrait of the emperor at the period of his coronation; and the historic engraving of "the Surrender of Napoleon," from a design by Brooke, is little less successful in portraying the features and figure of the same personage at the epoch now under review.

† London Gazette, August 26th, 1815.

‡ See Major-general Alexander Beatson's Tracts on St. Helena, written during a residence of five years between the years 1808 and 1814, in the capacity of governor-general.

he allowed to attend him into exile.* Although this information was received without surprise, yet Napoleon protested against the measure in the most emphatic manner. On Friday, the 4th, the *Bellerophon* sailed from Torbay to meet the *Northumberland* off Berry-head, and on the Sunday following Lord Keith and Sir George Cockburn proceeded on board the former ship, to settle with Napoleon the exact period of his intended removal. The ceremony with which the fallen emperor had hitherto been treated was now to be discontinued, and the admiral, approaching him, simply pulled off his hat, as he would have done to any other general-officer, and said—"How do you do General Bonaparte?" Surprised at being thus saluted, Napoleon hesitated an instant, and then replied to the inquiry in a slight and laconic manner. After a long expostulation against the "perfidy and injustice" practised towards him, he concluded by a peremptory refusal to quit the ship. Lord Keith, in reply, observed, that he acted under the orders of his government, and that he hoped he should not be under the necessity of resorting to coercive measures—"No, no," replied Napoleon, "you command! I must obey!

You may take me, but let it be remembered that I do not go with my own free will." He then presented to his lordship a formal protest in writing, against his deportation, in the presence of several witnesses.† At the close of the interview Sir George Cockburn inquired at what hour, on the following morning, he should come to take the general on board the *Northumberland*, to which Napoleon replied, at ten.

Early on Monday morning Admiral Cockburn went on board the *Bellerophon* to superintend the inspection of the baggage; and about half past eleven o'clock, Lord Keith, in the barge of the *Tonnant*, proceeded to the same ship, to receive Napoleon and those by whom he was to be attended. As soon as the baggage was removed the parting scene commenced, and the separation was truly affecting. All wept; but Marshal Savary and a Polish colonel appeared the most deeply affected. The Pole had accompanied Bonaparte through many of his campaigns, and had received seventeen wounds in his service. He clung to his knees, and requested from Lord Keith permission to attend his master even in the most menial capacity, but the orders of government to send off the Polish

* That no doubt or uncertainty might exist as to the conduct to be pursued towards Napoleon, a memorial, dated the 30th of July, 1815, was communicated by government to Admiral Cockburn, which was to serve by way of instructions, and by which it was directed, that at the moment when Bonaparte was trans-shipped from the *Bellerophon* on board the *Northumberland*, the effects which he had brought with him should be examined. His baggage, wine, provisions, and table-service, were to be taken on board the *Northumberland* for his use. His money, diamonds, bills of exchange, and valuable effects of whatever kind, were to be delivered up—not to be confiscated, but merely to be administered under the direction of the British government in such a way as to prevent their owner from using them as means to promote his escape. The interest, or the principal, according as his property might be more or less considerable, to be applied to his support; and in case of his death, the whole of his property to be disposed of according to the directions of his last will and testament. On his arrival in St. Helena, "the general," says the memorial, "must be constantly attended by an officer, appointed either by the admiral or the governor, and if he be allowed to go out of the bounds where the sentinels are placed, one orderly-man at least must accompany the officer. When ships arrive at the island, and as long as they remain in sight, the general must be confined to the limits where the sentinels are placed, and during this time all communication with the inhabitants is forbidden, both to the general and his suite." An attempt to fly on the part of Napoleon to subject him to close confinement; and any plot, on the part of the attendants, to aid his flight, to subject them to be separated from him. All correspondence with the general by letter to undergo the inspection of the admiral or the governor. The whole coast of the island, and all the ships and boats that visit it, are placed under the surveillance of the admiral, who is charged to watch over the arrival and departure of every ship, and to prevent all communication with the coast, except such as he shall deem it proper to allow. In case the general should be seized with a serious illness, two physicians, one appointed by the admiral and the other by the governor, shall attend him, in common with his own physician, by whom a daily report on the state of his health shall be made, and in case of his death his body shall be conveyed to England.

To give increased efficacy to these regulations, two acts, passed in the following session of parliament (Cp. xxii. and xxiii.), "for the more effectual detaining in custody Napoleon Bonaparte; and for regulating the intercourse with the island of St. Helena;" by the former of which it was enacted that General Bonaparte should be considered as a prisoner of war, and that any British subject attempting his rescue, or aiding, assisting, or furthering him after he had effected his escape, should be deemed guilty of felony without benefit of clergy; and by the latter of which, all intercourse with the island of St. Helena, except in ships of the East India Company, or by license of his majesty, was interdicted.

† PROTEST OF NAPOLEON.

"I protest solemnly in the face of heaven and of men against the violation of my most sacred rights, by the forcible disposal of my person, and of my liberty. I came freely on board the *Bellerophon*. I am not the prisoner, I am the guest of England. Once seated on board the *Bellerophon*, I was immediately entitled to the hospitality (*Je fus sur le foyer*) of the British people. If the government, by giving orders to the captain of the *Bellerophon* to receive me and my suite, intended merely to lay a snare for me, it has forfeited its honour, and sullied its flag. If this act be consummated, it will be in vain that the English will talk to Europe of their loyalty, of their laws, of their liberty. The British faith will have been lost in the hospitality of the *Bellerophon*. I appeal therefore to history. It will say that an enemy who made war for twenty years on the people of England, came freely in his misfortune to seek an asylum under its laws. What more striking proof could he give of his esteem and of his confidence? But how did they answer it in England? They pretended to hold out an hospitable hand to this enemy, and when he surrendered himself to them in good faith, they sacrificed him.

"NAPOLEON."

"Dated on board the *Bellerophon*, at sea, August 4, 1815."

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officers were peremptory, and the brave officer's request could not be complied with. Count Bertrand, his wife, and three children; the Count and Countess Montholon, Count Las Cases, and General Gorgaud, with nine men and three women servants, remained with Bonaparte. Marshal Savary and General L'Allemand were left behind in the *Bellerophon*, to be sent to Malta, and the remainder of his suite were put on board the *Eurotas* frigate. M. Maingault, the surgeon of Napoleon, alone, of all his attendants, refused to accompany him, and his place was supplied by Mr. O'Meara, the surgeon of the *Bellerophon*. At twelve o'clock the barge reached the Northumberland. During the trans-shipment Napoleon exhibited no symptom of dependency, but, on the contrary, he appeared more cheerful than usual. He mounted the side of the vessel with the activity of a seaman, and advancing to Sir George Cockburn, he said—"Admiral, I once more protest against the injustice of your country." To Lord Lowther, and the Hon. Mr. Lyttleton, who were on board the Northumberland, he bowed, and soon after entered into a familiar conversation with them on political subjects, which continued for two hours. His motives for his attack on Spain—the Berlin and Milan decrees—the war against Russia—and his refusal to sign the treaty of Chatillon, were all discussed with considerable freedom, and far from avoiding, he encouraged the discussion. "I was called to Spain, said he, by Charles IV. to assist him against his son." "Rather," said one of the young noblemen, "to place King Joseph on the throne." "I had," replied Napoleon, "a grand political system. It was necessary to establish a counterpoise to your enormous power at sea; and besides, the Bourbons had always entertained the same feeling and adopted the same system. I wished to revive Spain, and to do much of that which the cortes afterwards attempted." Speaking of his invasion of France, he said, with great animation, "I was then a sovereign. I had a right to make war. The king had not kept his promise." He then added,

exultingly, and with a smile—"I made war on the King of France with six hundred men, and beat him too." In treating him as the English now did, he said, they acted like a little aristocratical power, and not like a great and free people. Of Mr. Fox he said, he knew him; he had seen him at the Thuilleries; "he had not," added he, "your prejudices." "Mr. Fox, general," said one of the gentlemen, "was a zealous patriot with respect to his own country, and he was a citizen of the world." "He sincerely wished for peace," said Napoleon, "and I wished for it also. His death prevented its conclusion. The others were not sincere." He afterwards observed—"I do not say that I have not for twenty years endeavoured to ruin England—that is to say, to lower you—I wished to force you to be just, at least less unjust." To a question respecting Louis XVIII. he replied, "he is a good sort of man, but too fond of the table and pretty sayings. He is not calculated for the French. The Duchess of Angoulême is the only *mar* in the family. The French must have such a man as myself." He afterwards broke out into some invectives against the conduct of the allies, which he called perfidious and treacherous towards France; and again adverted indignantly to the subject of his deportation to St. Helena. "You do not know my character," said he, "why not let me remain upon my parole of honour in England?"*

A few days served to complete the preparation of the Northumberland for sea, and in the course of the week the vessel was under way for her destination. During the voyage the imperial exile maintained his usual equanimity of temper; and on the 17th of October, he, who had once aspired to the dominion of Europe—the Emperor of the West, and the descendant of Charlemagne, found himself immured, probably for life, in a small volcanic island measuring ten miles in length, and seven miles in breadth, at a distance of six thousand miles from the scene of his immortal exploits in arms, and separated from the two great continents of Africa and America by unfathomable seas.†

* These passages, forming part of a long conversation, rest upon the authority of the gentlemen to whom that conversation was addressed.

† ST. HELENA, so far from being desolate and barren, as is generally imagined, is in many parts pre-eminently fertile, and capable of the highest improvement. The land, of which from two to three thousand acres might be ploughed with the greatest facility, and even much more brought into cultivation, is not inferior in the production of wheat and every other grain, as well as of potatoes, and all sorts of esculents, to the very best land of Europe. The annual produce is indeed much greater, on account of the certainty of two seasons of rain and two harvests in the year. The plain of Long-Wood and Dead-Wood comprises 1,500 acres of fine land, elevated 2,000 feet above the sea, with a beautiful sward, covering a deep and fertile soil, and is become the first place of pasture in the island; but with all these advantages a large proportion of St. Helena exhibits the appearance of a barren and reluctant waste. The climate is perhaps the most mild and salubrious in the world, and is remarkably congenial to human feelings. Neither too hot nor too cold, it presents throughout the year that medium temperature which is always agreeable. From thunder and lightning this climate may be said to be wholly exempt. In the course of sixty years only two flashes of lightning are recollected, and even these are said not to have been accompanied by thunder. Neither is this

Thus terminated the political life of Napoleon, the first, and probably the last, Emperor of the French. His character, though bearing little resemblance to the character of the generality of mankind, exhibited one feature in common with his species—it combined a mixture of good and of evil; adding another splendid confirmation to the truth, that as there is no man so good as to be destitute of all vice, so there is none so bad as to be destitute of all virtue. The revolution, of which he was the child and the champion, had, like the character of the man, a mixture of good and evil—to that revolution, with all its horrors, France owes a system of government, theoretically, if not practically, free; and to Napoleon, with all his errors, she owes her present admirable civil and criminal code.

The fall, like the rise, of Napoleon baffled all speculation. It is an observation rendered quaint by repetition, that had he been less ambitious he might have preserved his throne; but had his ambition not been inordinate he never would have had a throne to preserve. The same spirit that elevated him to the imperial purple sunk him to the rank of the Emperor of Elba, and at his next fall shut him up in the island of St. Helena. Such then, is the state of this extraordinary man. Perhaps we live too near the times of which we write, to be able exactly to draw the character of Napoleon. Posterity must decide between his panegyrists and his accusers; both have, without doubt, erred. Yet widely as men may differ in forming a judgment upon some parts of his character, upon others all must agree. That he possessed extraordinary powers for government will hardly be denied; Europe generally, and France in particular, bear ample testimony to the fact. In the field and in the cabinet

he long shone without an equal: his measures were for the most part as well planned as the execution of them was successfully directed. The schemes of coalitions were frustrated by him, and for this purpose he frequently employed stratagem, and frequently force: what he could not gain by negotiation he acquired by conquest. Many times did the potentates of the continent league among themselves and with England to subvert his power, and, till vanquished by the storms of heaven, as often did he repel their attacks. What might have been his situation at this moment, had the expedition against Russia never been undertaken, is a point of mere speculation—certain, however, it is, that his ill-judged attempt, particularly at such a season, upon that country, was the primary cause of his fall. There his brave and veteran warriors perished; and though indeed, notwithstanding this reverse, his resources were great, and he was enabled to bring into the field, the very next year, nearly half a million of men,—yet still they were raw and inexperienced men—they had never been the comrades of his youth, never, ere now, his companions in arms. Before the year 1812, he had nearly succeeded in impressing upon Europe the belief—a belief which he himself probably entertained—that he was invincible: nor can we wonder at such a conviction being general. His wonderful successes at Marengo, at Austerlitz, at Jena, at Friedland, at Wagram, were indeed calculated to astonish and overawe the world.

With military talents so great as those which he undoubtedly possessed, there was however joined one fault not a little reprehensible: this was his unconquerable obstinacy. It was but seldom that he failed to take the most effectual measures for securing his ends, but if he

settlement subject to those storms and hurricanes which occasionally afflict and desolate many other tropical islands. The idea that rats are so numerous and destructive in St. Helena, that it is impossible to raise corn, is altogether erroneous; some years ago these vermin were extremely troublesome, but during the two last years they have been wholly extirpated. The population of the island, in 1812, exclusive of the civil and military establishments, and the free blacks and the East India Company's slaves, amounted to 582 whites, and 1,150 blacks. Provisions are always in plenty; and the supply of fish is so ample, that not less than seventy-seven species are enumerated as frequenting the coast of that island.

As a military station this settlement is absolutely impregnable. The principal landing places, which consist of Rupert's Bay, James Town, and Lemon Valley, are all well fortified by *fleur d'eau* batteries, provided with furnaces for heating shot, and flanked by cannon placed upon the cliffs, far above the reach of ship guns. Mortars and howitzers for showering grape-shot upon the decks of ships, or upon boats attempting to land, are also provided, and in short, it is utterly impossible to force a descent at any of these points. Besides the principal landing places, there are several ravines, or vallies, interspersed throughout the coast, where an enemy might undoubtedly land, but most of these are also protected by batteries, and are so easily defended by rolling stones from the heights, that no body of troops attempting to gain the interior could have the least chance of success if proper vigilance were exerted. Two or three men, provided with iron crows, and stationed on the heights, just above the entrance to any of the ravines, would render it impossible for any number of troops, however great, to approach ten yards within the landing places. A stone of moderate size, which may be easily displaced, set off from the top of one of the ridges, before it reaches the bottom of the hill collects such myriads in its train, that if a whole battalion of troops were drawn up in the ravine, not a single man could escape alive.—*Major-general Beatson's Tracts, and Brook's History of the Island of St. Helena.*

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had by chance erred, it was impossible to make him acknowledge his mistake. A character more decisive never perhaps belonged to any man; but Napoleon sometimes appeared to consider decision and obstinacy as the same thing.

His *talents* as a legislator have been uniformly acknowledged, and the fault of his laws, where they are despotic and tyrannical, must be imputed to his *disposition*. Tyrant he certainly was, as the restraints imposed upon the French press, upon free discussion, and upon personal liberty, abundantly prove. No considerations of duty or principle were ever suffered to interfere with the interests of his power. He could break his word, solemnly pledged—he could violate his treaties without shame or remorse—and play the hypocrite with admirable skill.

As a man, his character was much less exceptionable than as a prince. In his personal habits he was temperate, active, and indefatigable. In the domestic circle he had the art of riveting the affections of his family and his household to his person; and to the princes of his own line he displayed a partiality that frequently involved him in errors, and that in part contributed to his fall.

No man perhaps was ever a greater favourite with the army—and with whatever coldness the rest of his subjects might look upon his rule, he always found in his soldiers an immutable affection. When he returned from Elba—what French soldier hesitated to assume the tri-coloured cockade, or to shout "*Vive l'Empereur!*" Even after his final defeat at Waterloo, he was still a favourite, as many a well authenticated anecdote (some of them recorded in this work) will testify. Whatever Napoleon might be to his other subjects, to his army, at least, he was always an indulgent and liberal master—the spoils of conquered realms glittered in their tents, and around their homes. Highly disciplined and numerous as the imperial armies constantly were, still they would have been

comparatively nothing, without that fervid enthusiasm with which their leader uniformly contrived to inspire their minds.

Few men have done more mischief in the world than Napoleon—and not many men have done more good. Whether, in the production of this good to mankind, Bonaparte was actuated by motives of disinterested virtue, or by motives of an opposite kind, matters little with regard to the simple effect. In giving liberty of conscience to professors of all religions, in finally destroying every vestige of the feudal system, in overturning the detestable power of the inquisition, and lastly, in the promulgation of the edict for the abolition of the slave trade, whatever construction we may attach to the motives, we cannot but sincerely approve the deeds.

Napoleon's ruling passion was ambition; and whenever this appeared, it was sure to make every other consideration give way. This passion it was which raised him to his dangerous eminence, and this which precipitated him from it. Ambition, joined with great talents, it has been said, constitutes a great man; and, taking this definition of greatness as just, there never existed a greater man than the late Ruler of France. But the passion which burned within the breast of Napoleon, was not of that chastened and refined nature, which acts only for the general welfare, with comparatively little regard to the individual—No! his was a selfish, a gloomy, and a ruthless passion, whose flame served only to light to the object it was destined to destroy. Had this man, instead of pursuing the unsubstantial phantom of a conqueror's glory, given his hopes and exertions to the advancement of the real prosperity of his country, or the true welfare of his species, he might have lived honoured and revered, and have gone down to posterity as a pattern for the imitation of princes, and a name glorious and beloved among men.



Prince Charlotte of Wales and Prince Leopold of Saxe Cobourg.

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CHAPTER VIII.

BRITISH HISTORY: *Assembling of Parliament—Addresses carried in both Houses—Supplies voted—Adjournment—Parliament re-assembles—Property Tax Act repealed—Estimated Expenses of Peace Establishment—Bill for regulating the Importation Price of Corn—Riots—Corn Bill passed into a Law—Derangement of the Ministers' Measures of Finance by the Return of Napoleon from Elba—War Taxes revived—Marriage of the Duke of Cumberland—Vote of Thanks to the Duke of York as Captain-general and Commander-in-Chief of the British Army—Death of Mr. Whitbread—His Public Character—Conclusion of the Session of Parliament—Consequence of the War, and the Influence of Peace upon the Agricultural, Commercial, and Financial Affairs of the Country—Exposition of the Public Income and Expenditure during the War—Amount of the National Debt—Summary View of the Population, Property, and Annual Resources of the British Empire—Holy League—Establishment of Peace Societies in Europe and America—Situation of the Royal Family—Marriage of the Princess Charlotte of Wales to Prince Leopold of Saxo-Cobourg.*

THE proceedings of the British parliament in the session of 1815, so far as they regard the resolution taken once more to enter the lists against the French Emperor, have been anticipated;* and as the other topics brought under discussion during this anxious session were principally of a subordinate nature, they will demand only a cursory review. But if the parliamentary transactions of the year may be compressed within a narrow compass, the retrospect of the effects of the war, and of the consequences of the return of peace, upon the trade, the agriculture, the finances, and the general condition of the inhabitants of this country, afford an ample scope for historical statement, and present indeed a much wider field of inquiry than the circumscribed limits of the remaining portion of this history will allow.

On the 8th of November, 1814, parliament assembled for the dispatch of business. The topics embraced in the speech of the prince regent were, the continuance of the war with America—the opening of the congress at Vienna—and the state of the public revenue and commerce of Great Britain on the return of peace with the continent. On the first of these points his royal highness affirmed, that the war with the United States had originated in the most unprovoked aggression on the part of that government, and that its tendency was to promote the designs of the common enemy of Europe. It was, however, his sincere desire

to bring the contest to a conclusion upon just and honourable terms, and he was at the present moment engaged in negotiations for that purpose. The meeting of the congress at Vienna was next referred to; and although some delay had arisen from unavoidable causes, parliament was assured, that the endeavours of his royal highness would be used to consolidate the peace to which he had been a party, by a just equilibrium among the powers of Europe. The state of the public revenue and commerce of this country were represented in the speech as in the most flourishing condition, but the large expenditure, and the accumulated arrears, would demand in the course of the present year a considerable provision. It was in conclusion observed, that the peculiar character of the late war, as well as the extraordinary length of its duration, must have materially affected the situation of the countries engaged in it, as well as the commercial relations which formerly existed between them. Under these circumstances it became expedient to proceed with due caution in the adoption of such regulations as might be considered necessary for the purpose of extending our trade and securing our present advantages; and his royal highness expressed his determination cordially to co-operate and assist in every measure calculated to contribute to the prosperity and welfare of his majesty's dominions.

Addresses formed on the speech were passed in both houses of parliament without a

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* See Vol. II. Book V. Page 433-6.

division; and the commons voted, with as little delay as the nature of the proceedings would admit, those supplies which the exigency of the government demanded, and to afford which, the session had commenced at an earlier period than usual. In pursuance of this purpose, Sir George Warrender, one of the lords of the admiralty, moved, on the 14th of November, that seventy thousand seamen, including fifteen thousand marines, should be voted for the service of the year 1815; also, that £1,015,250 should be granted to his majesty for wages for the same; both which proposals were carried. On a subsequent day, the chancellor of the exchequer moved, that a sum not exceeding eight millions should be granted to his majesty to meet the bills drawn on the treasury for the extraordinaries of the army. This motion, which called forth some observations from Mr. Tierney, was carried, and on the 1st of December, parliament adjourned till Thursday the 9th of February, before which period it was presumed the proceedings of the congress of Vienna would terminate.

The deliberations of the congress extended to a period beyond the expectations of the British government, and on the re-assembling of parliament on the 9th of February, ministers were still unprepared to offer any explanation regarding the political arrangements entered into at Vienna. During the parliamentary recess numerous meetings had been held in various parts of the country, and on the re-assembling of parliament, petitions from these meetings were presented to the house against the longer continuance of the property tax. The loudly-raised voice of the people fixed the wavering purpose of the chancellor of the exchequer; and on the 20th of February that right honourable gentleman introduced his plan of finance for the current year by announcing his determination to abandon the property tax. In abandoning this great measure of finance, the house, he said, would not consider itself at all precluded from resorting to it again, whenever the necessities of the country should render it expedient. This tax, in conjunction with the other war taxes, had supported the public credit, and finally enabled us to assist materially in effecting the deliverance of Europe. They had prevented a funded debt of between two and three hundred millions, and an annual charge of fourteen millions. The property tax alone had produced one hundred and fifty millions, and had saved a burthen of one hundred and eighty millions, with nine millions annually of permanent taxes. In proposing the substitution of other measures, he stated, that on

the 5th of January last, the public revenue amounted to £40,962,000. The principal charge upon which was the interest of the funded debt of £35,420,000. The annual expense of the peace establishment for four years he estimated at from eighteen to nineteen millions. To meet this demand there were in the first place about six millions of permanent annual taxes; he should in addition propose a continuance of the war taxes on the customs and the excise, for a limited time, which would produce a further sum of six millions, and he should lay before the house a plan for new taxes to the amount of five millions, making in the whole seventeen millions. The new taxes were multifarious, but consisted principally of taxes on the windows of green-houses, and shops, and warehouses; an augmentation of 30 per cent. on the present tax on the rents of inhabited houses; 80 per cent. additional on servants, carriages and horses used for pleasure, with a still further rate of 50 per cent. on the servants, horses, and carriages of bachelors. The aggregate produce of the several sums would amount to two millions and a half. Coming next to the customs, he proposed an additional duty on tobacco and wine, and an increase upon the licenses of dealers in excisable articles. A tax of one penny upon the postage of newspapers, and a considerable advance on the stamp duties, completed the catalogue of the proposed imposts for the year. A peace establishment cast on a scale of expenditure requiring nineteen millions a year for four years, was deemed enormous by the members on the opposition side of the house; but before this question came to its ultimate decision, events had arisen that entirely deranged the proposed system of finance, and called for the revival of the property tax, and all the other war taxes.

The question of the corn laws, which had already engaged the attention of parliament in two successive sessions, was again brought forward in the house of commons on the 17th of February. During the last session an act was passed for permitting the exportation of all kinds of grain duty free;* and the object of the friends of that measure was still further to extend relief to the agricultural interest, by prohibiting the free importation of corn, except when the average price of wheat in this country should amount to eighty shillings per quarter or upwards, and the price of other grain in the same proportion. The resolutions on which the proposed law was intended to be grounded, were introduced by the Right Hon. Frederick Robinson, vice-president of the board of trade, who, on behalf of the land-owners of the country,

* See Vol. II. Book IV. Page 351.

disclaimed any idea of making exorbitant profits to the detriment of the community. His own feeling was to do good to all parties; and in his opinion, the way to make corn ultimately cheap, as well as to guard against the evil of being dependent upon foreigners for a supply of this, the first necessary of life, was to extend legislative encouragement to its production at home. In conformity with the recommendation of the committee which sat the last session, he proposed that every species of grain, corn, meal, and flour, should be allowed to be landed and warehoused duty free (except with regard to flour in Ireland, which was at present prohibited by law) and should be as freely exported at all times. His next proposal was, that when the average price of wheat, for the six weeks immediately preceding the 15th of February, the 15th of May, the 15th of August, and the 15th of November, should have reached eighty shillings, importation should be entirely free, and pay no duty whatever. And finally, that with respect to corn imported from our North American colonies, the principle hitherto acted upon should be adhered to, and that the importation from thence should be free after the price of wheat was sixty-seven shillings per quarter, being the same increase on the present standard of fifty-three shillings, which eighty was upon sixty-three shillings, the existing *maximum* against the admission of foreign grain to the British market. In conclusion, Mr. Robinson begged to submit his resolutions, amounting to nine in number, to the consideration of the house.*

During the progress of the corn bill, which passed through its different stages with unusual celerity, the public mind, particularly in the metropolis, became extremely agitated. Several of the houses of the members favourable to this measure were attacked with great violence, and the residence of Mr. Robinson, the mover of the regulations, suffered extremely by the ebullitions of popular fury. When the first attack

was made, no material resistance was offered to the rioters, but on Tuesday, the 7th of March, when a repetition of the excesses of the preceding day was attempted, several shots were fired from Mr. Robinson's parlour-window, by which two persons, a lieutenant in the navy, of the name of Edward Vize, and a female, of the name of Jane Watson, neither of them actively engaged in the outrage, were both mortally wounded, and died soon afterwards. At this period the corn bill had passed a second time in the house of commons; and on the 6th of March, at the moment when the house was engaged in an animated debate on that clause of the bill by which the *maximum* price for regulating the importation was to be fixed, Mr. Lambton rose, and announced that a military force surrounded the several avenues to the house, and that the members were exposed to the danger of being overawed by the presence of the soldiery. Such a proceeding he pronounced to be extremely unconstitutional, and moved an immediate adjournment. Lord Castlereagh said, the military force complained of by the honourable gentleman, had been called in to aid the civil power, to protect the members, and to prevent the house itself from being interrupted and overawed in its deliberations by a mob. On the motion of Mr. Whitbread the house was resumed, and the speaker stated from the chair, that before he came down to attend his parliamentary duty this day, having reason to apprehend the possibility of some disturbance, he had sent to the police magistrates, and to the high bailiff of Westminster, ordering them to have the several constables at their posts. Having done this, he thought he had made an adequate provision; but he was surprised to learn, that a noble lord (Castlereagh) had been attacked, and that he had escaped with some difficulty from a tumultuous mob, which obstructed the usual avenues, using insolent and threatening language. In consequence of this information, he (the speaker) sent for one of the

* SUBSTANCE OF THE RESOLUTIONS REGARDING THE IMPORTATION OF CORN.

Resolved, That all sorts of corn, meal, and flour, not already prohibited, may be brought into the united kingdom and warehoused duty free; that such corn, &c. may be taken out of the warehouses and again exported without the payment of any duty; that whenever foreign corn is admissible into the united kingdom for home consumption, such corn, &c. may be taken out of the warehouses and entered for home consumption without the payment of any duty; that such foreign corn, &c. shall be permitted to be imported for home consumption without the payment of any duty whatever, when the average in this country is at or above the prices hereafter specified, namely,

Wheat—80s.—*Rye, Pease, and Beans*, 53s.—*Barley, Beer, or Bigg*, 40s.—*Oats*, 26s. per quarter;

but whenever the average prices of British corn shall respectively be below the prices above stated, no foreign corn, &c. shall be imported, or taken out of the warehouses for home consumption. That such corn, &c. being the produce of any British colony or possession in North America, may be imported into the united kingdom for home consumption, whenever the average price of British corn shall be at or above the following prices,

Wheat, 67s.—*Rye, Pease, and Beans*, 44s.—*Barley, Beer, or Bigg*, 33s.—*Oats*, 22s. per quarter;

but when the prices of British corn respectively shall be below these sums, the importation from the colonies shall no longer be allowed for home consumption.

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civil magistrates, and directed him, if he found his force insufficient for the performance of his duty, to call in further aid; enjoining him at all events to keep the avenues clear, and to provide for the protection of the members. In pursuance of this direction, for which he held himself responsible, a military force had been called in. The attorney-general, and several other members, then stated, that at their entrance into the avenues they had been stopped by the mob, and interrogated as to the vote they intended to give on the corn bill. Sir Robert Heron complained that he had been handled about like a shuttlecock between two battledores; and Sir Frederick Flood declared, that he had been carried above a hundred yards on the shoulders of the mob, like mackerel from Billingsgate market, and that he thought they meant to quarter him. The police magistrates in attendance, on being ordered to appear at the bar, informed the house, that having found the civil power insufficient for the protection of the members, a troop of life-guards were called in to act under the direction of the civil authorities. The presence of the guards served effectually to repress the riotous proceeding of the mob in the vicinity of Westminster-Hall, and the discussion on the corn question was again resumed, when the importation price was finally settled at eighty shillings per quarter. In the upper house of parliament, the corn bill, which was grounded upon the resolutions introduced into the house of commons on the 17th of February, and embraced all the material points in those resolutions, passed through its respective stages without being exposed to any very formidable opposition, and soon after received the royal assent. The effect of the corn law upon the country neither realized the sanguine expectations of the agriculturists, nor the gloomy foreboding of the manufacturing and labouring classes. Both the friends and the adversaries of this act entertained the expectation, that its natural and almost immediate consequence would be to advance the price of wheat to four pounds per quarter; and this assuredly would have been the case, had the demand exceeded the supply of British corn; but two years of plenty had given to the consumer the controul over the market, and had, for the present at least, rendered a measure of so much imaginary importance a mere dead letter.

The return of Bonaparte from Elba served to derange all the measures of finance proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer, and called for an entire revision of the ways and means already submitted to the consideration of parliament. Only a few months had elapsed since the house of commons was engaged in discussing the provisions that were deemed necessary

for a peace establishment; but scarcely had the ratification of the peace with America arrived, when an event that was felt as an electric shock throughout Europe, and again roused the world to arms, imposed upon parliament the necessity of providing for a war establishment upon a scale of unparalleled extent. With a large arrear of former expenditure, combined with the necessity the country was placed under of providing the means to carry on a new war, the sum which the exigencies of the state required for the present year greatly exceeded all former periods. The chancellor of the exchequer, in submitting his statements to the house, on the 14th of June, interspersed them with a number of observations on the public spirit and resources of the country; and from an enumeration of the items it appeared, that the aggregate sum of supplies required for the united kingdom amounted to £89,728,926. The deduction for the Irish proportion of the joint charge was £9,572,814; and for the civil list and consolidated fund £188,000, leaving a total for Great Britain of £70,968,112 to be obtained from the following ways and means:—

Annual Duties, - - - - -	3,000,000
Surplus of Consolidated Fund - - - - -	3,000,000
War Taxes, - - - - -	22,000,000
Lottery, - - - - -	250,000
Naval Stores, - - - - -	508,500
Vote of Credit, - - - - -	6,000,000
Exchequer Bills funded, and } Loan in 5 per cents. }	18,135,000
Loan, - - - - -	27,000,000
	<u>79,893,500</u>

The chancellor of the exchequer had no hesitation in saying, that if it was at all probable that an equal expenditure would be incurred in future years, he should consider it proper to make an appeal to the public spirit and magnanimity of the people; but as the extraordinary expenses of the present year were not at all likely to continue, he had deemed it more wise to resort to a loan, as had been the case on former occasions; and he trusted, notwithstanding the largeness of the demand, that we should have no reason to regret the exertions we were making. The loan, which had been contracted for that day for the service of the present year, amounted to twenty-seven millions for England, and nine millions for Ireland, making a total of thirty-six millions; and the terms, he had no hesitation in declaring, would be found satisfactory both to the contractors and to the public.

Mr. Tierney thought the present one of the most alarming budgets ever laid before parliament. The total amount of the supplies required for the year (independent of the interest on the national debt) was £82,728,000—a sum

calculated to stagger even the most sanguine. It was useful to mark the progress of the expenditure, till it had at length arisen to its present portentous amount. In 1808 the war expenditure amounted to forty-five millions; in 1809, to fifty millions; in 1810, to forty-six millions; in 1811, to fifty-two millions; in 1812, to fifty-five millions; in 1813, to fifty-seven millions; in 1814, to sixty-three millions; and in 1815, to seventy-two millions!

These facts were not disputed; but it was held that the expenditure of the present year, though enormous, was rendered indispensable by the situation of this country and of Europe, and the resolutions of the chancellor of the exchequer were agreed to without opposition.

A message from the prince regent was presented to parliament on the 27th of June, announcing that his royal brother, Prince Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, had, with the consent of his royal highness, contracted an alliance in marriage with the Princess of Salm, and recommending that a suitable provision should be made by parliament in order to enable their royal highnesses to support the rank and dignity becoming their station. Lord Castlereagh, in moving that the message should be taken into consideration, stated, that the junior branches of the royal family had each an allowance of eighteen thousand a year, and moved that an addition of six thousand should be made to the Duke of Cumberland, the same to be settled on the duchess during her life. The motion for the proposed grant was resisted on account of the present state of the country, and the many large and merited claims upon its liberality. The royal family, it was observed, had already an income from the nation amounting to a million sterling annually. The unsuitable nature of the marriage was urged as another objection to the grant. The king, it was said, would never have consented to an union that would operate to the prejudice of domestic virtue. The queen had expressed herself strongly against the alliance, and said, that the Duke of Cumberland ought not to have married a person whose marriage with the Duke of Cambridge had been broken off. It was presumed also, that the princess herself must have had some fortune from her former husbands, Prince Louis of Prussia, and the Prince of Salm; but even supposing that she had no fortune, yet eighteen thousand a year on the continent would be equal to thirty thousand in this country, and with such an income, all the splendour and dignity of their rank might be maintained. The proposed addition to the duke's income, which was discussed with much animation in every stage of its progress, was finally lost in the house of commons by the majority of a single vote.

Another question, much more gratifying to the royal family in its results, and more in unison with the feelings of the nation, was brought before parliament on the 4th of July. On this occasion, Sir John Marjoribanks, after disclaiming all personal views in the motion, moved "that the thanks of this house be given to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, captain-general and commander-in-chief of the British forces, for his continual, effectual, and unremitting attention to the duties of his office during a period of more than twenty years, during which time the army has improved in discipline and in science to an extent unknown before, and has, under providence, risen to the height of military glory." After several other members had delivered their sentiments, Mr. Whitbread said, he knew not how to object to the motion, without the appearance of ingratitude, after the noble tribute paid to his royal highness by the Duke of Wellington on his late memorable triumph. Under such circumstances, he could not withhold his sanction from the present vote.

This vote terminated the parliamentary life of one of the most able and upright men that ever held a seat in the British senate. In two days afterwards, Mr. Whitbread, the incorruptible friend of his country and of his species, breathed his last—but not according to the common ordination of our nature. The loss of such a man, under any circumstances, would have inflicted a deep wound on the feelings of his country; but his premature death, by his own hands, put the national fortitude to a trial of singular severity. For several months past a morbid melancholy and lethargic stupor were observed to be fast stealing over the once powerful mind of Mr. Whitbread. His talents for public business became impaired; his conversation, at intervals, was incoherent, and imbecile; and to aggravate his malady, he was himself fully sensible of the rapid decay of his mental energies. Frequently he was heard to complain that his public life was extinct—that he was derided—in short, that he had become "an outcast of society." These feelings were succeeded by decided symptoms of mental alienation, and in the morning of the 6th of July he was found in his room, with his throat cut from ear to ear, and that tongue for ever mute from which listening senates had so frequently drawn instruction and delight. Men of all parties bore testimony to the public and private worth of this distinguished statesman. "Accustomed to defend his opinions with earnestness and warmth, the energies of his admirable and comprehensive mind would never permit the least appearance of tameness or indifference; but no particle of animosity ever found a place in his breast, and, to use his own words on another melancholy occasion—'he

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BOOK V. never carried his political animosity beyond the threshold of the house of commons.' His eloquent appeals in favour of the unfortunate—appeals exhibiting the frankness and the honesty of the true English character, will adorn the pages of the historian; although at the present moment they afford a subject of melancholy retrospect to those who have formerly dwelt with delight, on the benevolence of a heart which always beat, and on the vigour of an intellect which was always employed, for the benefit of his fellow creatures.* "Well had the character of Mr. Whitbread been termed 'a true English character.' Even his defects, trifling as they were, and what man is altogether without them? were those which belong to the English character. Never had there existed a more complete Englishman. All who knew him must recollect the indefatigable earnestness and perseverance with which, during the course of his life, he directed his talents and the whole of his time to the public interest. When he conceived that his duty to the public required such a sacrifice, he had shown that he was capable of controlling the strongest feelings of personal attachment. Even those who differed from him on many political questions, nevertheless considered him one of those public treasures, the loss of which all parties would deplore. The important assistance which his zeal and ability had afforded in promoting the abolition of the Slave Trade could never be forgotten. On every occasion, indeed, in which the condition of human beings was concerned, (and the lower their state the stronger their recommendation to his favour) no man was more anxious to apply his great powers to increase the happiness of mankind."† "To the friends of the deceased senator it must afford consolation, to know that those who differed most from him in politics did justice to his manly character, honoured the virtues of his heart, and never, for a moment, doubted, that in all he did he was actuated solely by a love of his country."‡ His private life, however amiable, was merged in the superior importance of his public character. He died in the 57th year of his age, leaving Lady Elizabeth his wife, (sister of Earl Grey) with two sons and two daughters, to lament a loss great to society, and to them irreparable.

The melancholy death of the illustrious commoner, the friend of peace, the advocate of reform, and the zealous and consistent supporter of religious freedom, cast a gloom over the close of the session of parliament, which even the splendid conquest of our arms could not wholly dispel. On the 12th parliament was prorogued; and the prince regent, in his speech

from the throne, congratulated the members on the glorious and ever memorable victory obtained at Waterloo, by Field-marshal the Duke of Wellington, and Prince Blücher—a victory which had exalted the military reputation of the country beyond all former example, and delivered from invasion the dominions of the King of the Netherlands, and in the short space of fifteen days placed the city of Paris and a large part of the kingdom of France in the military occupation of the allied armies. The brilliant and rapid successes of the Austrian arms at the opening of the campaign had led to the restoration of the kingdom of Naples to its ancient sovereign, and to the deliverance of that portion of Italy from foreign influence and dominion. His christian majesty had been again restored to his capital. The restoration of peace with America had been followed by a negotiation for a commercial treaty, which he had every reason to hope would be terminated upon conditions calculated to cement the good understanding subsisting between the two countries, and equally beneficial to the interests of both. His royal highness had great pleasure in acquainting his parliament, that the labours of the congress at Vienna had been brought to an end by the signature of a treaty, which would be laid before them at their next meeting. He could not release them from their attendance, without assuring them, that it was in a great degree to the support they had afforded him, that the success of his earnest endeavours for the public welfare was to be ascribed; and in the further prosecution of such measures as might be necessary to bring the great contest in which we were engaged to an honourable and satisfactory conclusion, he relied with confidence upon the experience, zeal, and steady loyalty, of all classes of his majesty's subjects.

The restoration of the Bourbons, referred to in the speech from the throne, led almost immediately to a state of peace with France. The allied armies, indeed, were not withdrawn, but hostilities ceased. The war had been of short duration; and while it continued, it could scarcely be said to have disturbed or impeded in England the operation of the effects of the peace which was concluded in the summer of the former year. The era of peace may therefore be dated from the 30th of May, 1814, and its influence upon the agriculture, the trade, and the finances of Great Britain, traced up to that time. In all wars, the real and actual effects which they are calculated to produce cannot possibly be known, or even accurately conjectured, till they are brought to a close; but this remark, though of general application, has peculiar force and pro-

* The Marquis of Tavistock.

† Mr. Wilberforce.

‡ The Chancellor of the Exchequer.

priety as bearing upon the revolutionary wars, from which Great Britain had just extricated herself. The nature and object, as well as the duration, of these wars, were so different to any that had ever before been waged; their scale was so extensive, and the means employed so extraordinary, that the country was disabled from anticipating in their progress in what state she would be left at their termination. It was known indeed that depression, lassitude, and weakness, in the body politic, as well as in the natural body, bear an exact proportion to the stimulus by which both have been raised to exertion; that while that stimulus lasts no fatigue is felt; that we seem to be endued with supernatural vigour and strength, and to be unconscious of our approaching weakness; but no sooner is the stimulus withdrawn than more than usual weakness falls upon us. So it is with nations; the evil is not in peace but in war. The cause of debility in a man accustomed to indulge in the use of ardent spirits, is not sobriety but intoxication. The lassitude is, to be sure, felt when he is sober, but it is contracted by intemperance. If, therefore, our agriculture, trade, and finances, now feel an unusual degree of depression, the evil is not to be imputed to the country having too soon returned to a state of peace, but to the necessity, no matter how created, under which she was placed, of so long continuing the war.

At the commencement of the revolutionary wars, and until France had over-run part of the continent, British agriculture was affected only by these as by former wars. But just about the time when the victories of France had enabled her to close some of the most productive ports of the continent against us, this country was visited by a scanty harvest. The natural and necessary consequences followed; the price of all kinds of grain rose suddenly and enormously; the profits of the farmer rose nearly in the same proportion; the demand for farms became urgent; rents were advanced excessively; and the price of corn, which had been increased by accidental circumstances, was thus sustained by a certain and regular cause. The success of the French still continued, and the efforts of Napoleon being directed uniformly to our exclusion from the continent, it followed, that though our harvests produced an average crop, yet, from the causes just stated, operating with the increased capital of the farmer, the waste of war, and the facilities created by an extensive issue of paper money, as well provincial as national, the price of corn still continued high; the competition for farms rather increased than diminished, and in a few years the rents of land were doubled. As a collateral-consequence of this state of things, the wages of the labouring

classes were advanced; the farmer could no longer be contented with that mode of living which his forefathers had pursued, his profits, he conceived, justified him in aspiring to a more elevated sphere, and rents, profits, and labour, all conspired to elevate and sustain the price of agricultural produce. This state of things continued, with few interruptions, till the power of Napoleon began to decline. The ports of the continent then in succession resumed their intercourse with Great Britain, foreign grain was poured into the home market, and the British farmer, under the pressure of heavy rents, increased taxes, and high wages, was undersold in his own market. To avert the ruin with which agriculture was threatened, particularly in Ireland, where the operation of this revulsion was first felt, the prospectus of a corn bill, for allowing the free exportation and increasing the importation price of corn, was submitted to the British parliament. The progress of this measure, or rather this series of measures, has been already detailed, and it has been seen that, as a measure of relief, no immediate benefit flowed from it to that class of society which it was intended to assist. A much more effectual and permanent remedy is to be found in the reduction of rents and taxes; as to the former, it is due to the land-owners to say, that a considerable reduction has already taken place in almost every district in the kingdom; and of the latter, that the final repeal of the property tax will afford a considerable portion of relief to every branch of the agricultural interest.

When the first French revolutionary war commenced, Great Britain, having thoroughly recovered from the effects of the American war, had sprung rapidly forward in the career of improvement in all those branches of industry which constitute the strength, and contribute to the wealth, of a nation. It was soon ascertained, that the new contest in which she was engaged, as it differed from all preceding wars in its origin, would also differ from them in its effects on our manufactures and commerce. Preceding wars had for the most part been purely belligerent, in the usual acceptation of that term; they were directed solely to the destruction or curtailment of the naval and military power of the adverse nations, the commerce of which suffered indeed, but only incidentally, and in a comparatively trifling degree. But in the wars of the French revolution the case was widely different: it was soon perceived by the French government, that Great Britain was the soul of the alliances formed against them; and they were equally convinced that the strength of Britain lay in her manufactures and her commerce. All the varying governments of France, therefore, republican, consular, and imperial,

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each in succession, and each with more vigour than that by which it was preceded, directed their utmost efforts against British commerce. For some years, while France was at war with the nations of the continent, she could not of course extend her edicts beyond her own shores; but as soon as she had over-run the greater part of Europe, she compelled the subjected sovereigns and states to co-operate in her measures of hostility, and to close their ports against the commerce of Great Britain.

All the efforts of the French government could not prevent the introduction of British merchandise on the continent; but it certainly was not introduced with so much regularity or in such quantities as before the war; and although the total exclusion of the manufactures and the produce of England and her colonies could not be effected to the extent of Napoleon's wishes, yet the efforts of France were successful to a considerable degree in exciting the people of the continent to manufacture for themselves, and in infusing into them a jealousy of British superiority in trade. Notwithstanding all that this country had done and suffered to rescue continental Europe from the tyranny of France; notwithstanding that those very burthens which enhanced the price of her merchandise, were brought upon her by a determined perseverance in the common struggle; yet her manufactures, even now that peace had returned, were viewed with jealousy, and peace, instead of opening to her wider and better markets for her goods, has in fact sealed many of the ports of her friends and allies against her more firmly than they were closed by the Berlin and Milan decrees. When peace returned, the continent indeed was in a state very unpropitious to the introduction of British manufactures. The people had either changed their habits, or they had been impoverished, or they had accustomed themselves to their own manufactures. The sovereigns of Europe, even those who were most indebted to this country, and had drawn from it such enormous loans and subsidies, were naturally solicitous to cherish and support the infant manufactures of their own countries; and to this end they adopted those measures which had been so efficacious in rearing and protecting the manufactures of Great Britain—they either totally prohibited the introduction of our manufactures, or imposed upon them duties that amounted almost to a prohibition.

That nation is undoubtedly not only the most powerful, but also the most virtuous and happy, in which the individuals of which it is composed do not exhibit the extremes of enormous wealth and abject poverty. It is also equally true with respect to commerce, as with respect to manufactures, that that wealth which

results from patient and unwearied industry, is not only favourable to the morals and happiness of the individual, but it is also indicative of the real strength of the nation. But the wars from which we are happily at length emancipated, had a strong tendency to alter the wholesome character of British commerce, and the honourable character of the British merchant, by introducing into their commercial transactions a spirit of adventure bordering closely upon the spirit of gambling. Commerce became a game of hazard; the stake was generally deep; if the enterprise succeeded, the profits were large; but if it failed, embarrassment, and too often bankruptcy, was the consequence. Scarcely had the return of peace opened the continent of Europe, before it was glutted with British merchandise. The merchant did not consider that he was sending his goods to nations impoverished by a long war; and on that account unable to purchase to any great extent, even if the disposition had existed. But the wants and desires of the inhabitants had undergone a change, and they had learned to supply themselves with many of those articles which they formerly had received from us. The price too operated greatly to our disadvantage; in the progress of the war, owing to the causes already adverted to, the articles we had to offer to our former connections actually cost the British merchant nearly double the amount formerly paid by his former correspondents for similar articles. From these combined causes the demand became so much diminished, that the buyer had the complete controul of the market, and the seller was obliged to accept of almost any price that was offered to him. This glut of British merchandise was not merely confined to the continent of Europe, but extended in an equal degree to America; and in the early part of the year 1816, the manufactures of England were actually selling in the commercial cities of the United States at a lower price than the same articles would have obtained in the home markets.

While great complaints were heard from all quarters of the stagnation of trade, it appears, from the official returns laid before parliament, that the value of our exports in 1815 exceeded those of any former year in the annals of British commerce! This fact however only shows, how futile it is to rely upon the amount of exports as a criterion of the prosperous state of the trade of the country. A peace is concluded with nations that have been long at war with us; our merchants immediately use all their capital and credit in purchasing goods to send to foreign markets; the official return of exports thus presents a greatly increased value; but mark the result: the goods arrive in such abundance, that the markets become overstocked, and most of

those who thus embarked their capital, or bought upon their credit, either suffer themselves or inflict sufferings on others.

It is not easy to point out the method by which the commerce of this country may regain its honourable character and wholesome and nourishing qualities; nor to foresee into what state it will settle should peace continue for several years. With regard to this latter topic, some conjecture may however be formed from a survey of the advantages we still possess, and the disadvantages under which our commerce labours as compared with other nations. With regard to our advantages, we possess a capital far exceeding any which foreign nations can hope to acquire for a great number of years; and this capital, if we keep at peace, must accumulate at a much more rapid rate than it has hitherto done. Our next advantage may be stated to be our coal mines, so beneficial, and indeed indispensable, to the prosperity of manufactures, where machinery is extensively introduced, and where that most potent and valuable of all machines—the steam engine, is in continual operation. A third advantage consists in the peculiar excellency of our workmen, uniting in themselves qualities which are not found combined in any other workmen in the world. In other countries the workmen may be more active, but their activity soon dies away; whereas a British operative manufacturer or mechanic goes on steadily and unweariedly. Other workmen may possess greater quickness of intellect, but none with so much perseverance unite so much command of thought, and produce so many advantageous practical results.

The disadvantages under which the manufactures and commerce of Great Britain labour, are found, first, in an immense taxation. The price which her manufacturers obtain for their articles in foreign markets must not only replace what has been paid for the raw material, and what has been consumed during the process of the manufacture, as well as the profit of the manufacturer, but it must also pay a certain sum to the national creditor, at the same time that it contributes to the current expenses of the state. Another disadvantage opposed to our capital and

skill, may arise from the higher rate of labour in this country, and from the master-manufacturer requiring larger profits, as occupying a higher rank in society here than upon the continent. This disadvantage may however be considered dubious, because it is not fair to compare the wages of a workman in this country with the wages of a workman abroad; the proper comparison is between the price paid in Great Britain and other countries for the same quantity of work. For it is evident, that a workman here, being more persevering and expert, and especially with the assistance of machinery, will produce more work in the same time, and is in reality deserving of much higher wages. With respect to the greater profits expected by the master-manufacturer, it may be remarked, that greater profits may arise either from a larger percentage on the same capital, or the same percentage on a larger capital; and it is undoubted, that in this country the percentage of profit upon the capital is smaller than on the continent, the larger profits arising from the greater capital employed, and the rapid improvements made in every branch of our manufacture.

A short exposition of the financial situation of the country at the close of the revolutionary wars, will follow with propriety the cursory review just taken of our agriculture, our manufactures, and our commerce. The observations on these topics have been drawn principally from a publication amply stored with materials for history, and which may be consulted with advantage by the politician and the man of business.* The expenses of all descriptions, incurred during the wars of the French revolution, far exceed those incurred during any former wars. The hostile operations, both as regards Great Britain herself and the powers she subsidized, were on a much larger scale; the value of money had greatly depreciated; and the duration and inveteracy of the contest called forth exertions, and demanded sacrifices, unexampled perhaps in the annals of the world. A war of such a nature, comprising gigantic naval and military operations,† and employing at one and the same time more than a million of warriors,‡ of various descriptions, could not be conducted without an expense

* New Annual Register.

† For the principal part of the war there were in commission, refitting, and in ordinary, 261 ships of the line, 26 ships of 50 guns each, 264 frigates, 177 sloops, 14 bombs, 172 brigs, 46 cutters, and 64 schooners, navigated and fought by 147,000 seamen, and 32,000 marines.

‡ MEN IN ARMS IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN 1812.

(Collected from Official Returns.)

LAND FORCES :—	British army.....	301,000	SEA FORCES :—	British navy.....	147,282
	Local Militia in Great Britain.....	196,446		Marines.....	32,668—179,920
	Volunteers in Great Britain.....	88,000	EAST INDIA COM- }	British Forces in India.....	20,000
	Militia and Yeomen in Ireland.....	80,000	PANY'S SERVICE. }	Native army.....	140,000
	Militia and Fencibles in the Colonies.....	25,000		Marines.....	913—160,913
	Foreign corps in the British service.....	30,741			
		721,187		Total, Men in arms.....	1,062,080

The year 1812 may be considered as a fair standard whereby to judge of the national force in the latter years of the war.

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greatly exceeding any national expenditure ever recorded in history; especially when it is considered that Great Britain was the general paymaster of Europe,* and that she was in no instance assisted by other countries, not even when her armies were fighting the battles of her allies on their own soil.

Rapid as was the advance of the national burthens, still they were found incapable of

keeping pace with the public expenditure; and although the sum annually collected from the people, in the latter years of the war, amounted to from seventy to eighty millions sterling;† yet the national funded debt up to the first of February, 1816, had accumulated to the tremendous magnitude of eleven hundred and twelve millions, of which sum however three hundred and twenty millions had been redeemed.

* The LOANS and SUBSIDIES granted by Great Britain to the powers of Europe during the wars of the French revolution, amount to sixty-eight millions sterling, in the following proportions:—

	Total.
To PRUSSIA—Subsidies in 1794, £670,000; in 1807, £180,000; in 1812-14-15 and 16, £6,303,996.....	£7,153,996
AUSTRIA—Loans in 1795, £4,600,000; in 1797, £1,620,000;.....	£6,220,000;*
Subsidies in 1809, 1814-15 and 16.....	£4,667,473 } 10,887,473
PORTUGAL—Grants in 1797 and 1801, £800,000; Loan in 1809, £600,000;* Grants in 1810, £980,000; in 1811-12 and 13, £6,000,000; in 1814-15 and 16, £3,600,000.....	11,980,000
SPAIN—In drafts, cash, arms, and stores, from 1809 to 1816.....	5,724,079
SWEDEN—Grants in 1808, 1809, 1812, and 1813, £2,706,736; in 1814-15 and 16, £2,857,865.....	5,564,601
SICILY—Subsidies in 1808, £300,000; and £400,000 annually from 1809 to 1813, £2,000,000; in 1814 and 15, } £916,666.....	3,216,666
RUSSIA—Subsidies in 1812, £286,237; in 1813, £1,666,666; in 1814-15 and 16, £7,555,828.....	9,508,721
FRENCH EMIGRANTS, and other foreigners, from 1794 to 1814.....	3,956,013
MINOR POWERS OF EUROPE, during the war, about.....	10,008,000

* No provision has been made by the emperor for the payment of either the principal or interest on these loans, which, like the Portuguese loan, must fall upon the Consolidated Fund of Great Britain.

SYNOPSIS.

SHOWING THE ANNUAL INCREASE OF THE BRITISH REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE, AND THE AMOUNT OF THE PUBLIC LOANS, From the Year 1790 to the beginning of the Year 1816.

Year.	REVENUE.		EXPENDITURE.						Year.	LOANS.	
	Paid into Excheq.	£	Year.	Navy.	Army.	Ordnance.	Miscellaneous.*	Total.		£	£
Period of Peace.	1790	15,986,068	1790	2,483,636	1,609,574	455,872	11,363,515	15,912,597	1790		
	1791	16,631,000	1791	4,008,405	2,062,548	594,678	9,303,547	15,969,178	1791		
	1792	13,882,435	1792	1,985,482	1,819,460	422,001	10,729,914	14,966,857	1792		
	1793	17,674,395	1793	3,971,915	3,993,715	783,776	8,908,060	17,657,456	1793		
Period of War.	1794	17,440,809	1794	5,525,331	6,641,060	1,345,008	6,716,720	20,228,119	1794	4,500,000	
	1795	17,374,890	1795	6,315,523	11,610,008	2,321,010	8,560,724	28,807,265	1795	12,907,452	
	1796	18,243,876	1796	11,883,693	14,911,899	1,954,665	16,169,386	44,919,643	1796	19,490,646	
	1797	18,668,925	1797	13,033,673	15,488,083	1,643,066	12,500,000	42,664,812	1797	31,726,796	
	1798	20,518,780	1798	13,449,388	12,852,814	1,303,580	14,874,761	42,480,543	1798	39,112,842	
	1799	23,607,945	1799	13,642,000	11,840,000	1,500,000	15,658,000	42,640,000	1799	17,000,000	
	1800	29,604,008	1800	13,619,079	11,941,767	1,695,956	15,665,015	42,921,817	1800	18,500,000	
	1801	28,085,829	1801	15,857,037	12,117,039	1,639,055	15,967,971	45,581,102	1801	20,500,000	
Period of Peace.	1802	28,221,183	1802	13,833,573	11,211,795	1,952,274	20,892,123	47,889,765	1802	28,000,000	
	1803	38,401,738	1803	10,211,378	11,786,619	1,125,921	24,656,506	47,780,424	1803	25,000,000	
Period of War.	1804	49,335,978	1804	12,350,606	19,152,730	3,737,091	17,717,087	52,957,523	1804	14,000,000	
	1805	49,652,471	1805	15,035,630	18,616,898	4,456,994	23,641,484	61,751,006	1805	14,500,000	
	1806	53,698,124	1806	14,466,998	17,019,728	4,732,286	37,580,597	73,799,609	1806	22,500,000	
	1807	58,902,291	1807	16,084,027	15,111,490	4,511,064	37,072,137	72,778,718	1807	20,000,000	
	1808	61,524,113	1808	16,775,761	15,388,550	4,190,748	39,315,682	75,670,641	1808	12,200,000	
	1809	63,042,746	1809	17,467,892	17,201,061	5,108,900	42,202,659	81,980,512	1809	10,500,000	
	1810	66,029,349	1810	19,236,036	18,463,094	4,374,184	42,903,934	84,977,248	1810	14,600,000	
	1811	64,427,371	1811	20,058,412	18,535,299	4,652,331	47,302,109	90,548,151	1811	12,000,000	
	1812	63,327,432	1812	19,540,678	23,869,359	4,557,509	47,940,113	95,907,659	1812	16,981,300	
	1813	66,444,108	1813	20,500,339	30,302,890	4,252,409	45,469,468	100,525,106	1813	26,789,625	
	1814	70,926,216	1814	21,996,624	29,469,520	3,404,527	64,002,142	118,872,813	1814	53,050,574	
	1815	75,324,084	1815	21,961,566	33,795,556	4,480,729	66,252,095	126,489,946	1815	63,078,048	
	1816	79,948,670	1816	16,373,870	23,172,136	2,963,891	60,298,397	102,808,294	1816	39,421,956	

[The Finance Accounts are made up to the 5th of January in each Year.]

* Including the Interest on the National Debt, the sum paid to the Sinking Fund, Subsidies, Loans to Ireland, and the Civil List.

principally by the powerful operation of the sinking fund.*

Long before the national debt had attained one-tenth part of its present magnitude, it was confidently predicted by some of the first political writers of the age, that it had nearly approached its utmost limits, and that if ever it should amount to one hundred millions, a national bankruptcy must be the inevitable consequence. At that period the latent means of the country had not been brought into public view; parliament had not fathomed and measured the wealth of the people; their power and resources had not disclosed themselves, nor could it have been believed that they were so ample, or capable of such an extension. Indeed many of the sources of wealth which have since

opened upon us were then unknown. The population of the British empire, which at that period perhaps, taking into the account all her dependencies, did not exceed twenty millions, has since swelled to sixty millions of souls, and the property of the nation, public and private, has undergone a proportionate augmentation.

Contrasting the period when the present sovereign of these realms ascended the throne, with the power and resources of the country, even at the conclusion of one of the most expensive and exhausting contests the world ever witnessed, it must be admitted that the most sanguine imagination could not have anticipated such an accession of territory, population, and power.† In every region of the world, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, the colo-

* NATIONAL DEBT.

	Principal.	Annual Interest.
Debt at the commencement of the wars of the French revolution in 1793.....	£233,733,609	£8,176,336
Increase during the first war,.....	337,469,665	12,238,152
	561,203,274	20,428,488
Increase during the peace of 1802-3,.....	40,307,806	307,478
Debt at the commencement of the war in 1803,...	601,411,080	20,735,966
Increase to the 1st of February, 1815,.....	511,006,332	21,413,884
Total funded debt February 1st, 1816,.....	£1,112,417,432	£42,149,850
Deduct—Redeemed, and standing in the name of the commissioners, for the reduction of the debt. {	£40,392,540	
Debt transferred to the commissioners for life annuities,..... {	3,097,551	
Cancelled by redemption of land tax,.....	28,155,056	
Cancelled, and the funds thereof charged with new loans, as per Acts 53 and 54 Geo. III. Cap. 59..... {	251,738,858	
	£320,584,005	
Debt unredeemed, and due to the public creditor, } February 1st, 1816.....	£792,033,427	
The unredeemed debt stands thus :—in the 3 per cents.....	£591,915,204	
4 per cents.....	74,077,744	
5 per cents.....	126,042,479	

Which being gall rendered into 5 per cents. reduces the funded national debt of Great Britain to £540,452,596 in actual money sterling; of which sum about eighteen millions only are owing to foreigners residing abroad (as appears from the claims of exemption made under the property tax) and the remainder to British subjects residing in this country.

On the 5th of January, 1816, the unfunded debt of Great Britain, as stated in the finance accounts, amounted to £48,725,357; and at the same period, the public debt of Ireland, rendered into sterling money, amounted to £45,000,000, which sums, added to the funded debt of Great Britain, constitutes an aggregate of £634,177,953, the amount of the national debt in sterling money; exclusive of the Imperial and Portuguese loans, amounting together to about six millions.

The total annual charge for interest, management, &c. of the funded national debt of Great Britain, as stated in the finance report, February 1st, 1816, amounts to £42,149,850, of which £12,798,225 is payable to the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt.

† SUMMARY VIEW OF THE POPULATION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

At the conclusion of the Wars of the French Revolution in 1815.

	Europeans	Free persons of colour.	Negro labourers.	Total number of souls.
Population of England exclusive of the army and navy of Wales.....	9,438,827			
of Scotland.....	611,788			
of Ireland.....	1,805,688			
	4,508,000			16,456,303
British subjects in the different dependencies in Europe, in the British possessions in North America, in the British West India colonies, in the British settlements in Africa, in her colonies and dependencies in Asia, East India Company's territorial possession,.....	180,300 486,146 64,994 20,678 61,059 25,446			180,300 486,146 732,171 128,977 2,009,005 40,038,408
British navy, army, and foreign corps in the British service,.....	671,241			671,241
Total amount of the population of the British empire,.....	17,965,967	41,982,038	774,546	60,722,551*

* COLQUHOUN on the Wealth, Power and Resources of the British Empire.

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nial dependencies of Great Britain have increased beyond all former example; and it may now be averred that the sun in his course never sets upon the flag of Britain.* In the progress of the war, all the colonial territories of her enemies in the eastern and the western hemisphere, fell in succession under the power of her arms, and the once numerous and powerful navies of the belligerent states of Europe, were either annihilated or rendered inactive. At no period of the world was the dominion of the seas so entirely British as during the latter years of the wars of the French revolution; and such had been the efficiency of our naval power, that on the return of peace Great Britain was enabled to make a voluntary surrender to France, Holland, and Denmark, of no less than fourteen colonies.

But ample as the national resources have hitherto proved themselves, there is a point beyond which it would be ruinous to draw upon them, and to that point we have probably attained. Statesmen of all parties seem to agree, that taxation, at least, has attained its utmost limit. Under such circumstances, the government is imperiously called upon to use the most rigid economy in every branch of the public expenditure; to reduce the peace establishment as low as the relative situation of this country with the other states of Europe, will admit; and to abolish every office of emolument in the state which is not either an office of efficient duty, or that has not been conferred as a reward for public service.

The great art of government is to secure the happiness of the governed; and the first duty of a legislator is, to supply the efficient, that is, the industrious, part of the population with the means of comfortable support. To preserve the labouring classes from falling into the rank of paupers, and the manufacturers and

smaller tradesmen from descending to the situation of labourers. If these classes be upheld, all the higher orders will stand erect. They are the pedestal upon which the column of society rests, and when they sink in great numbers, the whole edifice is endangered. No change so important as that which has just taken place—a change from a state of war to a state of peace, can arise, without its influence being felt in every part of the empire. For years we have commanded the commerce of the world; now all other nations are at liberty to meet us in the foreign markets. Hitherto large armies were to be clothed that are now disbanded, and obliged to content themselves with more scanty apparel, less frequently renewed. The cessation of war has not only deprived a large body of officers and men engaged in belligerent pursuits of their accustomed employment, but it has sunk into penury many of those who have for years been supported by their labour in fabricating and finishing the various articles required both for the sea and land service. All these have suddenly become idle, or now divide that employment, which was before scarcely sufficient, with the labours in agriculture and the manufactories. This revulsion, however, must be imputed, not to the natural, but to the artificial, state of society—not to peace, but to war. Peace indeed is the immediate cause of the evil; but war, which diverted the nation from the wholesome state of prosperity in which it was found in the year 1793, and has burthened us with an enormous debt, and an oppressive taxation, is solely to blame for that share of public distress which does at present exist, and for all those miseries that may continue to prevail till the country shall again revert back to a period of settled peace and pros-

* ESTIMATE OF THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE PROPERTY IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

Value of landed, and other property, public and private, in Great Britain and Ireland	£2,736,640,000
in 9 dependencies in Europe,.....	22,161,330
in 7 settlements in North America,.....	46,575,360
in 14 colonies in the West Indies,.....	100,014,864
in 4 settlements in Africa,.....	4,770,500
in 5 settlements and colonies in Asia,	38,721,090
39	2,948,883,144
Estimated value of the property, public and private, in the dominions under the } controll and management of the East India Company,.....	1,072,427,751
Total estimated value of the property of the British empire,.....	£4,021,310,895*

ESTIMATE OF THE ANNUAL INCOME ARISING IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

From Agriculture,.....	£216,817,624	Brought over,.....	£331,047,624
Manufactures		From mines and minerals,.....	9,000,000
Cotton goods,.....	£23,000,000	Inland trade,.....	31,500,000
Woollens,.....	18,000,000	Foreign commerce and shipping	46,373,748
Leather,.....	12,000,000	Coasting trade,.....	2,000,000
Linens,.....	10,000,000	Fisheries, (exclusive of colonial)	2,100,000
Hardware, &c.....	6,000,000	Banks,.....	3,500,000
Other articles,.....	45,230,000	Foreign income,.....	5,000,000
	114,230,000		

Making an aggregate annual income of £430,521,372.*

* COLQUHOUN on the Wealth, Power, and Resources of the British Empire.

perity. Had it been the good fortune of Great Britain not to have mixed herself with the revolutionary wars, her prosperity would at the present moment have attained to an elevation unknown among the nations of Europe, and many of those difficulties with which she has at present to struggle, would have had no existence. But it is in vain to reason on the past except for the government of our future conduct; it is with that view that statesmen should examine the subject now under consideration; and if they come to the inquiry with unbiassed minds, they

will, no doubt, arrive at the conclusion, that war is one of the greatest of national evils, and that nothing short of a case of absolute necessity should at any time cause a commercial nation to unfurl the standard of hostility. Such is the line of conduct recommended by sound policy; but if we carry our views still higher, if we act under the influence of the principles of the christian religion, which imperial and sovereign princes have at length laid down as the standard of their conduct, and the cement of their alliances,* governors will be cautious how they

* CONVENTION, USUALLY CALLED THE HOLY LEAGUE,

BETWEEN THE EMPERORS OF RUSSIA AND AUSTRIA, AND THE KING OF PRUSSIA.

In the name of the most Holy and Indivisible Trinity, their Majesties have agreed to the following articles:—

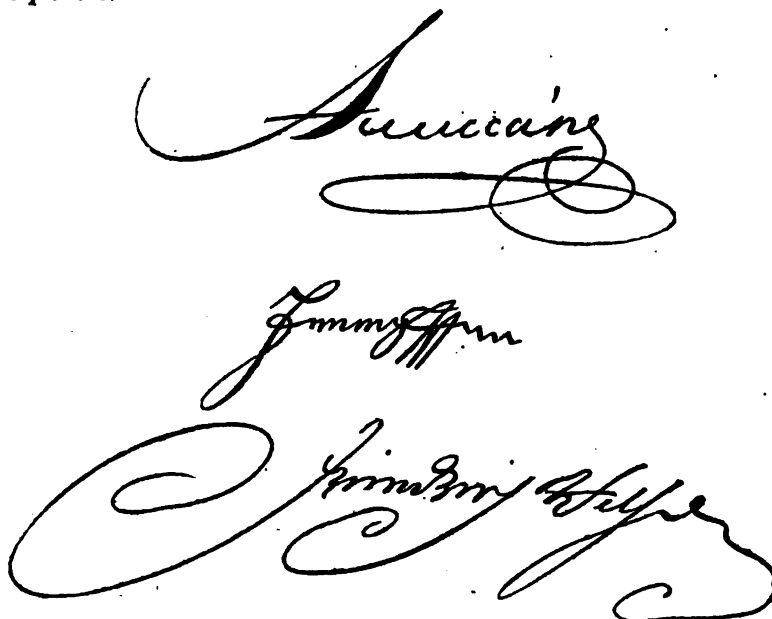
ARTICLE I.—Conformably to the words of the holy scriptures, which command all men to consider each other as brethren, the three contracting monarchs will remain united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity; and, considering each other as fellow countrymen, they will, on all occasions, and in all places, lend each other aid and assistance; and, regarding themselves towards their subjects and armies as fathers of families, they will lead them in the same spirit of fraternity with which they are animated, to protect religion, peace, and justice.

ART. II.—In consequence, the sole principle in force, whether between the said governments, or between their subjects, shall be, that of doing each other reciprocal service, and of testifying, by unalterable good will, the mutual affection with which they ought to be animated, to consider themselves all as members of one and the same christian nation; the three allied princes, looking on themselves as merely delegated by Providence to govern three branches of one family, namely, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, thus confessing that the christian nation, of which they and their people form a part, has in reality no other sovereign than him to whom alone power really belongs, because in him alone are found all the treasures of love, science, and infinite wisdom; that is to say, God, our Divine Saviour, the Word of the Most High, the Word of Life. Their majesties consequently recommend to their people, with the most tender solicitude, as the sole means of enjoying that peace which arises from a good conscience, and which alone is durable to strengthen themselves every day more and more in the principles and exercise of the duties which the Divine Saviour has taught to mankind.

ART. III.—All the powers who shall choose solemnly to avow the sacred principles which have dictated the present act, and shall acknowledge how important it is for the happiness of nations, too long agitated, that those truths should henceforth exercise over the destinies of mankind all the influence which belongs to them, will be received with equal ardour and affection into this holy alliance.

Done at Paris, on the 26th of Sept. 1815.

[Signed]



[This treaty is signed, not, as is usual, by the respective ministers, but by the sovereigns themselves, with their own signatures, of which the above are *fac similes*.]

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bring upon their countries the guilt of blood, and the people in future times will guard against being made the instruments of hostile factions. An examination of the public expenditure of Great Britain from 1790 to 1816, as exhibited at page 508, of the present volume, will show that the expenses of the war, to this country alone, have amounted to £1,153,014,311;* but to calculate the loss of human life sustained by all the states engaged in this contest, is impossible. Hecatombs of victims, high as Olympus, have been offered to the furies of war during the last five and twenty years, and in estimating the aggregate amount of human sacrifices within that period, at a sum equal to the whole male adult population of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, no exaggeration is perhaps committed. If this be a fact, and the assertion will, we apprehend, scarcely be disputed, it must be admitted that the appeal to the sword is the last appeal that should be made by nations. Whether offensive

wars, as they are styled, are in any case justifiable, is a question that may fairly admit of dispute; but it is clear that war is utterly irreconcilable with the principles professed by christian communities, except when every effort has been exerted in vain to obtain a redress of the wrongs of which the aggrieved party complains. Wrongs indeed are seldom redressed by war, unless revenge be redress, and multiplied injury satisfaction; and in general that success is the most truly glorious and satisfactory, which is peaceably obtained.†

The power, strength, and resources of this country, as developed in the foregoing pages, if wisely administered, may yet conduct the nation to a state of prosperity. Time will no doubt be required to overcome the difficulties under which we labour, but time and prudence are alone necessary to effect that purpose. Of military and naval glory, Great Britain has laid in a stock on which she may draw for ages without exhausting the fund. She may afford to culti-

* The average annual expenditure of Great Britain from 1794 to 1816, amounts to £66,854,329
from 1790 to 1794, to £16,723,272

Constituting an annual excess of £30,131,057, which, multiplied by twenty-three, the number of years, produces an aggregate increased expenditure within that period of £1,153,014,311.

† One of the most remarkable consequences of the late wars is the establishment of various societies in Europe and America for the abolition of this scourge of nations, and for the diffusion of a general spirit of peace. The first society formed for this purpose was instituted on the 28th of December, 1815, in the state of Massachusetts, in North America, under the auspices of several of the leading men of that state; and the object of the Massachusetts society, as defined by its members, is to promote the cause of peace, by exhibiting with clearness and distinctness the pacific nature of the christian dispensation, and by turning the attention of the community to the nature, spirit, causes, and effects, of war. It is hoped, by the concurrence of the friends of peace in all nations, and by the gradual illumination of the christian world, a pacific spirit may be communicated to governments, and that in this way the occasions of war, and the belief of its necessity, will be constantly diminished, till it shall be regarded by all christians with the same horror with which they now look back on the exploded and barbarous customs of former ages. To this end it is proposed to encourage the formation of peace societies both in America and in foreign countries, by the dispersion of tracts, by correspondence, and by other suitable means. Various facts and considerations have conspired to excite a hope, that a change may be effected in public sentiment, and a more happy state of society introduced: Governors, in the holy league, above referred to, have solemnly declared their unalterable determination to adopt for the only rule of their conduct, both in the administration of their respective states, and in their political relations with every other government, the precepts of the christian religion—the precepts of justice, of charity, and of peace. And while monarchs have erected so exalted a standard for the regulation of their conduct, it is known that a great majority of the people in every civilized country, when free from the delusions of party passions and prejudices, have such an aversion to public hostility, that they would rejoice if any plan could be devised which would secure their rights, and absolve them from the burthens and sufferings of war. “A late treaty of peace,”‡ says the Massachusetts society, “has suggested the practicability of such a plan, and given an admirable lesson on the subject. From this treaty, it seems, that when two governments are inclined to peace, they can make some friendly power the umpire, and last resort, for settling points of difference; and this ray of pacific light will, it is hoped, shine more and more to the perfect day. If questions about territory—questions which as frequently, and as justly, generate wars as any other, may be honourably settled by an impartial umpire,” “where,” it is inquired, “is the impracticability of constituting, by general consent, a grand tribunal of empires—a high court of equity, to pass sentence in all matters of dispute between particular governments?”

An institution similar in its objects to the peace societies on the opposite shores of the Atlantic, was instituted in London, on the 14th of June, 1816, at the head of which stands the name of Thomas Clarkson, the zealous and successful promoter of the abolition of the African Slave Trade. This society, and its auxiliaries, like the peace societies of America, address themselves to no particular religious or political community, but wish to embrace those of every denomination, in the attainment of an object, not limited by local attachments, nor circumscribed by geographical boundaries, but extending to the whole human race.

‡ The Treaty of Ghent between Great Britain and America, see Vol. II. Book V. p. 406.

vate the arts of peace; to engage freely in the pursuits of a peaceful industry; and, availing herself of the security of her insular situation, and her renown in arms, view, with a dignified composure, the agitations of surrounding nations, while she herself engages in no contest but the contests of commerce, conciliation, and benevolence.

In summing up the events of the long and arduous struggle in which the nation has been engaged, the peculiar circumstances and situation of the royal family call for some observations. The venerable sovereign of these realms, whose affections have so long engaged the sympathies of the nation, has survived the contest, but his mental alienation has not permitted him to participate in the exultation which the splendid achievements of his arms have so universally called forth.

The reign of his son, if that epithet may be applied to an authority exercised in the name of another, has been irradiated with wreaths of imperishable renown. No sovereign, ancient or modern, can perhaps display within so short a period such a series of splendid actions as Britain has achieved during the exercise of the royal functions by the prince regent. When the reins of government were committed to his hands, the affairs of Europe presented a prospect calculated to dismay the stoutest heart, and the situation of his own country was by no means cheering. The power of Napoleon seemed so firmly rooted in the affections of the French nation, and so strongly consolidated by the subjugation of the continent, as to bid defiance to every attempt to shake its stability. But scarcely was unrestricted authority given to the prince, when our victories in Spain burst forth upon an astonished world, and laid the foundation of the overthrow of Bonaparte, and the restoration of the Bourbon line. And yet, with all this military glory beaming upon his throne, no British prince had perhaps ever less hold upon the affections of the people. Several causes conspire to produce this want of popularity: the political vacillation of the prince—his personal habits—his attachment to foreign manners—and above all, his separation from, and the judicial proceedings against, his royal consort, have contributed to alienate the affections of the people.

The Princess Charlotte, his daughter, the only offspring of that unhappy marriage, has, since the departure of her mother from England, had a large share of popular favour transferred to her royal person. The high spirit of this illustrious female, as evinced in her unshaken attachment to the cause of her mother, and in her determination to exercise her right of free-

dom of choice in the most interesting and important of all human contracts, called forth the approbation of her country, and was hailed as a happy omen by the people over whom she was destined to reign. In the month of May, 1814, Prince Leopold, of Saxe Cobourg, after having sustained a distinguished part in the campaigns of that and the preceding year, accompanied the sovereigns of Russia and Prussia to England, and remained in this country about a month after the departure of the royal visitors. It was during this period that he had first the happiness to attract the particular attention of the royal family, and absence did not obliterate the favourable impression he had made on the heart of the princess. On the return of Napoleon from Elba, Prince Leopold, who was at that time at the court of the house of Austria, hastened from Vienna to join the allied armies on the Rhine, and soon afterwards marched to Paris. The affairs of his family detained him for some time in the French capital, after which he proceeded by way of Cobourg to Berlin, and here it was that the invitation of the Prince Regent of England intimated to him the high destiny to which he was called. In the month of February, 1816, he returned to this country in the avowed character of the intended husband of the Princess Charlotte of Wales. Two months served to complete the arrangements for the royal nuptials, and on Thursday, "the 2d of May, at nine o'clock in the morning, the solemnity of the marriage of her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte Augusta, daughter of his Royal Highness George Augustus Frederick, Prince of Wales, Regent of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with his Serene Highness Leopold George Frederick, Duke of Saxe, Margrave of Meissen, Langrave of Thuringen, Prince of Cobourg of Saalfeld, was performed in the great Crimson Room at Carlton-House, by his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of her Majesty the Queen, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of York, Clarence, and Kent, their Royal Highnesses the Princesses Augusta Sophia, Elizabeth, and Mary, her Royal Highness the Duchess of York, her Royal Highness the Princess Sophia of Gloucester, their Serene Highnesses the Duke and Mademoiselle D'Orleans, the Duke of Bourbon, the great officers of state, and the ambassadors and ministers of foreign states, assisting at the ceremony."* Previously to the marriage a parliamentary grant of £60,000 per annum was settled upon the royal pair, of which sum £10,000 a year was to form the privy purse of her royal highness. In the event of the demise of the princess, it was stipulated in the

* London Gazette.

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treaty of marriage, that £50,000 a year should be continued to the prince; and to prevent those embarrassments to which the royal family had been so often subject, £50,000 was voted by parliament as an outfit.

His Serene Highness Prince Leopold is the third son of the late Duke Francis Frederick Anthony, Field-marshal of the Roman empire, and commander-in-chief of the allied armies in the Netherlands at the breaking out of the wars of the French revolution. Before the treaty of congress, signed at Vienna in 1815, the possessions of the house of Saxe Cobourg Saalfeld comprised seventeen and a half German square miles, with a population of 57,266 souls; and in 1806, on the succession of Ernest Anthony Charles Lewis, the reigning duke, his revenue amounted to about 425,413 florins, or nearly £50,000 sterling,* but by the treaty of Vienna, about twenty thousand inhabitants, with a proportionate increase of revenue, were added to his resources. The reigning family of Saxe Cobourg are members of the Lutheran church, and their subjects, who are for the most part of the same religious persuasion, are chiefly employed in trade and manufacture.

Prince Leopold, who at the period of his marriage was in the 26th year of his age, was born on the 16th of December, 1790; and the character of this prince, in which the English nation feels so lively an interest, is thus drawn by an historian of the house of Saxony.† “In his early youth, he manifested an excellent understanding, and a tender and a benevolent heart. As he advanced in years he displayed a strong attachment to literary and scientific pursuits, and even at that time, all his actions were marked with dignified gravity and unusual moderation. His propensity to study was seconded by the efforts of an excellent instructor, and as he remained a stranger to all these dissipa-

tions with which persons of his age and rank are commonly indulged, his attainments, so early as his fifteenth year, were very extensive. His extraordinary capacity particularly unfolded itself in the study of the languages, history, mathematics, botany, music, and drawing, in which last he has made a proficiency that would be creditable to a professor. The vicissitudes to which his house was exposed from French hostility, seem only to have contributed to preserve the purity of his morals; and they have certainly had a most powerful influence in the development of that rare moderation, that ardent love of justice, and that manly firmness, which are the predominant traits in the character of this prince. Necessitated at so early an age to attend to a variety of diplomatic business, he acquired, partly in this school, and partly in his extensive travels, a thorough knowledge of men in all their relations; and though his experience has not always been of the most agreeable kind, still it has not been able to warp the kindness and benevolence of his nature. In his campaigns, and in the field of battle, where all false greatness disappears, Leopold has given the most undeniable proofs, that courage, and a profound sense of religion and liberty, are innate in his soul; and that clear intelligence and unshaken fortitude are his securest possessions. With such qualities of the head and heart, with a character and principles that so completely harmonize with the feelings, the notions, nay even the prejudices, of the British nation, this illustrious prince authorises us to anticipate, from his union with the heiress to the throne, results equally conducive to the welfare of the people at large, and to the happiness of that distinguished family of which he is become a member.”

* Storch's Staats, und Adress Handbuch.

† Shoberl.

CHAPTER IX.

FOREIGN HISTORY: *Policy of the Court of Naples—Murat espouses the Cause of Napoleon—attacks the Troops of Austria—is conquered and dethroned—retires to the South of France—makes a hostile Descent in Calabria—is taken, tried, and executed—Louis XVIII. dissolves the Chambers—Character of the new Deputies—Proscription Lists—Total Extinction of the Freedom of the Periodical Press in France—Ordinance for disbanding the old, and organizing a new Army in France—Trial and Execution of Colonel Labedoyère—Fate of Marshal Brune—The Louvre dismantled—Triumph of the Ultra-Royalist Party in the French Cabinet—Change of Ministry—Meeting of the Chambers—Persecution of the Protestants in the South of France—Trial and Execution of Marshal Ney—Trial and Conviction of General Count Lavalette—His Escape—Negociations between France and the Allied Powers—General Treaty of Peace with France—Treaty of Alliance and Friendship entered into by the Allied Powers.*

THE affairs of Europe were now fast tending towards the system of political restoration. Napoleon, the founder of the new dynasties, had fallen, and none of the thrones erected by that extraordinary character, the throne of Sweden alone excepted, had survived his fall. In Holland, Spain, and Germany, the Napoleon race had in succession disappeared from the list of sovereign princes; and in Italy, the sceptre of Joachim Murat was, within the period of the second reign of his imperial relative, wrested from his grasp. During the exile of Napoleon in the isle of Elba, an active correspondence had been carried on between Porto Ferrajo and the court of Naples. At this time two contending parties existed in that court—the French and the Neapolitans. The attachments of the king were manifestly to the former, and on the return of Napoleon to the French capital, little difficulty was found by this party in fixing their sovereign in alliance with the prince to whom he owed his crown, and to whose friendship alone he began to suspect that he must be indebted for its preservation.* The policy of Murat was to preserve his kingdom; and the same motives which induced him to join the allies in 1814, now led him to espouse the cause of the French Emperor. No sooner had the intelligence of the triumphal entry of Bonaparte into Lyons arrived at Naples, than Joachim quitted his capital to place himself at the head of his army. On the 19th of March he arrived at Ancona, and forcing

a passage through the dominions of the pope, proceeded from the Marches to the Legations, where, on the 30th of the same month, he commenced hostilities by attacking the Austrian army posted at Cesena. The immediate consequence of this act of hostility was a declaration of war issued by the Emperor of Austria against the King of Naples, and it cannot be doubted that the emperor and his allies seized with satisfaction so favourable an opportunity for dethroning a sovereign, whose crown, conquered from its hereditary possessor, made a breach in the system of restoration. The grand object of Murat was to unite Lombardy and the other states of Italy against the house of Austria, and one of his first acts, on the breaking out of the war, was to issue a proclamation, dated from Rimini, on the 31st of March, invoking the Italians to repair to his standard, and to drive from among them all foreign power. "One cry," says this proclamation, "echoes from the Alps to the straits of Scylla—'The independence of Italy.' What right have strangers to rob you of independence, the first right and blessing of all people? Is it in vain that nature has given you the Alps for a bulwark, and the invincible discrepancy of your character, as a barrier still more insurmountable? No! no! let every foreign domination disappear from the soil of Italy. Formerly masters of the world, you have expiated that fatal glory by a servitude of twenty centuries. Let it now be

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* The fact had been suffered to transpire, that during the negociations at Vienna, Talleyrand had addressed a note to Lord Castlereagh, urging England to declare in favour of the legitimate Sovereign of Naples, Ferdinand IV, and much sophistry was used by the same statesman to prove, that although Austria had, by an existing treaty, guaranteed the kingdom of Naples to her present sovereign, yet that the emperor might, without any breach of faith, become a party to this political intrigue.

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your glory to have masters no longer. Eighty thousand Italians at Naples hasten to you under the command of the king; they swear never to rest till Italy be free; and they have proved more than once that they know how to keep their oaths. Arise, Italians, and march in the closest union; and at the same time that your courage shall assert your internal independence, let a government of your choice, a truly national representation, a constitution worthy of you and of the age, guarantee your internal liberty, and protect your property. I invite all brave men to come and combat with me; I invite all enlightened men, who have reflected on the wants of their country, to prepare, in the silence of the passions, the constitution and laws which must in future govern happy and independent Italy."

At first, Murat seemed rapidly advancing to the completion of his object. The imperial General Bianchi retired before the Neapolitan army, the Grand Duke of Tuscany quitted his capital, and on the 6th of April the enemy entered Florence, which was evacuated by the Austrian General Nugent. But notwithstanding this success, the Italians did not repair to the standard of independence in any considerable numbers, or display any material portion of that zeal which was altogether indispensable in order to resist with success the imperial armies. In the mean time the Austrian forces were collected under Marshal Bellegarde, who, in a proclamation, dated the 5th of April, reminded the people of Italy, that Murat, the denouncer of foreign influence, was himself a foreigner! No sooner had the main body of the Austrian armies come in contact with the Neapolitan troops, than the latter fell back to Ancona, pursued by the Austrian Generals Bianchi and Frimont. Murat, perceiving the magnitude of his danger, determined to sue for an armistice, alleging, that he had not advanced for the purposes of aggression or conquest, but in order to render the treaty existing between Austria and Naples respected. His overtures, however, were rejected; and finding himself in danger of being cut off from the Roman and Neapolitan states, he abandoned Ancona, and marched in the direction of Macerata to Tolentino. At this place a series of bloody engagements were fought between the armies under Murat and General Bianchi, on the 2d and 3d of May; and for some time victory seemed to hover between the contending armies; but at length she fixed her standard on the side of the imperialists, and the disorderly retreat of the panic-struck Neapolitans, rendered it sufficiently evident that the star of Murat's glory had for ever set.

In consequence of arrangements made between Lord Burghersh, the English minister at Florence, and Captain Campbell, of the Tremendous, man of war, the latter, accompanied by a frigate and a sloop of war, sailed at the beginning of May to the Bay of Naples. On his arrival, Captain Campbell demanded the surrender of the Neapolitan navy, with an intimation, that if his demand was not immediately complied with, he should proceed without delay to bombard the city. Intimidated by the threatened danger, Madame Murat, to whose hands the administration of the government was committed in the absence of the king, sent Prince Cariati to negotiate for the surrender of the fleet, which was ultimately placed at the joint disposal of the English government and of Ferdinand IV. of Sicily. The war in Italy was now drawing rapidly to a close: the party of King Ferdinand began to shew themselves in great strength in the capital; the army under Murat, after sustaining several defeats, was reduced to about sixteen thousand men; and Lord Exmouth, better known as Sir Edward Pellew, had, on the 18th of May, stationed his squadron before that city. Under this complication of adverse circumstances, all hopes of saving his kingdom vanished, and on the 20th of May a military convention was concluded between General Niepperg, on the part of Austria; General Coletta, on that of Naples, and Lord Burghersh, on the part of Great Britain; by which it was stipulated, that Murat should abdicate his throne, and that the kingdom of Naples, its fortresses and arsenals, with all its military forces, and other resources, should be surrendered to the Emperor of Austria and the King of Great Britain, to be returned to the lawful sovereign of the country, Ferdinand IV.

After an absence of nine years, the King of the two Sicilies made his public entry into Naples on the 17th of June, and was greeted with a degree of popular enthusiasm which apparently was not the mere temporary homage paid to existing power. How far the restoration of the Bourbon line in Naples may be favourable to the tranquillity of the government and the happiness of the people, it is impossible accurately to predict; but it is known that the Neapolitans, in losing a soldier of fortune, as remarkable for his courage in the field as for his indecision in the cabinet,* have obtained a prince without talents, destitute of personal dignity, and, "without exception, the worst educated sovereign in Europe."†

Brief as is generally the interval between the deposition and the death of a sovereign, the fate of Murat succeeded his fall with more than

* Lord William Bentinck.

† Sir William Hamilton.

usual celerity. Having effected his escape from Italy, he retired to Provence, in the south of France, and for some time took up his residence at Toulon, while Madame Murat and her family found an asylum in the Austrian states. The events attendant upon the battle of Waterloo obliged Murat to quit France, and in the month of September he appeared in the island of Corsica, where he assembled a number of partisans, and in imitation of the great and successful enterprise which had taken place in France in the early part of the same year, determined to invade the kingdom of Naples for the purpose of re-ascending the throne from which he had been so recently expelled. Although the Neapolitan coast was guarded by a line of armed vessels, Marshal Murat, with two small vessels, sailed direct for Calabria Ulterior, and at mid-day on the 8th of October disembarked on the coast of Pizzo, with a suite of thirty persons, among whom were General Franceschette and Marshal Natali. From the coast the invaders marched without interruption to the first village, where Murat, hoping to excite a rising of the people in his favour, exclaimed—"I am Joachim, your king; it is your duty to acknowledge me."* These words served to rouse the people to arms—not to aid, but to crush, a desperate enterprise, which threatened to involve their country in the horrors of a civil war. Murat and his suite, perceiving, when it was too late, that popular feeling in this part of Italy was against them, sought refuge in the mountains, whence they attempted to open themselves a way to the coast, for the purpose of re-embarking; but, overcome by the numbers of their pursuers, they were made prisoners, and conducted, in spite of the most gallant resistance, to the fort of Pizzo. Immediately after his capture, Murat was brought to trial before a military commission, by whom he was condemned to be shot, in company with his followers; and at three o'clock in the afternoon of the 13th of October, the apprehensions of the reigning family were extinguished in the blood of their rival.

As a soldier, Murat might rank, for bravery and enterprise, among the first military characters of the age; and as a prince, his endeavours were assiduously directed to correct the vices, and to ameliorate the condition, of his subjects; but as a statesman, he was weak and irresolute—"brave in the field, but more cowardly than a woman or a monk when not in the presence of the enemy;"† and though the desertion of the cause of the allies cost him his crown and his life, his treachery to Napoleon, to whom he

was indebted for every thing, will be esteemed by an impartial posterity as the vital error of a career short, splendid, and fatal.

In France, where, as well as in Italy, the cause of legitimacy had again triumphed, the king published an ordinance on the 13th of July, announcing the dissolution of the chamber of deputies, and convoking a new assembly, to meet on the 14th of August. In order that the people should enjoy a more numerous representation than at that time existed, the number of members were increased by this edict from 262 to 395; but the mode of election was exposed to great objections. During the whole period of Napoleon's imperial sway, no vacancies whatever had been supplied in the electoral colleges, and from death and other causes, the numbers on the second restoration of the Bourbons were reduced to nearly one half their original amount. Instead of referring to the primary electors to supply these vacancies, the king, by an ordinance, dated the 20th of July, judged it proper to direct, that the prefects of the departments, all of them newly appointed men, of high royalist principles, should make up the complement, by nominating, of their own authority, twenty members for each college. As might have been expected, these supplementary members, with very few exceptions, proved to be of the same character as the prefects, and the deputies chosen under such auspices, instead of being the representatives of the commons of the land, became the devoted servants of the court—or rather of that ultra-royalist party, whose views of the omnipotence of the royal prerogatives far exceeded those of either the king or his ministry.

The edict for dissolving the chamber of deputies was followed by two other ordinances, both of them dated the 24th of July, by the former of which a number of peers, who had accepted seats in the *soi-disant* chamber of peers, named and established by Napoleon, since the 20th of March, were declared to have acted in a manner incompatible with their dignity, and to have forfeited their right to the peerage of France. By the first article of the second ordinance, it was directed that a number of general and other officers, who had betrayed the king before the 23d of March, or who had attacked France and the government with arms in their hands, and those who by violence had obtained possession of power, should be arrested, and carried before the competent councils of war, in their respective divisions. And by the second article, in the same edict, it was ordered, that a number of other individuals should quit the city

* Official Journal of the Two Sicilies, dated Oct. 13, 1815.

† Letter from Bonaparte to the Queen of Naples; dated Feb. 17, 1814.

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of Paris in three days, and should retire into the interior of France, to places pointed out by the minister of police, where they should remain under his superintendence, until the chambers should decide upon such as should be sent out of the country, or delivered over for trial to the tribunals.*

The policy of these measures of rigour was strongly questioned by one portion of the king's ministers, and their natural influence tended still further to increase the disunion of that heterogeneous body. The Duke of Otranto in particular, by whom, as minister of police, the latter of these ordinances was countersigned, so much disapproved of this proceeding, as to declare, that if he could have effaced several of the names inscribed in the proscription lists by placing there his own, he should not have hesitated. But all minds, says this minister, had been occupied with the fatal mistake, that the throne had been subverted by the result of a vast conspiracy, and that a great mass of individuals were comprised in the plot which had re-seated Napoleon on the throne. The idea of a conspiracy, he adds, had been propagated by those who wished for proscription, and in consenting to sign the ordinance of the 24th of July, and to remain in administration under such circumstances, his only wish was to impose silence on revenge, to suffer the passions gradually to become calm, and to enable justice to resume her course.

The freedom of the press, from which a royal ordinance had, soon after the return of the king from Ghent, removed all restrictions, was soon deemed too potent an instrument in the hands of the disaffected; and on the 8th of August, a second ordinance, signed by the king, and countersigned by the Duke of Otranto, was issued, revoking all the licences given to public journals of every kind, and suspending their further appearance till fresh authority was received by each of them from the minister-general of police. And that not a vestige of freedom might continue to be enjoyed by any branch of

the periodical press, it was further directed, that all periodical writings should be submitted to the examination of a commission of censorship, whose members should be appointed by the king, on the presentation of the minister of general police. So gross an infraction of the provisions of the constitutional charter rendered nugatory a representative form of government, for where the people cannot, through the medium of the press, be brought acquainted with the conduct of their representatives in the senate, the national voice, expressed in such assemblies, is divested of one of its most important attributes. How is the public to know the truth when the journals are under the restraint of the ministers? or how shall the ministers and the chambers ascertain the public opinions, if the press, the tongue of the people, be not free? When the press is unrestrained, foreign powers have no right to complain of the government on account of any article which may appear in the public papers; but if the ministers have the guidance and controul of the press, they render themselves responsible to other states for all its abuse.†

A higher tribute to the salutary influence of the press is scarcely to be found on record than that presented by one of the ministers of Louis XVIII. at the very moment when fresh shackles were forging by the French government for that organ of public illumination. In a correspondence between Lord Castlereagh, the British minister for foreign relations, and Prince Talleyrand, which took place in the months of August and September, regarding the possible revival of the African slave trade, which Napoleon had abolished, the French minister informs his lordship, that it was with regret, that last year, the king, his master, had stipulated for the continuance of this traffic for a few years. This he had done because there existed in France prejudices which it was desirable to sooth; but since that time these prejudices had been attacked, (through the medium of the press) and with such effect, as to enable the king, without delay, to follow the dictates of his own inclina-

* PROSCRIPTION LISTS.

PEERS EXPELLED. Counts—Clement de Ris, Colchen, Cornudet, d'Aboville. Marshal Lefebvre, Duke of Dantzic. Counts—De Croix, Dedeley d'Agier, Dejean, Fabre de l'Aude, Gassendi, Lacpede, Latour Maubourg. Dukes of Prasline, Plaisance, Le Brun. Marshals—Duke of Elchingen, (Ney); Albuféra, (Suchet); Cornagliano, (Moncey); Treviso, (Mortier). Counts—De Barral, Archbishop of Tours; Boissy d'Anglas. Duke de Cadore, (Champagny). Counts—De Canclaux, Casabianca, De Montesquiou, Pontacoulant, Rappon, Segur, Valence, and Belliard.

PROSCRIBED OFFICERS AND PUBLIC FUNCTIONARIES.—To be arrested and brought to trial.—Ney, Labedoyère, the two Lallemands, Drouot d'Erlon, Lefebvre Desnouettes, Ameilh, Brayer, Gilly, Mouton Duvernet, Grouchy, Clausel, Laborde, Debelle, Bertrand, Drouet, Cambronne, Lavalette, and Rovigo.

PROSCRIBED OFFICERS AND PUBLIC FUNCTIONARIES.—To quit Paris, and await the decision of the Chambers.—Soult, Alix, Excolemans, Bassano, Marbot, Felix Lepelletier, Boulay de la Meurthe, Mehee, Fresinet, Thibaudau, Carnot, Vandamme, Lamarque, Lobau, Harel, Percé, Barrère, Arnault, Pommereuil, Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, Arrighi, (Padua); Dejean, (the son); Garnau, Real, Bouvier, Dumoulaud, Merlin de Douay, Durbach, Dirat, Defermont, Bory St. Vincent, Felix Desportes, Garnier de Saintes, Mellinet, Hullin, Clays, Courtin, Forbin Janson, (the eldest son), and Lorgne Dideville.

† Chateaubriand.

tions, and to do an act agreeable to the government and people of Great Britain, by issuing directions, on the part of France, that the traffic in slaves should cease, from the present time, every where, and for ever.

Nothing was of more importance to the security of the French government, than the proper organization of the army, and one of the first acts of the king, after his return to Paris, was to promulgate a decree, dated the 23d of March, for disbanding the army, which had been seduced by the chiefs, and had passed under the temporary command of Napoleon. The publication of this ordinance was accompanied by a decree, dated the 16th of July, directing that a new army should be organized without delay. The great mass of this force was to consist of eighty legions of infantry, each legion to contain 1,087 men, including 103 officers; to this force were to be added twelve regiments of artillery, and forty-seven regiments of horse; constituting an aggregate military force of about two hundred thousand regular troops. In order to place this military force on a principle which should constitute a truly national army, and to put it henceforth in harmony with the liberal dispositions of the constitutional charter, it was directed, that one legion should be raised in every department of France, to bear the name of that department, and that each disbanded soldier should be allowed to enter, after examination, into the legion of the department to which he belonged. Marshal Macdonald had at this time been appointed to the command of the army of the Loire, in the place of Marshal Davoust, and the measure of disbanding the old, and organizing the new levies encountered no material difficulty.

In the mean time it was determined to bring to justice, with suitable promptitude, those individuals whom the proscription lists had denounced as traitors; and the first officer brought before the tribunals was Colonel Labedoyère, on a charge of treason, rebellion, and the seduction of his troops from their allegiance.* On Monday, the 12th of August, Labedoyère was arraigned before a military tribunal, held at Paris, in which M. Bertier de Sauvigny held the office of president. Before the prisoner was introduced, the judge-advocate read over the order for bringing him to trial, and the minutes of his examination before the minister of police were also read. In this latter document, he protested that he had held no intercourse whatever with the Isle of Elba; that he had never been present at any meeting in which the recall of Napoleon had been agitated; and that in ranging himself and his troops under the imperial standard, he had

been influenced solely by a regard to the interests of his country. On his introduction to the court he returned the following answers to the interrogatories of the president:—

“ I am called Charles Angelique Francois Hnchot de Labedoyère; I am 29 years of age, a general officer, and a native of Paris. On the 1st of March, 1815, I was a lieutenant-colonel of the 7th regiment of the line. I received my commission from the king. The regiment received the white flag at Chamberry. I suppose an oath was taken, but I was not there. I was an officer of the legion of honour, and a knight of the iron crown. I never received the cross of St. Louis. When I heard of Bonaparte's landing I was at Chamberry, where I received from Major-general Devilliers, orders to proceed with my regiment to Grenoble. It bivouacked on the ramparts of Grenoble. It quitted its post, by my orders, to proceed to Gap, and I gave the word *Vive l'Empereur!* On leaving the suburbs of Grenoble, I presented to it the eagle, which had been preserved in a box as a curiosity, because it had been honourably distinguished in the Spanish war. General Devilliers spoke to me of the ties which I was breaking, and the probable consequences of my proceeding; but I answered, that the interest of my country prevailed over all other considerations.”

The facts admitted by the accused were proved by General Devilliers and other officers; and the judge-advocate, in recapitulating the evidence, contended that the defection of Labedoyère had given the first signal of revolt, and had paved the way to the grand defection of the army.

The colonel, in his defence, which appeared to be written in haste, and without method, declared that he had no intention to deny facts public and notorious. His only anxiety was to defend his honour. He who had led brave men to death knew how to die. He might have been deceived—misled by illusions, by recollections, by false ideas of honour; his country might have spoken a chimerical language to his heart but he was no conspirator. He hoped his death would make reparation to his country for his errors; that his memory would not be held in horror; and that his wife and infant son would not be reproached with his name. He had misunderstood the intentions of the king, in whom all promises were fulfilled, all guarantees consecrated, and the constitution rendered perfect. After a long deliberation of the council, the president, with visible expression of grief, pronounced the prisoner guilty of treason and rebellion, and condemned him to suffer death and degradation of military rank.

When his family learned that the council of revision had confirmed the sentence passed upon Colonel Labedoyère by his judges, his wife, clad in mourning, appeared before the king as he was entering his carriage, and falling at his feet, exclaimed—“ Pardon! Pardon, Sire!” “ Ma-

* See Vol. II. Book V. p. 428, in which passage Labedoyère's christian name is erroneously printed Henry.

dame," said Louis, "I know your sentiments, and those of your family, and never was it more painful to me to pronounce a refusal. If M. Labedoyère had only offended against me, his pardon should have been granted; but all France demands the punishment of a man, who has brought upon her all the scourges of war. I promise my protection to you and your child." The mother of the unfortunate officer now pressed for admission, but was prevented from seeing the king by those who surrounded him.

Execution followed soon after the sentence of the court, and Colonel Labedoyère displayed, in his last moments, the most heroic fortitude. His appeal to the court of revision was heard on the morning of Saturday, the 19th of August. At half past one o'clock his judgment was confirmed, and at half past six, on the same day, he was led to the plain of Grenelle. After receiving on his knees the benediction of the confessor, he stood erect, and without waiting for his eyes to be bandaged, laid open his breast to his military executioners, saying—" *Surtout ne me manquez pas,*" (above all do not miss me.) The veterans levelled, and in an instant he was no more.

The day after the execution of Labedoyère, Marshal Ney, who had been apprehended in the department of Lot, and brought to Paris, underwent his first examination at the Conciergerie, but the final proceedings in the Marshal's case did not take place till towards the close of the year. In the same month another of the French marshals, and one of the generals of Napoleon, Marshal Brune, finding himself exposed to the indignation of a royalist mob at Avignon, took refuge in a tavern in that city, and at the moment when he conceived that the door of his asylum was about to be forced, terminated his life with a pistol. This act of desperation was not sufficient to rescue him from the fury of his persecutors; after placing his body on an hurdle, they promenaded it ignominiously through the streets, and concluded the savage procession by casting the remains of their victim into the Rhone.

The pride of the French nation had been greatly humbled by the second conquest of that country; but the humiliation was not so com-

plete as to permit the inhabitants of the metropolis to submit to the degradation that awaited them, without the most bitter complaints against the injustice and rapacity of their conquerors. Soon after the allied armies entered Paris, Prince Blücher visited that vast depository of the arts called the Louvre, and insisted upon sending back to his country all the pictures and other works of art which had been seized by the French, not only in Prussia Proper, but all those also which had been taken from Cologne and Aix-la-Chapelle, cities on the left bank of the Rhine. This example was some time after followed by the other states of Europe; the Emperor Francis, on behalf of Florence, Modena, Milan, Parma, Verona, and Venice, claimed for those cities every painting of value, of which they had been deprived. The Duke of Wellington, in support of the rights of the King of the Netherlands, demanded the pictures stripped from the catholic churches in the Belgic provinces; while the Spaniards, claiming their share in the general distribution, seized on an exhibition made up of the subjects of the Spanish school. The seizure of the valuable products of art and of literature, which had been carried away from Rome, and which had made part of the price of the treaty of Tolentino, consummated this system of restitution, by which the galleries of the Louvre were dismantled of nine-tenths of their treasures.*

On the subject of the reclamations made by the Duke of Wellington, on behalf of the Sovereign of the Netherlands, his grace addressed a long letter to Lord Castlereagh, justifying the conduct of the allied powers, and shewing, that in divesting the museum of Paris of its exotic plumes, they had performed not only an act of favour towards their own subjects, but had, by this act of justice, given to the French nation a great moral lesson. In this letter the duke very successfully rebuts the charge brought against him, of having violated the 11th article of the convention of Paris, which provides for the inviolability of public property. That article, the duke maintained, had no reference whatever to the gallery of paintings, to secure which, an article was introduced into the original *projet* of the convention by the French commissioners, but

* The following were among the number of the works of art reclaimed by the allies:—by Prussia, an exquisite bronze statue, known by the name of the Gaumede of Sans Souci; two pictures by Corregio, and the pictures of St. Cloud, which had been taken from the apartments of the Queen of Prussia. The picture of St. Jerome, by Corregio; the Titians from Venice, and the Greek *chef-d'œuvre*, were claimed by the Italian States; while the four Corinthian horses, once destined to be harnessed to the chariot of the sun, were made to descend from their gilded car, at the entrance to the palace of the Thuilleries, in order to proceed on their travel towards St. Mark's church, at Venice, whence they had been removed. Those inimitable pieces of statuary, the Venus de Medicis and the Belvidere Apollo, were, at the same time, both removed from their pedestals, to be transferred to their original station; and with the invaluable picture of the Transfiguration, and the Madonna della Seggio, were destined once more to enrich the classical regions of Italy.

that article was rejected. This refusal, it appears, did not arise so much from any decision taken with respect to the museum by the Duke of Wellington, who, having no instructions on the subject, declined to prejudge the question, but because Prince Blücher, supported by the public opinion of his country, insisted upon a restoration of that property which Louis XVIII. had previously promised to restore. On these grounds this affair was left for the decision of the sovereigns when they should arrive in Paris. Upon that decision he had acted; nor had France any just cause of complaint; she had desired to retain the works of art wrested from other countries, because they had been acquired by conquest; but now, when she was no longer the conqueror, it became proper that she should surrender the trophies of conquest into the hands of their original possessors.

In the midst of the irritation produced in Paris by the dismantling of the Louvre, the conflicts of parties raged with considerable violence. In the cabinet the contest lay principally between the friends and the enemies of proscription, between those who recommended measures of conciliation, and those who preferred the influence of rigorous retribution. The former wished to cast a veil of clemency and oblivion over the past, and to retain whatever was valuable in the institutions of the country, although of a date subsequent to the period of the revolution; while the younger branches of the royal family, ranging themselves at the head of the latter party, called for justice upon the heads of the regicides, and wished to bring back France to the ancient *regime*. The princes and their party—more loyal than the king, laboured incessantly to effect the removal of the existing administration; and the influence of these ultra-royalists at length prevailed over the advice of the Duke of Wellington and other ministers of the allied sovereigns. A total change in the ministry was the consequence and the evidence of this triumph, and on the 25th of September, the following list of the new cabinet was published through the medium of the French official Gazette:—

The Duke of Richelieu—for Foreign Affairs.
The Duke of Feltre—for War.
Viscount Dubouché—for Marine and Colonies.
Count de Vaublanc—for the Interior.
The Sieur de Cazes—for General Police.
Count Barbe de Marbois—Keeper of the Seals.
Count Corvetto—for the Finances.

Before this change was announced, the Duke of Otranto, perceiving the growing influence of the party to whom he was opposed, after two applications for that purpose, obtained permission from the king to resign his office; and

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Prince Talleyrand, finding that another administration would be more agreeable to the princes, “whom it was necessary to gratify,” gave in his resignation. Immediately on the appointment of the new ministry, the Duke of Otranto was sent to Dresden, in the capacity of ambassador from the French court; but this was only a prelude to a decree of exile soon after issued against all those who, three and twenty years before, had voted for the death of Louis XVI. Prince Talleyrand was treated in a manner less rigorous and absurd; a trifling office was assigned to him near the person of the king, and his name was announced among the members of his majesty’s privy council. The members of the new cabinet disappointed the hopes of the party to whom they were indebted for their elevation, by pursuing a line of conduct resembling, in its prominent features, the policy marked out for the government of the state by their immediate predecessors.

During the conflicts of contending parties the crown was gradually establishing its authority, and obtaining that ascendancy which hereditary monarchy can scarcely fail to acquire if administered with prudence and moderation. The completion of the ministerial arrangements was succeeded by the meeting of the legislative body, which, after repeated delays, assembled at length on the 7th of October. After deploring the suffering brought upon his people by a criminal enterprise, seconded by the most inconceivable defection, the king, in his opening speech, proceeded to say, “In order to put a period to a state of things, more burthensome than even war itself, I have concluded with the powers, which, after having destroyed the usurper, still occupy a great part of our territory, a convention which regulates our present and future relations with them.” The sacrifices which France was compelled to make had filled his heart with profound grief, but the safety of the kingdom demanded them, and himself and his family had determined to share the privations which imperious circumstances had imposed upon his people. A considerable portion of the revenue of the civil list he had ordered to be paid into the public treasury, and in every department of the government the strictest economy should be preserved. In the creation of new peers, and the enlargement of the number of deputies for the departments, he had sought to give more weight to the deliberations of the chambers, and he felt the sweetest satisfaction in the full confidence, that they would never lose sight of the fundamental bases of the happiness of the state, by a frank and loyal union with the king, and respect for that constitutional charter, which he had weighed with care before he gave it, and to which reflection attached him

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BOOK V. more and more closely. "Many other objects of importance," said the king in conclusion, CHAP. IX. "require our labours: to make religion flourish, purify morals, found liberty upon respect for the laws, render them more and more analogous to these general views, give stability to credit, recompose the army, heal the wounds that have but too deeply torn the bosom of our country; and, in fine, make France respected abroad by insuring tranquillity at home."

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At the conclusion of the speech, the Duc d'Angoulême, the Duc de Berri, and the Duc d'Orléans, swore "fidelity to the king, and obedience to the constitutional charter and the laws of the kingdom." The names of the peers and deputies being then called over, each of them took the same oath as the royal dukes, adding, "and to conduct myself in every thing that appertains to my situation as a good and loyal peer [or deputy] of France."

The character of the chambers presented a strange anomaly in politics. The chamber of deputies, instead of manifesting a bias towards the democratical side of the constitution, and maintaining a vigilant jealousy against royal encroachments on popular rights, sought on all constitutional questions to enlarge the prerogatives of the crown; and the great difficulty on the part of the court was to restrain their zeal, and keep them within the limits of moderation. The chamber of peers, nominated as they were by the king alone, as the bulwark and aristocratical fence of the monarchy, were much less subservient than the deputies. In the upper house, just and enlightened views of the situation of the country, and the duties of the government, were frequently elicited; but among the deputies, the prevailing fear was directed against popular encroachment, and the prevailing wish to restore the government of France to the standard and principles of 1788. Under these circumstances, one session was sufficient to prove that the spirit and temper of the representative body were incompatible with the existence of that charter which they had sworn to maintain, and before the meeting of the second session, the king very patriotically presented the electoral colleges with an opportunity of making a more discreet choice by dissolving that assembly.

One of the principal benefits of the French revolution was the demolition of religious intolerance, and one of the first acts of the revolutionary government was the admission of the professors of the protestant faith to a participation in the religious privileges, and the political

rights, of their catholic countrymen. The distinguished merit of redressing many of the grievances under which the protestants had laboured before the accession of Louis XVI. to the throne, belonged to that monarch; the republican government advanced still further in the work of amelioration; and Napoleon, by the provisions of the *concordat*, placed their religion on precisely the same footing as the catholic faith, in point both of establishment and privilege. The protestants, with feelings natural to men, could not but applaud and admire measures by which they were raised, from being outcasts of society, and from a state of degradation and infamy, to that of citizens, with equal rights and privileges; but that they were revolutionists and Bonapartists in any peculiar degree, seems to be altogether a misrepresentation. In common with their fellow subjects, they felt the weight of taxation with which France became burthened under the rule of Napoleon, and the incessant demands of the conscription had, long before the restoration, alienated their minds from the emperor, and induced them, when Louis XVIII. ascended the throne of France, to rejoice in the auspicious prospects which they then conceived were opening upon their country. Unfortunately, however, during the succeeding ten months a considerable change of opinion took place; the royal charter declared the catholic religion to be the established religion of France, and the protestants again became only the tolerated sect; persons who had long been absent returned, with all their old prejudices; the distinction of catholic and protestant was revived in a hostile sense; and evident indications were exhibited of a wish to return to the ancient regime. During this period, the protestants, in the south of France, were insulted by the populace on the ground of their religion, and songs, and exclamations, menacing them with the revival of the horrors of St. Bartholomew's day, became familiar to their ears.*

It has been urged against the protestants, that, during the second reign of Bonaparte, acts of the greatest violence were committed by them in the department of the Gard,* and that when Nismes again became a royal town on the 15th of July, the atrocities which ensued were merely a re-action retaliative of these excesses.† But we look in vain for the confirmation of this assertion; on the contrary, no acts of violence were committed during this interval—no persons were insulted—nor were any houses attacked, in the town of Nismes, at least, although, from some subsequent convictions which took place at

* Speech of Sir Samuel Romilly in the House of Commons, May 23d, 1816.

† Speech of Lord Castlereagh in the House of Commons, May 23d, 1816.

Montpellier, it appeared that some stragglers of the Duke of Angoulême's army were murdered, in the adjoining department. The first acts of outrage committed in Nismes were perpetrated by a body of peasants, who, in supposed obedience to the king's orders, had assembled as volunteers, under the command of one Beaucaire, at the invitation of commissioners invested with powers from the Duke of Angoulême. On the 17th, two days after the white flag was suspended, these royal volunteers, as they were called, rushed into the city, and summoned the garrison, which occupied the place in the name of Napoleon, to surrender. The troops, consisting of about two hundred men, consented to lay down their arms, and to surrender up their artillery; but instead of allowing them to depart unmolested, the volunteers fell upon the unarmed soldiers with the fury of demons, and the whole garrison, with the exception of a few who contrived to make their escape unperceived, were massacred as they left the barracks.* The greater part of the urban guard of Nismes, who had hitherto preserved tranquillity, was now disarmed; strangers paraded the city; and the houses of the principal inhabitants of the protestant persuasion were attacked and plundered. The more opulent citizens were driven from their dwellings; arrests and proscriptions, directed, not against the oppressors, but against the oppressed, immediately followed, and the only ground of these merciless persecutions was religious opinions.† For several months the protestant population of Nismes was exposed to outrages of every kind. The cry of Down with the Hugonists! *Vive la St. Barthelemy!* resounded through the streets;‡ their houses were plundered or pulled down; the rich were laid under ruinous contributions; the looms of the poor manufacturers were destroyed; and women were stripped and scourged in the streets. No fewer than thirty females were subjected to these atrocities, eight of whom died, either under the hands of their persecutors, or in consequence of their stripes. Two hundred and forty persons were murdered in cold blood, of whom one hundred and fifty were in Nismes, and ninety in other parts of the Gard; and upwards of two thousand other persons became the subjects of this persecution, either in their persons or in their property.‡ A wretch, of the name of Trestaillon, was the chief leader in the atrocities at Nismes; but this man, though twice taken into custody, was never brought to his trial by the

French government. At this place indeed the murderers were exonerated from the punishment of the most numerous of their crimes by an official order, directing, that no examination should be made into the disorders at Nismes previous to the 1st of September.§ Besides Trestaillon, there was another notorious murderer, of the name of Graffan, alias Quatre Taillon, the scene of whose bloody exploits was at Uzes, sixteen miles from Nismes; and although this wretch is said to have killed fourteen persons with his own hands, he, like Trestaillon, entirely escaped punishment.

The rage of bigotry, at length rose to a height calculated to excite the indignation of surrounding states, and obliged the French government to interfere with a strong hand. The Duke of Angoulême, who had repeatedly visited Nismes during the murders, and whose devoted attachment to the catholic religion had rendered him suspected of conniving at the persecution of the protestants, issued an order for the re-opening of the protestant places of worship, which, ever since the month of July, they had been obliged to keep closed. On quitting the place, orders were left by the duke with General La Garde, himself a member of the reformed church, to afford protection to the persons and property of the protestants, and to guard their temples against outrage. Under this guarantee, public worship was resumed; but on Sunday, the 12th of November, at the moment when the general was performing the duty confided to him, a furious mob assembled to resist the opening of the protestant churches, and a villain of the name of Boisset, levelled a pistol at the general, and shot him through the breast. The wound was severe, but not mortal, and the assassin was seized by the military, but he was afterwards suffered to effect his escape. The king, on receiving intelligence of this atrocity, issued an ordinance, which, after recognizing the liberty of worship granted by the royal constitutional charter to dissentients from the established church, directed that proceedings should be instituted against the authors of the assassination; and that troops should be sent to Nismes, there to remain, at the expense of the inhabitants, till the criminal and his accomplices should be brought to justice; and that all such of the inhabitants as were not intitled to form a part of the national guard, should be disarmed. These proceedings, which, however, never received their consummation in

* Petition to Louis XVIII. from the principal protestant inhabitants of Nismes, dated July 30th, 1815.

† Helen Maria Williams, "on the late Persecution of the Protestants in the south of France."

‡ Speeches of Sir Samuel Romilly in the House of Commons, February 28th, and May 23d, 1816.

§ Decree of the Court of Cassation.

BOOK V.

CHAP. IX.

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the punishment of the delinquents, served to check the reign of persecution, and on the 25th of December, the protestant churches were re-opened for the performance of public worship; but there is too much reason to fear, that a spirit of animosity and violence has been engendered in the south of France by these outrageous proceedings, which the present generation may not see wholly extinguished.

The enslaved state of the French press prevented the voice of the persecuted protestants from being heard in their own country. The police would not suffer a single document, nor even a paragraph, to appear in any of the public papers respecting their sufferings, while the conductors of those shackled mediums of public information were permitted, and even solicited, to publish sentiments calculated to gloss over the enormities of their oppressors, and to swell the tide of popular fury, which had set in so strongly against them. Even in the chamber of deputies, where, of all other places, the voice of the sufferers ought to have been heard; on one of the representatives of the people, M. d'Argenson, stating, that persecution existed in the south of France, a great part of the assembly arose in a tumultuous manner, and, in the coarsest terms, insisted that he should be silenced by being called to order. The president, yielding to this clamour, enforced the cry of order, and obliged the speaker to desist from entering into the details. Of this disgraceful scene, Sir Samuel Romilly was a spectator, and it is on the authority of that enlightened senator and philanthropist that the above fact is introduced into this history.

In England, however, where the liberty of the press, like the air we breathe, is essential to our existence, the situation of the French protestants, as depicted in the public papers, excited a lively interest, especially among the protestant dissenters. Public meetings were held in London and other parts of the country, the interference of the British government in favour of the sufferers was implored, and subscriptions to a considerable amount were raised for the purpose of ameliorating the situation of

men persecuted to death by their fellow-subjects, and feebly protected by the government of their own country. There were not, however, wanting, at this time, persons in high military and diplomatic situations, who maintained that the French "government had done all in their power to put an end to the disturbances which had prevailed in the south of France, and to protect the king's subjects, in conformity with the royal charter, whatever might be their religious persuasion."* It was further contended by Lord Castlereagh, that the miseries of the protestants were only the result of a local feud, such as was often to be seen in Ireland; and that it would be impolitic for the government of Great Britain to interfere with the internal affairs of another country, more especially with respect to religious opinions. It was on the same authority held, that the protestants having acquired an extent of power, and that from Bonaparte, they felt interested in the continuance of his power; that their conduct had evinced this feeling, and that it was to this cause the disturbances now complained of were to be attributed. This was not, Lord Castlereagh said, a gratuitous persecution of that sect. The protestants were mixed up with Bonaparte, and imputed to the catholics jealousies and political dislikes, while the catholics, who adhered to the Bourbons, were afraid of the designs of the protestants." The disturbances at Nismes were, it was admitted, carried to a perilous extent, but those who committed them were of the lowest class of the catholics; the richer protestants suffered in their property and their houses. The crimes, however, were greatly exaggerated, and many of the accounts were entirely forged. "The number of lives lost in the department of the Gard, were under a thousand!† and at Nismes, under two hundred."

Whatever difference of opinion might exist, as to the causes of these excesses, and as to the conduct of the government under which they were so long suffered to prevail, it was agreed on all hands that "great violence had been committed, and that many lives had been sacrificed, and much property plundered and destroyed."‡

* Letter from the Duke of Wellington to the Secretaries of the Protestant Society, dated Paris, November 28th, 1815.

† Speech of Lord Castlereagh in the House of Commons, May 23d, 1816.

‡ The Rev. Clement Perrot, a clergyman of unimpeachable veracity, who, at the invitation of the committee of the Dissenting Ministers of the Three Denominations in London, repaired in the early part of the year 1816 to the south of France, for the purpose of examining on the spot, and in the French capital, the real situation of the protestants, states, in his report made on the subject of his mission, that "the number of protestants pretty accurately ascertained to have been killed in the department of the Gard, is 450, and about the same number have been missed for several months, and are supposed to have been murdered in the vineyards, and on the roads, when they fled." p. p. 21. "Hundreds," it is added, "have redeemed their lives at the expense of all they possessed, and have been thus reduced to extreme want. Hardly one protestant but has suffered, either in his person, property, family, or business, from this mode of vexation, throughout the department of the Gard. The number of fugitives, when stated at 10,000, as applied to the reformed inhabitants of the department in general, is, perhaps, below the truth." p. p. 29 and 30. In Nismes, about 250 houses have been pillaged, and many of them demolished. "The largest manufactories are shut up; the proprietors have fled; and the silk trade, so prosperous in that city under the late government, is entirely ruined. It is difficult to calculate the loss of property, but," says Mr. Perrot, "I have heard it estimated at 5,000,000 francs."

It was further proved, that in whatever cause these outrages originated, the protestants alone had been their victims; that no other but protestant places of worship were attacked, and that their religious services were alone molested. That the proclamation of the king to the inhabitants of the Gard, charged the offenders with violating that article of the constitution which promised protection to dissentients from the established church—and, lastly, that a number of French families, after this persecution had raged for some months, and in order, no doubt, to escape from its horrors, had abjured their religion, and “returned into the bosom of the romish church.”*

These circumstances, which were too notorious to be denied, gave to the sanguinary atrocities in the Gard, to which department they were principally confined, the character of a religious persecution; it is, however, more than probable that the protestant inhabitants of the south were less favourable towards the second restoration of the Bourbons than the catholics, and the impartial judgment of history will pronounce the persecution of which they so justly complained, to have had for its actuating causes a compound of religious bigotry and political animosity, to which motives may be added, the thirst for plunder, the free indulgence of which served to excite and to gratify the cupidity of the mob. That a government, whose authority, at the moment when these persecutions prevailed, was supported by the presence of nearly two hundred thousand foreign troops, should not have had the power instantly to coerce the offenders into subjection, is a political enigma that can only find its solution in the fact, that of all the persons concerned in these numerous atrocities, though many of them were well known, not a single individual engaged in their perpetration was brought to punishment;† nor does it appear that any atonement whatever was made, either to the sufferers or to the violated laws of their country.

The first indication of that system of vigour so loudly demanded by the ultra-royalists of France, and so confidently anticipated from the new ministry, was displayed in the trial and execution of Marshal Ney, the Duke of Elchingen. The crime with which the marshal stood charged was high treason, and the tribunal before which he was arraigned in the first instance, was a court-martial, consisting of four French marshals,‡ and four other general officers.

Against a court so constituted the marshal protested, alleging that, as a peer of France, he had a right to be tried by his peers; and after two days deliberation, the validity of the objection was admitted by the court. Chagrined at this decision, the Duke of Richelieu, addressing himself to the chamber of peers, in the name of France and of Europe, conjured them to judge the accused marshal. On the 4th of December, the peers, having erected themselves into a criminal tribunal, Marshal Ney was impeached at their bar. It appeared from the evidence, verbal and documentary, that, till the 7th of March, the prisoner was ignorant of the landing of Napoleon in the south of France; and that on the 9th he received instructions from the minister of Louis XVIII. to repair to the head of his government, at Besançon, for the purpose of arresting the progress of the invader. Before his departure from the capital, he obtained an audience of the king at the Thuilleries, and during the conference with which he was honoured, he observed, “that, should Bonaparte be taken, he would deserve to be conducted to Paris in an iron cage;” and on taking leave, kissed the king’s hand. For some days he remained faithful to the royal cause; but his subsequent conduct proved that he soon began to drink into the general spirit of disaffection which pervaded the great mass of the army. On his arrival at Lons-le-Saulnier, four days after his audience with his sovereign, he addressed a proclamation to his troops, beginning with these words—“The cause of the Bourbons is for ever lost;” and soon afterwards himself and his whole corps joined the invading army.¶ To palliate an act of treachery, too notorious to be denied, and too flagitious to admit of any justification, the marshal stated in his defence, that the proclamation bearing his name, was transmitted to him by Marshal Bertrand, in the night between the 13th and 14th of March; that it was written, not by himself, but by Bonaparte; and that it had appeared in Switzerland before he himself had seen it. He further urged, that it was the conduct of his troops that hurried him on to defection; and that he deserted the royal cause merely to prevent his country from suffering the horrors of a civil war—and finally, that Napoleon had transmitted to him the strongest assurances that Austria was his ally, and that England favoured his designs. Whatever truth there might be in these assertions, and however reluctant the marshal might feel to betray his

* See the *Journal du Gard*, published at Nismes, December 28, 1816.

† Sir Samuel Romilly’s Speech in the House of Commons, May 23, 1816.

‡ Marshals Jourdan, Massena, Augereau, and Mortier.

¶ See Vol. II. Book V. p. 431

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duty to his king, it was proved, that no sooner was his decision taken, than he manifested the most ardent zeal in favour of the emperor, and even caressed, with a kind of frantic joy, the humblest individuals in his army, the moment they had given unequivocal proofs of their determination to range themselves once more under the imperial standard.

Finding it impossible to resist the proof of Marshal Ney's treasonable disaffection, his counsel rested his defence chiefly on the impunity granted to the marshal, as a resident in Paris, by the twelfth article of the capitulation of that city, which provided—that no person in the capital should be disturbed or called to account for their political conduct;* and subsequently, that should any doubt arise as to the interpretation of any article of the capitulation, the interpretation should be made in favour of the besieged. Instead of fairly meeting this objection, which was indeed unanswerable, the attorney-general interrupted the counsel, and required that the advocates of the accused should be formally interdicted by the court from availing themselves of the convention of the 3d of July, on the ground, that this military convention was the work of foreigners, and was neither signed nor ratified by the king. Marshal Ney, incapable of brooking an injustice which he conceived indicative of a determination to sacrifice him, declared that he would rather not be defended at all than have only the shadow of a defence. "I am accused," exclaimed he, "contrary to the faith of treaties, and they will not suffer me to justify myself. I will act like Moreau—I will appeal to Europe and to posterity. I forbid my counsel from uttering another word." A profound silence now reigned in the chamber for some time, which was at length broken by the attorney-general expressing his determination to waive the right of reply, since the marshal had declined all further defence.

The trial, which had been continued by adjournment for three successive days, terminated in an unanimous award of guilty; and of the one hundred and sixty peers who voted, one hundred and thirty-nine doomed the culprit to death, while seventeen voted for banishment, and four declined to give any vote on the sentence. The fortitude and equanimity of Marshal Ney never forsook him in any stage of the proceedings; and when the secretary, reporter of the chamber of peers, repaired to his apartments, to announce to him his sentence, the marshal begged that he would, without apology, or circumlocution, proceed directly to the fact. When, in reading the fatal sentence, his titles were

detailed, he said—"What good can this do now—Michel Ney, then, a heap of dust—that is all." The day of execution immediately followed that of conviction, and at four o'clock in the morning of the 7th, the marechale, his wife, with his four children, and Madame Gamon, her sister, took their last farewell. At first, the marshal had declined the aid of a confessor, observing, that he did not require a priest to teach him how to die; but after the interview with his family, which seemed to soften and subdue him, he requested that the rector of St. Sulpice might be sent for.

At nine o'clock precisely, the marshal, attended by his confessor, stepped into the carriage prepared for their reception, which drove across the garden on the Luxembourg, to the grand alley leading to the observatory, the place appointed for his execution. A picket of veterans, sixty strong, awaited his arrival. The marshal, having descended from the carriage, faced his executioners, and after taking off his hat with his left hand, and placing his right hand on his breast, he exclaimed with a loud and unflinching voice—"Comrades, straight at the heart—fire." The officer gave the signal at the same moment with his sword, and he fell dead without a struggle. Twelve balls had taken effect; three of them in the head. There were but few persons present, for the populace, believing that the execution would take place on the plain of Grenelle, where Labedoyère was shot, had repaired thither.

The execution of Marshal Ney deeply affected the public feelings, but no tumult on the part of the populace, nor any insubordinate disposition among the military, manifested itself on the occasion. When the trial was pending, the marshal had written a letter to the Duke of Wellington, claiming the indemnity stipulated for by the convention of Paris. The duke, in his answer, replied, that the convention of the 3d of July was clearly and expressly a military convention, and that it could not, and did not, promise pardon for political offences on the part of the French government. But it may be observed, that by whatever name this document was designated, there was in it an article which said, as plainly as words could express it, that no person should be punished for political opinions or conduct. The attorney-general, feeling the force of this argument, enlarged the ground of the objection, and insisted, that the convention was merely obligatory on the allies, but left the king, who was no party to its engagements, at liberty to punish offences against his person or his government. The usages of nations however form a sufficient

* See the 12th Article of the Capitulation of Paris, Vol. II. Book V. p. 487.

reply to this distinction : foreign powers have no right to punish the inhabitants of a conquered state for political opinions or conduct, and the convention either bound Louis, on whose behalf the allied armies took possession of Paris, or its twelfth article was nugatory. Further, it was in virtue of this treaty that the king entered Paris, and having reaped its benefits, he ought to have considered himself bound by its obligations. This was, at least, a case calculated to give rise to one of those differences of interpretation, all of which were, according to the convention, to be made in favour of the army and the inhabitants of Paris. That a traitor, who had betrayed his sovereign, under the guise of devoted loyalty, should have been suffered to escape his merited punishment, under the guarantee of a sweeping article, might have been a subject of just regret; but it is much more to be regretted, that the allied powers, and the French monarch, who had exclaimed so loudly against Bonaparte for his infraction of treaties, should have exposed themselves to the same imputation.*

General Count Lavalette, a relative by marriage of the family of Bonaparte, was the next person of consequence put upon his trial by the French court. Having held the office of director of the posts under the former government, Lavalette took forcible possession of the post-office of Paris in March, when Napoleon was at Fontainebleau, on his way from Elba, and thus, by suppressing the king's proclamation, and circulating the intelligence of the invader's progress, contributed essentially to the re-establishment of his government. Of this crime he was clearly convicted, and sentenced to death as a traitor. The generous interference of Marshal Marmont procured for Madame Lavalette an opportunity of imploring in person the royal clemency, but her petition could not be complied with, and her husband was ordered for execution on Thursday, the 21st of December. What the prayers of Madame Lavalette, poured into the royal ear, could not effect, her

skill and courage accomplished; and her husband was indebted for his life to the same stratagem which, in 1621, had rescued Grotius from perpetual imprisonment in the fortress of Louvestein, and in 1716, snatched Lord Nithisdale from the fate that awaited him in the Tower of London. At three o'clock in the afternoon of the day preceding Lavalette's intended execution, his wife, accompanied by her daughter and her governess, repaired to the Conciergerie, in a sedan-chair, for the purpose of dining with her husband. The countess, who had recently been confined, and was still in a bad state of health, came to the prison wrapped up in an ample mantle, and the sedan-chair was permitted to be brought into the room adjoining her husband's apartment. About seven o'clock she prepared to depart, but while the gaoler was dispatched on some errand into an adjoining room, she threw her dress in a moment over her husband, and receiving his cloak in exchange, sunk back into his chair, while Lavalette, arrayed in his disguise, quitted the prison, and supported by his daughter and one of the turnkeys, descended to the sedan. No sooner had the chair reached the quay, beyond the gates of the prison, than Lavalette stepped into a cabriolet, prepared for the purpose, and after driving about Paris for two hours to prevent all traces by the police, took refuge in the house of one of his friends. In the mean time Madame Lavalette personated her husband, and, with a book before her face, appeared absorbed in meditation. After the lapse of nearly an hour the gaoler spoke to his captive, but receiving no answer, he advanced nearer to the chair, when the lady, with a smile, succeeded by strong convulsions, exclaimed—*Il est parti*—He is gone. The alarm was instantly given, but no traces of the fugitive could be discovered. The keeper of the Conciergerie and the turnkey were immediately ordered into custody by the police; and Madame Lavalette was for some time detained in prison, in the same chamber which her husband had occupied, exulting, no doubt, in the

* The intelligence of the fate of Marshal Ney was first communicated to Bonaparte in St. Helena by Mr. Warden, the surgeon of the Northumberland, on which occasion the following conversation, illustrative of this passage of history, took place:—On being informed, says Mr. Warden, that the French news, just received, through the medium of the English journals, related principally to the trial and execution of Marshal Ney.—“Napoleon advanced a step nearer to me, and, without the least change of countenance, said, ‘What—Marshal Ney has been sentenced to be shot.’ I replied, ‘it was even so: he addressed the ministers of the allied sovereigns, but in vain: he urged in his defence, the twelfth article of the convention: he pleaded on his trial that he was deceived by you: that the proclamation of which he was accused, and made a part of the charges against him, was written by Major-general Bertrand; and that he was deceived by your report of Austria and England.’—Count Bertrand, who was in the room, quietly observed, that Marshal Ney had a right to save himself if he could; and if fabricated stories could answer his purpose, he could not be blamed for employing them. But he added, ‘respecting the proclamation, it was an assertion equally false and ridiculous; Marshal Ney could write himself, and wanted not my assistance.’—Napoleon made no comments on the account, which had been given him.—One solitary expression, indeed, broke from him, and that was—‘Marshal Ney was a brave man.’—*Letters from St. Helena, by William Warden, p. 119-120.*

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success of her enterprise, but still agitated with apprehension regarding its final result. For several days the search after Lavalette was continued with the most unremitting assiduity, but without success; and the enraged ministers, conceiving that he had completely escaped, directed that the criminal should be executed in effigy! Twelve days had now elapsed, and M. Lavalette was in reality yet in Paris. To effect his escape from the French territory became an affair of the most extreme difficulty. His friends, placing their hope and confidence in a young Englishman, whose noble mind, and chivalrous character, presented him to them as alone capable of completing that design which Madame Lavalette had so auspiciously begun, addressed a letter on the 2d of January, 1816, to Mr. Crawford Bruce, confiding to him the secret that M. Lavalette was still in Paris, and imploring his friendship and assistance. Moved solely by the commiseration which the fate of the unfortunate man excited, after some deliberation he embarked in the enterprise. The adventure of Lavalette's escape from prison appeared to the glowing mind of Mr. Bruce to have in it something romantic, and even miraculous, which forcibly struck his imagination, and excited in him an interest for the person of the captive. To effect his escape without assistance was impossible; Mr. Bruce, therefore, pressed into this hazardous service Captain Hutchinson, a young officer in the guards, and Sir Robert Wilson, an officer well known in Europe, not only for his military, but also for his literary services, against Bonaparte. Through the agency of these three Englishmen, aided by another military gentleman, of the name of Ellister, Lavalette, disguised in a British uniform, and accompanied by Sir Robert Wilson, left Paris in an open carriage at half-past seven o'clock in the morning of Monday, the 8th of January; and taking the route of Compeigne, Cambray, and Valenciennes, passed the French frontier at Mons in the afternoon of the following day.

After receiving the assurance of eternal gratitude from Lavalette, Sir Robert Wilson returned to Paris in the evening of the 10th of January. The vigilance of the police, though incapable of preventing the escape of Lavalette,

succeeded in discovering his benefactors. These generous men, with a disinterested self-devotion that vulgar minds cannot appreciate, had purchased the plaudits of the present generation, and the admiration of posterity, by a violation of the laws of France: they had consummated the heroic enterprise of Madame Lavalette, and saved the life of her husband, at the price of their own liberty. On the 13th of January, Sir Robert Wilson, Mr. Bruce, and Captain Hutchinson, were all arrested, and committed to the Abbaye; and after remaining in that prison till the 22d of April, they were put upon their trial. The accused parties, with a generous emulation worthy of their character, seemed principally anxious to rescue each other from the vengeance of the law, by taking the offence upon themselves. Mr. Bruce said, it was at his instance that Sir Robert Wilson joined in the efforts in favour of Lavalette, and that if there was any person culpable in this business, he was the culpable party. Captain Hutchinson said, he had lent his co-operation for the same object, and both of them avowed that they had not the slightest intention to conspire against the French government. Sir Robert Wilson, like Mr. Bruce and Capt. Hutchinson, declared himself wholly unconnected with Lavalette in family or in friendship. Captain Hutchinson, he said, had acted solely under his influence, and Mr. Bruce, in speaking to him of Lavalette, had addressed himself to his heart. No Frenchman was engaged in the affair. Lavalette's case was not, in his opinion, foreign to an Englishman. There existed a convention—the convention of Paris, signed by an English general, and ratified by the English government; and the trial of Lavalette he held to be a manifest violation of the twelfth article of that convention. The political opinions of Lavalette had not at all operated on his mind; his only object had been to save an unhappy man, who had addressed him as the arbiter of his life or death. After a trial continued for two days, the three Englishmen were pronounced guilty, and sentenced to three months imprisonment—the most lenient punishment allowed by the French laws.*

No sooner had Louis XVIII. re-ascended the throne of France, than the negotiation of a general treaty of peace with the allied powers

* When the circumstance of Lavalette's escape came to the knowledge of Napoleon, in his exile, and when he was told how much the fortunate post-master-general was indebted to Sir Robert Wilson for his life and liberty, the emperor proposed the following very natural inquiry to Mr. Warden, the surgeon of the Northumberland:—"Pray can you tell me from what motive this officer has acted in the escape of Lavalette, the decided and the avowed friend of the man he has so wantonly calumniated?" "Doubtless from honourable motives; and probably from an adventurous and romantic spirit;" was the substance of the reply. "I believe every word you have said," cried Napoleon, "but I desire you also to give your particular attention to my opinion, which is a decided one—That this act of Sir Robert Wilson, is the commencement of his recantation of what he has written against me."

§ See Vol. I. Book II. p. 271. (Note.)

began to occupy the attention of his ministry. The treaty of 1814 was simple in its principle, and easy of arrangement in its details; but the negotiations which now took place involved points of considerable intricacy, and the allied sovereigns declared, that nothing short of a just indemnity for the past, and solid security for the future, would satisfy their expectations. For this purpose, bases, much less indulgent than those of the former year, were prescribed by the conquerors. The boundaries of France, as they stood in 1790, from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, formed the fundamental principles of the territorial arrangements, and on this point it was determined that the boundaries of former Belgium, of Germany, and of Savoy, which, by the treaty of Paris of 1814, were annexed to France, should now be separated from that kingdom. It was further determined, that France should pay to the allied powers, by way of pecuniary indemnity for the expenses of the last armaments, the sum of seven hundred millions of francs; and that a military line, consisting of seventeen fortresses on the eastern side of the kingdom, should be occupied by one hundred and fifty thousand foreign troops. This army, the primary object of which was the suppression of any revolutionary commotion, was to be placed under the command of a general chosen by the allied sovereigns, and to be wholly maintained at the expense of France. Five years was the time mentioned as the longest duration of this military occupation, with a reservation, that at the end of three years that term might be shortened by the consent of the allied sovereigns, acting in concert with the King of France.

After various declarations and conferences, treaties grounded on these bases were concluded at Paris, on the 20th of November, at which time it was announced to the French minister by the plenipotentiaries of Austria, England, Russia, and Prussia, that the chief command of the troops appointed to remain in France was confided by their sovereigns to Field-marshal the Duke of Wellington, and that the troops under his command had directions to support the king with their arms against all revolutionary convulsions, tending to overturn by force the state of things actually established.

For the purpose of guaranteeing the tranquillity of the countries bordering on France, it was determined by a military convention, entered into for that purpose, that a proportion of the total sum of seven millions of francs should be appropriated to the erection of fortifications on the frontiers of these states, and that the principal part of the remaining sum should be divided between Prussia, England, Austria, and Russia.*

A treaty of alliance and friendship between the sovereigns of Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, concluded and consummated the diplomatic proceedings at Paris, on the 20th of November. The objects of this treaty were to guarantee Europe against the dangers to which she might be exposed from the claims of the fallen dynasty of France—against the prevalence of the revolutionary principles which had so long convulsed that country—and against any attack which might be made on the allied troops appointed to hold military occupation of the French line of fortresses. For the attainment of these objects, the engagements already existing between the allied sovereigns were renewed; and it was determined to consolidate the connection which already existed between them, by re-assembling, at a fixed period, for the purpose of consulting upon their common interests, and for the consideration of the measures which at each of these periods should be considered the most salutary for the repose and prosperity of nations, and for the maintenance of the peace of Europe.

The tone and spirit of these treaties sufficiently indicated the view entertained by the powers of Europe of the unsettled state of France, and the prevailing anxiety felt in the courts of the allied monarchs to secure the authority of legitimate sovereigns against the influence of popular infraction. But while precautions were adopted to guard the government of France against revolutionary commotions, which might endanger the stability of the throne, and put to hazard the safety of other states, it was intimated to Louis XVIII. by his allies, that he ought to forget the past, in the contemplation of the future, and to secure himself on the throne of his ancestors by the moderation of his conduct, and the justice and equity of his rule.

* Apportionment of the seven millions of francs to be paid by France to the allies:—

For the erection of fortifications on points most exposed to aggression.....	137,500,000 francs
Quota to Spain, Portugal, Denmark, and Switzerland.....	12,500,000
to Great Britain and Prussia, one hundred and twenty-five millions each.....	250,000,000
to Austria and Russia, one hundred millions each.....	200,000,000
to the Minor States of Germany.....	100,000,000
	<u>700,000,000</u>

To be discharged day by day, in equal proportions, in the space of five years.

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GENERAL TREATY WITH FRANCE.

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The allied powers having, by their exertions, and the triumph of their arms, preserved France and Europe from the convulsions with which they were threatened by the late enterprises of Napoleon Bonaparte, and by the revolutionary system introduced into France for its support; as they now participate with his most Christian Majesty in the wish, by the inviolable maintenance of royal dignity, and by restoring the validity of the constitutional charter, to confirm the order happily re-established in France, and to bring back between France and its neighbours those relations, founded upon reciprocal confidence and good will, which the mournful consequences of the revolution and system of conquest had so long interrupted; and as they are convinced that their last object cannot be attained, except by an arrangement calculated to give them just indemnity for the past, and solid security for the future—they have therefore, in common with his Majesty the King of France, deliberated on the means of bringing about such an arrangement; and as they have convinced themselves that the indemnities due to the powers cannot consist wholly either in cessions of territory or in pecuniary payments, without greatly injuring the essential interests of France in one way or the other, and that it is better so to unite them as to avoid both disadvantages: their imperial and royal majesties have therefore taken this as the basis of the present negotiations, and have also agreed upon it as a basis, that it is necessary, during a certain time, to keep the frontier provinces of France occupied by a certain number of the allied troops; and have agreed to unite in a definitive treaty the several dispositions founded upon these bases. In this view, and to this end, his Majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland, for himself and his allies, on one side, and his Majesty the King of France and Navarre, on the other side, have appointed for their plenipotentiaries to discuss, agree on, and sign the definitive treaty;—(Here are the names and designations of the ministers) their full powers having been exchanged and found in due order, have signed the following articles:—

Art 1.—The frontiers of France remain as they were in 1790, with the exception of the reciprocal modifications in this article.

1. In the North the frontier line remains as it was fixed in the treaty of Paris, till opposite Quevornin, thence it goes along the ancient frontiers of the Belgic provinces, of the former bishopric of Liege, and of the duchy of Bouillon, as they were in 1790, so that the territories of Marienburgh and Phillippeville, with the fortresses of the same name, and the whole duchy of Bouillon, remain without the French frontiers. From Villars, by Orval, on the frontiers of the department of the Ardennes, and the duchy of Luxemburg, as far as Perle, on the road leading from Thionville to Treves, the frontier line remains as it was fixed in the treaty of Paris. From Perle it goes over Launsdorf, Wallnich, Schardorf, Nuderweiling, Pelloweller, which places, with their banlieues, all remain to France; to Honore and along the old frontiers of the district of Saarbruck, so that Saarlouis, and the course of the Saar, with the places on the right of the above mentioned line, with their banlieues, will come without the French frontiers. From the frontiers of the district of Saarbruck the frontier line shall be the same which now separates the departments of the Lower Rhine from Germany, as far as to the boundary, to its junction with the Rhine, the whole of the territory lying on the left bank of the Lanta, including the fortresses of Landau, shall belong to Germany. The town of Wissemburg, however, which is intersected by this river, remains wholly to France, with a rayon on the left bank; this rayon must not exceed 1,000 toises, and will be more particularly determined by the commissioners who will hereafter be appointed to regulate the frontiers.

2. From the mouth of the Lanter along the departments of the Lower Rhine, the Upper Rhine, the Doubs, and the Jura, as far as the canton of Vaud, the frontiers remain as they are fixed in the treaty of Paris. The Thalweg of the Rhine shall be the line of separation between France and the German states, but the property of the island, as it will be determined in consequence of a new examination of the course of that river, shall remain unchanged, whatever alterations the course of the river may in process of time undergo. Commissioners shall be appointed within three months by the high contracting powers, on both sides, in order to make the said examination. The half of the bridge between Strasburgh and Kehl shall belong to France, and the other half to the grand duchy of Baden.

3. To restore a direct communication between the canton of Geneva and Switzerland, that part of the territory of Gex which is bounded on the east by the Lake of Geneva, on the south by the territory of the canton of Geneva, on the north by the canton of Vaud, and on the west by the course of the Versoix, and a line which comprehends the communes of Collex, Bosey, and Megreix, but leaves the commune of Ferney to France, is ceded to the Swiss Confederation, and united with the canton of Geneva.

4. From the frontier of the canton of Geneva to the Mediterranean, the frontier line is the same as that which, in 1798, separated France from Savoy and the county of Nice. The relations which the treaty of 1814 had re-established between France and the principality of Monaco, shall for ever cease, and the same relations take place between that principality and the kingdom of Sardinia.

5. All territories and districts included within the frontier of France, as fixed by the present article, remain united to France.

6. The contracting powers shall appoint, within three months after the signature of the present treaty, commissioners to regulate every thing respecting the fixing of the frontiers on both sides, and as soon as those commissioners have finished their labours, maps shall be made, and frontier posts set up, to mark the respective boundaries.

Art. II.—The fortresses and territories which, by the preceding article, are no longer to belong to the French territory, will be given up to the allied powers, in the period specified in the military convention, annexed to the ninth article of the present treaty; and his Majesty the King of France renounces for ever, for himself, his heirs, and successors, the rights of sovereignty and property which he hitherto exercised over the said fortresses and territories.

Art. III.—As the fortifications of Huningue have always been a ground of uneasiness to the city of Basle, the high contracting powers, to give to Switzerland a fresh proof of their care and good will, have agreed, among themselves, to have the fortifications of Huningue razed, and the French government engages, for the same reasons, never to repair them, and not to erect any other fortifications within three leagues of the city of Basle.

The neutrality of Switzerland shall be extended to that place of territory which lies north of a line to be drawn from Ugine, that place included, on the south of the Lake of Annecy, over Faverge (in the Bremen Gazette, Ta Verre), to Lecheroin, and from thence to the Lake of Bourget and the Rhone, in the same manner as is fixed by the twenty-second article of the final act of the congress of Vienna, in respect to the province of Chablais and Fancigny.

The troops, therefore, which the King of Sardinia may have in these provinces, whenever the powers adjacent to Switzerland are in

a state of open hostility, or are on the eve of such a state, shall retire, and may for that purpose take, in case of need, the way over the Vallois; but no armed troops of any other power can pass through, or be stationed in, the above princes, except such as Switzerland thinks fit to send thither; but this state of things must not hinder the administration of these countries, as the civil officers of the King of Sardinia may employ the municipal guard for the maintenance of good order.

Art. IV.—That part of the indemnity to be given by France to the allied powers, which consists in money, is fixed to the sum of seven hundred millions of francs. The manner, the periods, and the securities, of the payment of this sum, shall be regulated by a separate convention, which shall be equally valid and binding as if they were inserted word for word in the present treaty.

Art. V.—As the state of confusion and fermentation which France necessarily feels after so many violent convulsions, and particularly after the late catastrophe, notwithstanding the paternal intentions of the king, and the advantages which all classes of the subjects necessarily derive from the constitutional charter, makes some measures of precaution and temporary guarantee necessary, for the security of the neighbouring states, it has been considered as absolutely requisite to occupy, for a fixed time, positions along the frontiers of France, by a corps of allied troops, under the express reservation that this occupation shall not infringe on the sovereignty of his most Christian Majesty, nor on the state of possession, as fixed by this treaty; the number of troops shall not exceed 150,000; the commander-in-chief is named by the allied powers. This army will occupy Condé, Valenciennes, Bouchain, Cambray, Quesnoy, Maubeuge, Landrecies, Avesnes, Rocroy, Givet, with Charlemont, Mezieres, Montmedy, Thionville, Longwy, Bitsch, and the tête de pont of Fort Louis. As France is to provide for the maintenance of this army, every thing relative to this object shall be regulated in a separate convention. In this convention, which shall be as valid as if inserted word for word in this treaty, the relations shall be fixed between the occupying army, and the civil and military authorities of the country. This military occupation cannot last above five years, and may end before that period, if the allied sovereigns, after an expiration of three years, and after they have first, in agreement with the King of France, maturely weighed the situation and mutual interest, as well as the progress which the re-establishment of order and peace may have made in France, shall recognize in common that the motives which induced this measure no longer exist. But, whatever may be the result of this deliverance, all the places and positions occupied by the allied troops will, at the expiration of five years, be evacuated without further delay, and given up to his most Christian Majesty, or his heirs and successors.

Art. VI.—All the other foreign troops, not belonging to the army of occupation, shall quit the French territory in the periods fixed in the military convention annexed to the ninth article of the present treaty.

Art. VII.—In all countries which shall change sovereigns, as well in virtue of the present treaty as of the arrangements which are to be made in consequence thereof, a period of six years from the date of the exchange of the ratifications shall be allowed to the inhabitants, natives, or foreigners, of whatever condition and nation they may be, to dispose of their property, if they should think fit so to do, and to retire to whatever country they may choose.

Art. VIII.—All the dispositions of the treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814, relative to the countries ceded by that treaty, shall equally apply to the several territories and districts ceded by the present treaty.

Art. IX.—The high contracting parties having caused representation to be made of the different claims arising out of the non execution of the nineteenth and following articles of the treaty of the 30th of May, 1814, as well as of the additional articles of that treaty signed between Great Britain and France, desiring to render more efficacious the stipulations made thereby, and having determined by two separate conventions, the line to be pursued on each side for that purpose, the said two conventions, as annexed to the present treaty, shall, in order to secure complete execution of the above-mentioned articles, have the same force and effect as if the same were inserted word for word herein.

Art. X.—All prisoners taken during the hostilities, as well as all hostages which may have been carried off or given, shall be restored in the shortest time possible. The same shall be the case with respect to the prisoners taken previously to the treaty of the 30th of May, 1814, and who shall not already have been restored.

Art. XI.—The treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814, and the final act of the congress of Vienna of the 9th of June, 1815, are confirmed, and shall be maintained in all such of their enactments which shall not have been modified by the articles of the present treaty.

Art. XII.—The present treaty, with the conventions annexed thereto, shall be ratified in one act, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged in the space of two months, or sooner, if possible. In witness whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereunto the seals of their arms.

Done at Paris, this 20th day of November, in the year of our Lord, 1815.

(Signed)

(L.S.) CASTLEREAGH.

(L.S.) WELLINGTON.

(L.S.) RICHELIEU.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLE.

The high contracting powers, sincerely desiring to give effect to the measures on which they deliberated at the congress of Vienna, relative to the complete and universal abolition of the Slave Trade, and having, each in their respective dominions, prohibited without restriction their colonies and subjects from taking any part whatever in this traffic, engage to renew conjointly their efforts, with the view of securing final success to those principles which they proclaimed in the declaration of the 4th of February, 1815, and of concerting, without loss of time, through their ministers at the courts of London and of Paris, the most effectual measures for the entire and definitive abolition of a commerce so odious, and so strongly condemned by the laws of religion and of nature. The present addi-

BOOK V. tional article shall have the same force and effect as if it were inserted, word for word, in the treaty signed this day. It shall be included in the ratification of the said treaty. In witness whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereunto the seals of their arms.*

CHAP. IX.

1815

Done at Paris this 20th day of November, in the year of our Lord, 1815.

(Signed)

(L.S.) CASTLEREAGH,
(L.S.) WELLINGTON.
(L.S.) RICHELIEU.

SEPARATE ARTICLE SIGNED WITH RUSSIA ALONE.

In execution of the additional article of the 30th of May, 1814, his most Christian Majesty engages to send, without delay, to Warsaw, one or more commissioners, to concur in his name, according to the terms of the said article, in the examination and liquidation of the reciprocal claims of France and the late duchy of Warsaw, and in all the arrangements relative to them. His most Christian Majesty recognizes, in respect to the Emperor of Russia, in his quality of King of Poland, the nullity of the convention of Bayonne, well understood that this disposition cannot receive any application but conformably to the principles established in the conventions mentioned in the ninth article of the treaty of this day. The present separate article has the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the treaty of this day. It shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at the same time. In testimony whereof the plenipotentiaries have signed it, and affixed to it the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, the 20th of November, year of grace, 1815.

[The Signatures.]

TREATY OF ALLIANCE AND FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY AND THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA.

Signed at Paris, the 20th of November, 1815.

In the name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity. The purpose of the alliance concluded at Vienna, the 25th day of March, 1815, having been happily attained by the re-establishment in France of the order of things which the last criminal attempt of Napoleon Bonaparte had momentarily subverted; their Majesties the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, the Emperor of all the Russias, and the King of Prussia, considering that the repose of Europe is essentially interwoven with the confirmation of the order of things founded on the maintenance of the royal authority, and of the constitutional charter, and wishing to employ all their means to prevent the general tranquillity (the object of the wishes of mankind, and the constant end of their efforts) from being again disturbed; desirous moreover to draw closer the ties which unite them for the common interests of their people; have resolved to give to the principles solemnly laid down in the treaties of Chaumont of the 1st of March, 1814, and of Vienna, of the 25th of March, 1815, the application the most analogous to the present state of affairs, and to fix beforehand by a solemn treaty the principles which they propose.

* DECLARATION

Of the Plenipotentiaries of the Allied Sovereigns, regarding the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

The plenipotentiaries of the powers who signed the treaty of Paris, of the 30th of May, 1814, met in conference, having taken into consideration that the commerce, known by the name of the African Slave Trade, has been viewed by just and enlightened men in all ages, as repugnant to the principles of humanity and universal morality; that the particular circumstances to which that commerce owed its birth, and the difficulty of suddenly interrupting its course, served to cover to a certain extent the odiousness of its continuance; but that the public voice has at length been raised in every civilized country, demanding that it should be suppressed as soon as possible; that since the character and the details of this commerce have been better known, and the evils of every kind which accompany it completely unveiled, several European governments have adopted the resolution of putting a stop to it; and that successively all the powers possessing colonies in the different parts of the world, have recognized, either by legislative acts, or by treaties and other formal engagements, the obligation and the necessity of abolishing it; that by a separate article of the last treaty of Paris, Great Britain and France engaged to join their efforts at the congress of Vienna to cause to be pronounced by all the powers of Christendom the universal and definitive abolition of the Slave Trade; that the plenipotentiaries assembled in the congress could not more honour their mission, fulfil their duty, and manifest the principles which guide their august sovereigns, than in labouring to realize that engagement, and in proclaiming, in the name of their sovereigns, the desire of putting a termination to a scourge which has so long afflicted Africa, degraded Europe, and afflicted humanity: the said plenipotentiaries have agreed to open their deliberations as to the means of accomplishing this grand and useful object, by a solemn declaration of the principles which have directed them in that undertaking. In consequence, and duly authorised by this act of unanimous adhesion of their respective courts to the principle announced in the said separate article of the treaty of Paris, they declare in the face of Europe, that, regarding the universal abolition in the Trade in Negroes as a measure particularly worthy of their attention, conformably to the spirit of the age, and the generous principles of their august sovereigns, they are animated with the sincere desire of concurring in the most prompt and efficacious execution of this measure by all the means in their power, and to act in the employment of these means with all the zeal and all the perseverance which they owe to so great and so good a cause.

Too well acquainted, however, with the sentiments of their respective sovereigns, not to foresee, that however honourable their object, they will not pursue it without a just regard for the interests, the habits, and even the prejudices of their subjects; the said plenipotentiaries recognizing, at the same time, that this general declaration shall not prejudice the term which each particular power may view as the most agreeable for the definitive abolition of the Negro Trade. Consequently, the determination of the epoch when this commerce is to cease universally, shall be an object of negotiation between the powers; understanding always, that no proper means shall be neglected of assuring and accelerating its march, and that the reciprocal engagement contracted by the present declaration between the sovereigns who are parties to it, shall not be considered as fulfilled till the moment when complete success shall have crowned their united efforts. In publishing this declaration to all Europe, and all the civilized nations of the earth, the said plenipotentiaries flatter themselves that they will induce all other governments, and especially those who, in abolishing the Negro Slave Trade, manifested the same sentiments, to support them with their suffrage, in a cause of which the final triumph will be one of the fairest monuments of the age which shall have embraced it and brought it to a glorious termination.

Vienna, February 4, 1815.

to follow, in order to guarantee Europe from the dangers by which she may still be menaced; for which purpose the high contracting parties have named to discuss, settle, and sign the conditions of this treaty, namely,—[Here follow the names and titles of the plenipotentiaries, viz. Lord Castlereagh, Duke of Wellington, Prince of Metternich, and Baron of Wessenberg]—who, after having exchanged their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:—

Art. I.—The high contracting parties reciprocally promise to maintain, in its force and vigour, the treaty signed this day with his most Christian Majesty, and to see that the stipulations of the said treaty, as well as those of the particular conventions which have reference thereto, shall be strictly and faithfully executed in their fullest extent.

Art. II.—The high contracting parties, having engaged in the war which is just terminated, for the purpose of maintaining inviolable the arrangements settled at Paris last year, for the safety and interest of Europe, have judged it advisable to renew the said engagements by the present act, and to confirm them as mutually obligatory, subject to the modifications contained in the treaty signed this day with the plenipotentiaries of his most Christian Majesty, and particularly those by which Napoleon Bonaparte and his family, in pursuance of the treaty of the 11th of April, 1814, have been for ever excluded from supreme power in France, which exclusion the contracting powers bind themselves, by the present act, to maintain in full vigour, and, should it be necessary, with the whole of their forces. And as the same revolutionary principles which upheld the last criminal usurpation, might again, under other forms, convulse France, and thereby endanger the repose of other states; under these circumstances, the high contracting parties, solemnly admitting it to be their duty to redouble their watchfulness for the tranquillity and interests of their people, engage, in case so unfortunate an event should again occur, to concert among themselves, and with his most Christian Majesty, the measures which they may judge necessary to be pursued for the safety of their respective states, and for the general tranquillity of Europe.

Art. III.—The high contracting parties, in agreeing with his most Christian Majesty that a line of military position in France should be occupied by a corps of the allied troops during a certain number of years, had in view to secure, as far as lay in their power, the effect of the stipulations contained in articles one and two of the present treaty, and uniformly disposed to adopt every salutary measure calculated to secure the tranquillity of Europe, by maintaining the order of things re-established in France, they engage, that in case the said body of troops should be attacked, or menaced with an attack, on the part of France, that the said powers should be again obliged to place themselves on a war establishment against that power, in order to maintain either of the said stipulations, or to secure and support the great interest to which they relate, each of the high contracting parties shall furnish, without delay, according to the stipulations of the treaty of Chaumont, and especially in pursuance of the seventh and eighth articles of this treaty, its full contingent of sixty thousand men, in addition to the forces left in France, or such part of the said contingent as the exigency of the case may require should be put in motion.

Art. IV.—If, unfortunately, the forces stipulated in the preceding article should be found insufficient, the high contracting parties will concert together, without loss of time, as to the additional number of troops to be furnished by each for the support of the common cause; and they engage to employ, in case of need, the whole of their forces, in order to bring the war to a speedy and successful termination, reserving to themselves the right to prescribe, by common consent, such conditions of peace as shall hold out to Europe a sufficient guarantee against the recurrence of a similar calamity.

Art. V.—The high contracting parties having agreed to the dispositions laid down in the preceding articles, for the purpose of securing the effect of their engagements during the period of the temporary occupation, declare, moreover, that even after the expiration of this measure, the said engagements shall still remain in full force and vigour, for the purpose of carrying into effect such measures as may be deemed necessary for the maintenance of the stipulations contained in the articles one and two of the present act.

Art. VI.—To facilitate and to secure the execution of the present treaty, and to consolidate the connections which at the present moment so closely unite the four sovereigns for the happiness of the world, the high contracting parties have agreed to renew their meeting at fixed periods, either under the immediate auspices of the sovereigns themselves, or by their respective ministers, for the purpose of consulting upon their common interests, and for the consideration of the measures which at each of those periods shall be considered the most salutary for the repose and prosperity of nations, and for the maintenance of the peace of Europe.

Art. VII.—The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged within two months, or sooner, if possible, —In faith of which the respective plenipotentiaries have signed it, and fixed thereto the seals of their arms.

Done at Paris, the 20th of November, A. D. 1815.

(Signed)

(L.S.) CASTLEREAGH.

(L.S.) WELLINGTON.

(L.S.) METTERNICH.

(L.S.) WESSENBURG.

NOTE.—Similar treaties were signed on the same day by the plenipotentiaries of his Majesty, with those of the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, respectively.

CHAPTER X.

Retrospect of the Epochs of the Wars of the French Revolution from the Rupture of the Treaty of Amiens to the Conclusion of a General Peace—Remarks on the General Treaty of Vienna—Copy of that Treaty.

BOOK V.

CHAP. X.

1815

DURING the eventful interval between the breaking out of that tremendous convulsion, the French revolution, in 1789, and the final adjustment of the affairs of Europe, at the congress of Vienna, in 1815, a generation of men, and more than a race of sovereigns, have passed away.* The first grand division of this important portion of history is formed by the peace of Amiens, and the epochs of the war up to that period have already passed in rapid review.†

The interval of peace was of short duration. Mutual confidence, the main ingredient in all compacts between nations, was wanting; and little more than twelve months passed over between the ratification of the treaty of Amiens and the new war by which it was succeeded. For upwards of two years the contest was carried on between France and Great Britain single-handed; and within that period, the consular government in France, which had been erected upon the ruins of the republic, gave place to the imperial dignity, and Napoleon, under favour of public suffrage, became Emperor of France, to which was soon after added the title of King of Italy.

Awakened to a sense of the magnitude of the danger with which French aggrandizement menaced surrounding states, the imperial courts of St. Petersburg and Vienna became parties to a league with England, the avowed object of which was the establishment of an order of things in Europe which might effectually guarantee the security and independence of the different states, and present a solid barrier against future usurpations. This coalition, sharing the fate of those by which it was preceded in the revolutionary wars, was dissolved on the field of Austerlitz, and the peace of Pres-

burg once more prostrated continental Europe at the feet of the conqueror. In the same year, British prowess annihilated the naval power of France and Spain in the ever-memorable battle of Trafalgar, where Nelson fell in the arms of victory, leaving to his beloved country, as his last legacy, the uncontrolled dominion of the seas. The following year numbered with the dead two of the most distinguished statesmen that ever figured in British history, and left the political arena open to the contentions of those who, during the life of the great leaders, had been satisfied to move in their respective trains.

Prussia, with the hopes of retrieving the fallen fortunes of the house of Brandenburg, at the expense of neighbouring states, accepted Hanover from France, and consented to close her ports against Great Britain. But an union dictated by fear, and cemented by cupidity, necessarily proved of short duration, and the discovery that France had offered to the King of England, as the price of peace, the complete restoration of his electoral dominions, induced Frederick William once more to take up arms against his powerful, but treacherous ally. The field of Jena, where the last stake of Prussia was thrown for, witnessed the complete prostration of that kingdom; and the battles of Eylau and Friedland, followed by the treaty of Tilsit, produced an imperial union, formed between Napoleon and Alexander on the waters of the Niemen.

The power of the Emperor Napoleon, and the splendour of his reign, had now attained their zenith. Allied by solemn treaties to the sovereigns of Austria, Russia, and Prussia; possessing an extent of dominion in the heart of Europe unknown to his predecessors; and fortified in his power by a confederation of princes

* Thirty years is the average duration of human life; within that period a number of human beings equal to the population of the globe enter upon the stage of life, and having played their part, withdraw, by the ordination of their nature, from the scene; and the annexed tablet of the reigning sovereigns of Europe, from 1789 to 1816, will sufficiently indicate that the authority of sovereign princes has, for the last seven and twenty years, been of a duration much more brief than the ordinary life of their fellow men. The medal from which the head of our venerable sovereign was taken, is a centenary medal, struck at the mint, in London, on the 1st of August, 1814, in commemoration of the accession of the house of Brunswick to the throne of Great Britain, and the other heads and devices are accurately copied either from coins or from medals of unquestionable authenticity.

† See Vol. I. Book II. p. 375.

more numerous than were ever before engaged in the support of any throne of modern times; the power of Napoleon seemed founded upon a rock, against which the billows of adverse fortune might beat in vain. But ambition, like its kindred vice, avarice, knows no bounds; in an evil hour, the sceptre of Spain, wielded as it was by a weak and irresolute hand, attracted the notice of Napoleon, and was marked out as the destined prize for a member of his family.

Austria, whose strength had been broken by the disasters of Ulm and Austerlitz, and whose dominion and resources had been curtailed by the peace of Presburg, resolved to convert to her advantage the war in which France was engaged with the patriots of Spain, aided by the powerful co-operation of Great Britain, and by a grand effort to regain her independence and power. With this purpose she once more took the field; but Napoleon, whose strength was yet unbroken, and whose vigilance never slumbered, quitting Spain, appeared, as if by enchantment, in the capital of the Huns, and the battle of Wagram, succeeded by the peace of Vienna, closed the fourth Punic war.

The terms of this treaty, when promulgated to the world, were thought liberal in the extreme; but a subsequent event sufficiently explained the cause of the conqueror's moderation, and, to the astonishment of the world, a daughter of one of the descendants of the Cæsars soon shared with the French Emperor the splendour of his throne. Placed in a station that dazzled by its splendour, as much as it endangered by its elevation, Napoleon began to draw closer the shackles of despotism, with which his own subjects had long been manacled. And actuated by a strong antipathy against England, which had now become the most prominent feature of his policy, he endeavoured to extend his system of commercial interdiction over every state of the continent, and to deprive the great European family of the advantages and enjoyments derived from foreign intercourse. For the achievement of this insane project, he plunged into the heart of Russia, at an advanced season of the year, at the head of the finest army that the world ever beheld. Here the elements warred against the invader, and, in his own emphatic language, he ought to have died the day he entered Moscow. From that moment disaster has been his continual companion, and from the Moskwa to the Vistula, the track of his retreating army was written in characters of blood. The French army indeed perished, though its chief, by an energy almost supernatural, effected his escape from the field of horrors to the French capital.

Another campaign, accompanied by combats the most sanguinary, served to extinguish

the power of France in Germany; and Holland, Italy, and Spain, in the same year, expelled the invaders, and obtained their independence. A third campaign placed the allied armies in possession of the French capital, and transferred the sceptre of Napoleon from Paris to Porto Ferrajo. On the restoration of Louis XVIII. to the throne of his fathers, the principal sovereigns of Europe, attended by their own ministers, and by plenipotentiaries from other states, assembled at Vienna, to adjust in congress the complicated affairs of Europe. While this august assembly was still sitting, and when expedients were devising for placing the Emperor of Elba in a situation less hazardous to the public tranquillity than that which he then occupied, that extraordinary personage again appeared on the stage of his former greatness, and on debarking from his vessel, with an audacity peculiarly his own, declared the congress to be dissolved! Astonishment and dismay filled all Europe; and the people of France, with a mixed feeling of surprise and returning attachment, suffered him to march at the head of the army, by which he was speedily joined, from the coast to the capital, and once more to possess himself of the throne, which Louis, under the alarm of the general defection, had judged it proper to vacate. One hundred days was the duration of the second reign of Napoleon; and on the field of Waterloo he saw his laurels wither, after a well-fought day, before the skill and energy of the hero of the peninsula, and the *vainqueur du vainqueur de la terre*. Following in the victorious train of the allied armies, the head of the Bourbon race was once more reinstated on the throne of France, and the political life of Napoleon terminated in the island of St. Helena.

In the midst of the din of arms the congress continued its deliberations; and on the 9th of June, some days before the decisive battle in Flanders, a general treaty was signed at Vienna. By this treaty, which embraced in one common transaction the various results of the negotiations of the congress, nearly the whole of the smaller states of Europe, as well as some of the larger, were cast in a new mould. The numerous changes which the successive rulers of France had introduced into the old continental system of territorial arrangement, were abrogated, and other changes, scarcely less important, were effected, for the purpose of giving to the different states of Europe a just equilibrium, and a proper share of political power.

The hope that Poland would be erected into an independent kingdom, governed by its own laws, and ruled by a sovereign free from foreign controul, expired with the promulgation of the general treaty of Vienna. The duchy of War-

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saw, with a few exceptions, was, by the provisions of this treaty, irrevocably united to the Russian empire, and the Emperor Alexander assumed with his other titles that of Czar King of Poland; but in order to soothe the wounded feelings of the Poles, a promise was held out, that the respective Polish subjects of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, should obtain representative governments and national institutions.

The Emperor Napoleon, in the plenitude of his power, wishing to remain master of the west of Europe, exerted his utmost influence to drive back Russia, and to place her frontier not merely beyond the Vistula, but behind the Niemen. For this purpose the duchy of Warsaw was erected, and the Poles were amused with the expectation that they were destined once more to become a nation. A very different policy actuated the proceedings of the congress of Vienna; by the accession of the duchy of Warsaw Russia was permitted to plant herself on the borders of East Prussia, to touch the frontiers of Austria, and to establish herself in the centre of Europe. The apprehensions entertained of French ascendancy during the reign of Bonaparte, was, without doubt, well grounded, but the danger to neighbouring states from the continually increasing power of Russia, when at any future time the sceptre of the czars may be swayed by an ambitious sovereign, though more remote, is not less substantial.

The cessions made to Prussia by Saxony, Austria, and Hanover, have swelled the dominions of Frederick William to an extent unknown in Prussian history, and the acquisitions she has now to boast, had placed Prussia in the first rank of European states. The territories ceded by Austria and Hanover were voluntary transfers, made by mutual consent, and were unattended by any difficulty either on the part of the sovereigns or of their people; but in the duchy of Saxony the case was widely different; the king, whose paternal sway had endeared him to his subjects by all the ties of an ardent loyalty, made the surrender demanded of him with extreme reluctance, and the Saxon people passed under the Prussian yoke with a feeling towards their new sovereign amounting almost to detestation.

The annexation of the ancient united provinces of the Netherlands to the late Belgic provinces, serve to create a new kingdom in Europe, under the sovereignty of his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange Nassau, King of the Netherlands, and will revive an union

which existed in former times with reciprocal advantage.

The territories acquired by Austria from the treaty of Vienna, extend over the Tyrol and the northern part of Italy, and contribute to restore the dilapidated dominion of the head of the Germanic body to their ancient splendour and extent.

The system of policy which suggested the propriety of equalizing the dominions of the greater powers of Europe, and consolidating and uniting the smaller states, led to the determination to suffer the dominions of the ancient republic of Genoa to merge into the kingdom of Sardinia. And it was in pursuance of these arrangements that Hanover was erected into a kingdom; and that the Vallais, the territory of Geneva, and the principality of Neuchatel, were united to Switzerland.

In perusing the articles of this voluminous treaty, with which, like the congress of Vienna, we shall, for the present, close our historical labours, it will be observed that a very laudable desire has existed on the part of the allied powers to extend the privileges, and secure the liberty, of the people. The guarantees respecting a representative form of government, the institution of trial by jury, and the provisions for the liberty of the press, will rank among this number; and if any cause of regret exists upon these points, it will arise from the consideration that these salutary provisions are not general, and that they do not form a distinct and prominent feature of the treaty. In one respect, however, all Europe must be inclined to applaud, not only the general principles, but also the particular provisions of the treaty of Vienna; and when perfect liberty of conscience, and a complete equality of rights, to christians of all religious denominations, are proclaimed, it is fair to infer, that sovereigns, as well as their subjects, are advancing in the knowledge and love of just and liberal sentiments on religious liberty. In all ages, and in all countries, despotism has been greatly supported by religious intolerance; but now, when the shackles of superstition and bigotry are beginning to burst under the expansion of royal intellect, political intolerance must gradually subside, and sovereigns will acknowledge, with the enlightened Fenelon, that the principal object of society is the general happiness, and that the people do not exist for a few individuals, but that rulers exist for the people.

GENERAL TREATY,

SIGNED IN CONGRESS AT VIENNA, JUNE 9TH, 1815.

BOOK V.

CHAP. X.

1815

In the Name of the most Holy and Undivided Trinity.—The powers who signed the treaty concluded at Paris on the 30th of May, 1814, having assembled at Vienna, in pursuance of the thirty-second article of that act, with the princes and states their allies, to complete the provisions of the said treaty, and to add to them the arrangements rendered necessary by the state in which Europe was left at the termination of the last war, being now desirous to embrace in one common transaction the various results of their negotiations, for the purpose of confirming them by their reciprocal ratifications, have authorised their plenipotentiaries to unite in a general instrument the regulations of superior and permanent interest, and to join to that act, as integral parts of the arrangements of congress, the treaties, conventions, declarations, regulations, and other particular acts, as cited in the present treaty. And the above-mentioned powers having appointed plenipotentiaries to the congress, that is to say—

[Here follow the names of the plenipotentiaries, in the same order as the signatures at the end.]

Such of the above plenipotentiaries as have assisted at the close of the negotiations, after having produced their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed to place in the said general instrument the following articles, and to affix to them their signatures.

Art. I.—The duchy of Warsaw, with the exception of the provinces and districts which are otherwise disposed by the following articles, is united to the Russian empire, to which it shall be irrevocably attached by its constitution, and be possessed by his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, his heirs, and successors, in perpetuity. His imperial Majesty reserves to himself to give to this state, enjoying a distinct administration, the interior improvements which he shall judge proper. He shall assume with his other titles that of Czar, King of Poland, agreeably to the form established by the titles attached to his other possessions.

Duchy of Warsaw united to Russia.

The Poles, who are respective subjects of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, shall obtain a representation and national institutions, according to the degree of political consideration, that each of the governments to which they belong shall judge expedient and to grant them.

Art. II.—The part of the duchy of Warsaw which his Majesty the King of Prussia shall possess in full sovereignty and property, for himself, his heirs, and successors, under the title of the grand duchy of Posen, shall be comprised in the following line:—

Limits of the Duchy of Posen.

Proceeding from the frontier of Eastern Prussia to the village of Neuhoft, the new limit shall follow the frontier of Eastern Prussia, such as it subsisted from 1772 to the peace of Tilsit, to the village of Leibitsch, which shall belong to the duchy of Warsaw; from thence shall be drawn a line, which, leaving Kompania, Grabowice, and Szczytno to Prussia, passes the Vistula near the last-mentioned place, from the other side of the river, which falls into the Vistula near Szczytno, to the ancient limit of the district of the Netze, near Gross Opoczko, so that Sluzewo shall belong to the duchy, and Przybranowa, Hollander, and Maciejewo, to Prussia. From Gross Opoczko it shall pass by Chlewiska, which shall remain to Prussia, to the village of Przybyslaw, and from thence by the villages of Piaški, Chelmce, Kowiczki, Kobylińska, Woyczyn, Orchowa, to the town of Powidz. From Powidz it shall continue by the town of Powidz to the point of confluence of the rivers Wartha and Proсна. From this point it shall re-ascend the course of the river Proсна to the village of Koscielnawies, to within one league of the town of Kalisch. Then leaving to that town (on the side of the left bank of the Proсна) a semi-circular territory measured upon the distance from Koscielnawies to Kalisch, the line shall return to the course of the Proсна, and shall continue to follow it, re-ascending by the towns of Grabow, Wieruszow, Boleslawice, so as to terminate near the village of Gola, upon the frontier of Prussia opposite Pitschin.

Art. III.—His imperial and royal apostolic majesty shall possess, in full property and sovereignty, the salt mines of Wieliczka, and the territory thereto belonging.

Salt Mines of Wieliczka.

Art. IV.—The way or bed of the Vistula shall separate Galicia from the territory of the free town of Cracow. It shall serve at the same time as the frontier between Galicia and that part of the ancient duchy of Warsaw united to the states of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, as far as the vicinity of the town of Zawichost. From Zawichost to the Bug, the dry frontier shall be determined by the line drawn in the treaty of Vienna of 1809, excepting such modifications as by common consent may be thought necessary to be introduced. The frontier from the Bug shall be re-established on this side between the two empires, such as it was before the said treaty.

Boundary between Galicia and the Russian Territory.

Art. V.—His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias cedes to his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty the territories which have been separated from Eastern Galicia in consequence of the treaty of Vienna of 1809, from the circles of Złozow, Brzeszan, Tarnopole, and Zalesczk; and the frontiers on this side shall be re-established such as they were on the date of the said treaty.

Circles of Złozow ceded to Austria.

Art. VI.—The town of Cracow, with its territory, is declared for ever to be a free, independent, and strictly royal city, under the protection of Austria, Russia, and Prussia.

Cracow declared an independent city.

Art. VII.—The territory of the free town of Cracow shall have for its frontier upon the left bank of the Vistula, a line, which, beginning at the spot near the village of Wolica, where a stream falls into the Vistula, shall follow this stream by Clo, and Koscielniki, as far as Czulice, so that these villages may be included in the district of the town of Cracow; from thence passing along the frontiers of these villages, the line shall continue by Dziekanowice, Wieruszow, Tomaszow, Karniowice, which shall also remain in the territory of Cracow, to the point where the limit

Its Limits.

BOOK V. begins which separates the district of Krzeszowice from that of Olkusz; from thence it shall follow this limit between the two said provinces, till it reaches the frontiers of Silesian Prussia.

CHAP. X.

1815

Podgorze declared a Free Commercial Town.

Art. VIII.—His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, wishing particularly to facilitate as much as possible on his part, the commercial relations and good neighbourhood between Galicia and the free towns of Cracow, grants for ever to the town of Podgorze the privileges of a free commercial town, such as are enjoyed by the town of Brody. This liberty of commerce shall extend to a distance of five hundred toises from the barrier of the suburbs of the town of Podgorze. In consequence of this perpetual concession, which, nevertheless, shall not affect the rights of sovereignty of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, the Austrian custom houses shall be established only in places situated beyond that limit. No military establishment shall be formed that can menace the neutrality of Cracow, or obstruct the liberty of commerce which his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty grants to the town and district of Podgorze.

Neutrality of Cracow guaranteed.

Art. IX.—The courts of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, engage to respect, and to cause to be always respected, the neutrality of the free town of Cracow and its territory. No armed force shall be introduced upon any pretence whatever. On the other hand it is understood, and expressly stipulated, that no asylum shall be afforded in the free town and territory of Cracow, to fugitives, deserters, and persons under prosecution, belonging to the country of either of the high powers aforesaid; and in the event of the demand of their surrender by the competent authorities, such individuals shall be arrested and given up without delay, and conveyed, under a proper escort, to the guard appointed to receive them at the frontier.

Public Institutions.

Art. X.—The dispositions of the constitution of the free towns of Cracow, concerning the academy, the bishopric and chapter of that town, such as they are specified in the seventh, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth articles of the additional treaty relative to Cracow, which is annexed to the present general treaty, shall have the same force and validity as if they were textually inserted in this act.

Amnesty.

Art. XI.—A full, general, and special amnesty shall be granted in favour of all individuals, of whatever rank, sex, or condition they may be.

Art. XII.—In consequence of the preceding article, no person in future shall be prosecuted or disturbed, in any manner, by reason of any participation, direct or indirect, at any time, in the political, civil, or military events in Poland. All proceedings, suits, or prosecutions, are considered as null, the sequestrations and provisional confiscations shall be taken off, and every act promulgated on this ground shall be of no effect.

Exceptions.

Art. XIII.—From these general regulations on the subject of confiscations are excepted all those cases in which edicts or sentences, finally pronounced, have already been fully executed, and have not been annulled by subsequent events.

Freedom of Inland Navigation.

Art. XIV.—The principles established for the free navigation of rivers and canals, in the whole extent of ancient Poland, as well as for the trade to the ports, for the circulation of articles the growth and produce of the different Polish provinces, and for the commerce, relative to goods in transitu, such as they are specified in the twenty-fourth, twenty-fifth, twenty-sixth, twenty-eighth, and twenty-ninth articles of the treaty between Austria and Russia, and in the twenty-second, twenty-third, twenty-fourth, twenty-fifth, twenty-eighth, and twenty-ninth articles of the treaty between Russia and Prussia, shall be invariably maintained.

Cessions made by Saxony to Prussia.

Art. XV.—His Majesty the King of Saxony renounces in perpetuity, for himself, and all his descendants and successors, in favour of his Majesty the King of Prussia, all his right and title to the provinces, districts, and territories, or parts of territories, of the kingdom of Saxony, hereafter named; and his Majesty the King of Prussia shall possess those countries in complete sovereignty and property, and shall unite them to his monarchy. The districts and territories thus ceded, shall be separated from the rest of the kingdom of Saxony by a line, which henceforth shall form the frontier between the Prussian and Saxon territories, so that all that is comprised in the limit formed by this line, shall be restored to his Majesty the King of Saxony; but his majesty renounces all those districts and territories that are situated beyond that line, and which belonged to him before the war.

The line shall begin from the frontiers of Bohemia near Wiese, in the neighbourhood of Seidenberg, following the stream of the river Wittich, until its junction with the Neisse. From the Neisse it shall pass to the circle of Eigen, between Tauchritz, which shall belong to Prussia, and Borschoff, which shall remain to Saxony; then it shall follow the northern frontier of the circle of Eigen, to the angle between Poldorf and Ober-Schland; thence it shall be continued to the limits that separate the circle of Gorlitz from that of Bautzen, in such a manner that Ober-Mettel and Neider-Schland-Olich, and Radewitz, remain in the possession of Saxony. The great post-road between Gorlitz and Bautzen shall belong to Prussia, as far as the limits of the said circles. Then the line shall follow the frontier of the circle to Dubrancke, it shall then extend upon the heights to the right of the Lobauer-Wasser, so that this rivulet, with its two banks, and the places upon them, as far as Neuendorf, shall remain, with this village, to Saxony. The line shall then fall again upon the Spree, and the Schwarz-Wasser, Liska, Hermsdorf, Ketten, and Solahdorf, are assigned to Prussia. From the Schwarze-Elster, near Solchdorf, a right line shall be drawn to the frontier of the lordship of Conigsbruck, near Grossgrabchen. This lordship remains to Saxony, and the line shall follow its northern boundary as far as the bailiwick of Grossenhayn, in the neighbourhood of Ortrand; Ortrand, and the road from that place by Meradorf, Stolzenhayn, and Grobeln, to Muhlberg, (with the villages on that road, so that no part of it remain beyond the Prussian territory) shall be under the government of Prussia. The frontier from Grobeln shall be traced to the Elbe near Fichtenberg, and then shall follow the bailiwick of Muhlberg. Fichtenberg shall be the property of Prussia. From the Elbe to the frontier of the country of Merseburg, it shall be so regulated that the bailiwicks of Torgau, Eilenburg, and Delitzsch, shall pass to Prussia, while those of Oschatz, Wurzen, and Leipzig, shall remain to Saxony. The line shall follow the frontier of these bailiwicks, dividing some inclosures and demi-inclosures. The road from Muhlberg to Eilenburg shall be wholly within the Prussian territory. From Podelwitz (belonging to the bailiwick of Leipzig, and remaining to Saxony) as far as Eytra, which also remains to her, the line shall divide the country of Merseburg in such a manner that Breitenfeld, Haenichen, Gross, and Klein-Dolzig, Mark-Ramstadt, and Knaut-Nauendorf, remain to Saxony; and Modelwitz, Skeuditz, Klein-Liebenau, Alt Ramstadt, Schkohen, and Zietzen, pass to Prussia. From thence the line shall divide the bailiwick of Pegau, between the Fluss-graben, and the Weisse-Elster; the former, from the point where it separates itself above the town of Crossen (which forms part of the bailiwick of Haynsburg) from the Weisse-Elster, to the

point where it joins the Saale below the town of Merseburg, shall belong, in its whole course between those two towns, with both its banks, to the Prussian territory. From thence, where the frontier touches upon that of the country of Zeitz, the line shall follow it as far as the boundary of the country of Altenburg, near Luckau. The frontiers of the circle of Neustadt, which wholly falls under the dominion of Prussia, remain untouched. The inclosures of Voigtländ, in the district of Reuss, that is to say, Gefall, Blintendorf, Sparsenberg, and Blankenberg, are comprised in the share of Prussia.

Art. XVI.—The provinces and districts of the kingdom of Saxony, which are transferred to the dominion of his Majesty the King of Prussia, shall be distinguished by the name of the duchy of Saxony, and his majesty shall add to his titles those of Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of the two Lusatias, and Count of Henneberg. His Majesty the King of Saxony shall continue to bear the title of Margrave of Upper Lusatia. His majesty shall also continue, with relation to, and in virtue of, his right of eventual succession to the possessions of the Ernestine branch, to bear the title of Landgrave of Thuringia, and Count of Henneberg.

Art. XVII.—Austria, Russia, Great Britain, and France, guarantee to his Majesty the King of Prussia, his descendants and successors, the possession of the countries marked out in the fifteenth article, in full property and sovereignty.

Art. XVIII.—His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, wishing to give to the King of Prussia a fresh proof of his desire to remove every object of future discussion between their two courts, renounces for himself and his successors, his rights of sovereignty over the margravates of Upper and Lower Lusatia, which belonged to him as King of Bohemia, as far as these rights concern the portion of these provinces placed under the dominion of his Majesty the King of Prussia, by virtue of the treaty with his Majesty the King of Saxony, concluded at Vienna on the 18th of May, 1813.

As to the right of reversion of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty to the said portion of the Lusatias united to Prussia, it is transferred to the house of Brandenburg now reigning in Prussia, his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty reserving to himself and his successors the power of resuming that right, in the event of the extinction of the said reigning house. His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty renounces also, in favour of his Prussian Majesty, the districts of Bohemia inclosed within the part of Upper Lusatia ceded by the treaty of the 18th of May, 1815, to his Prussian Majesty, which districts comprehended the places of Gunterdorf, Taubentrante, Neukretschien, Nieder-Gerlachsheim, Winkel, and Ginkel, with their territories.

Art. XIX.—His Majesty the King of Prussia, and his Majesty the King of Saxony, wishing particularly to remove every object of future contest or dispute, renounce, each on his own part, and particularly in favour of one another, all feudal rights or pretensions, which they might exercise or might have exercised, beyond the frontiers fixed by the present treaty.

Art. XX.—His Majesty the King of Prussia promises to direct that proper care be taken, relative to whatever may affect the property and interests of the respective subjects, upon the most liberal principles. The present article shall be observed, particularly, with regard to the concerns of those individuals who possess property both under the Prussian and Saxon governments, to the commerce of Leipsic, and to all other objects of the same nature; and, in order that the individual liberty of the inhabitants, both of the ceded and other provinces, may not be infringed, they shall be allowed to emigrate from one territory to the other, without being exempted, however, from military service, and after fulfilling the formalities required by the laws. They may also remove their property without being subject to any fine or drawback.

Art. XXI.—The communities, corporations, and religious establishments, and those for public instruction, in the provinces ceded by his Majesty the King of Saxony to Prussia, or in the provinces and districts remaining to his Saxon Majesty, shall preserve their property, whatever changes they may undergo, as well as the rents becoming due to them, according to the act of their foundation, or which they have acquired by a legal title since that period under the Prussian and Saxon governments; and neither party shall interfere in the administration and in the collection of the revenues, provided that they be conducted in a manner conformable to the laws, and that the charges be defrayed, to which all property or rents of the like nature are subjected, in the territory in which they occur.

Art. XXII.—No individual domiciliated in the provinces which are under the dominion of his Majesty the King of Saxony, any more than an individual domiciliated in those which by the present treaty pass under the dominion of the King of Prussia, shall be molested in his person, his property, rents, pensions, or revenues of any kind, in his rank or dignities, nor be prosecuted or called to account in any manner, for any part which he, either in a civil or military capacity, may have taken in the events that have occurred since the commencement of the war, terminated by the peace concluded at Paris on the 30th of May, 1814. This article equally extends to those who not being domiciliated in either part of Saxony, may possess in it landed property, rents, pensions, or revenues of any kind.

Art. XXIII.—His Majesty the King of Prussia, having, in consequence of the last war, re-assumed the possession of the provinces and territories which had been ceded by the peace of Tilsit, it is acknowledged and declared by the present article that his majesty, his heirs and successors, shall possess anew, as formerly, in full property and sovereignty, the following countries, that is to say:—

Those of his ancient provinces of Poland specified by article two; the city of Dantzic and its territory, as the latter was determined by the treaty of Tilsit; the circle of Cottbus; the Old March; the part of the circle of Magdeburg, situated on the left bank of the Elbe, together with the circle of the Saale; the principality of Halberstadt, with the lordships of Derenburg, and of Hassenrode; the town and territory of Quedlinburg, (save and except the rights of her Royal Highness the Princess Sophia Albertine of Sweden, Abbess of Quedlinburg, conformably to the arrangements made in 1803); the Prussian part of the county of Mansfeld; the Prussian part of the county of Hohenstein; the Richsfeld; the town of Nordhausen with its territory; the town of Mühlhausen with its territory; the Prussian part of the district of Treffurt with Doala; the town and territory of Erfurth, with the exception of Klein-Brembach and Balstedt, inclosed in the principality of Weimar, ceded to the Grand Duke of Saxe Weimar by the twenty-ninth article; the bailiwick of Wandersleben, belonging to the county of Untergleichen;

BOOK V.

CHAP. X.

1815

Titles taken by the King of Prussia.

Possessions in article XV. guaranteed to Prussia.

Right of Sovereignty over Lusatia renounced by Austria.

Renunciation of Feudal Rights.

Permission to Emigrate.

Property of the Public Institutions in the ceded Saxon Provinces guaranteed.

Guarantees granted to the Inhabitants.

Provinces ceded by Prussia by the peace of Tilsit restored.

BOOK V.

CHAP. X.

1815

Augmen-
tation of the
kingdom of
Prussia on the
Right Bank of
the Rhine.

the principality of Paderborn, with the Prussian part of the bailiwicks of Schwallenberg, Oldenberg, and Stoppelberg, and the jurisdictions of Hagendorn and Odenhausen, situated in the territory of Lippe; the county of Mark, with the part of Lippstadt belonging to it; the county of Werden; the county of Essen; the part of the duchy of Cleves on the right bank of the Rhine, with the town and fortress of Wesel; the part of the duchy, situated on the left bank, specified in article twenty-fifth; the secularized chapter of Elten; the principality of Munster, that is to say, the Prussian part of the former bishopric of Munster, with the exception of that part which has been ceded to his Britannic Majesty, King of Hanover, in virtue of the twenty-eighth article; the secularized provostship of Cappenberg; the county of Tecklenberg; the county of Lingen, with the exception of that part ceded to the kingdom of Hanover by article twenty-seventh; the principality of Minden; the county of Ravensberg; the secularized chapter of Herford; the principality of Neufchatel, with the county of Valengin, such as their frontiers are regulated by the treaty of Paris, and by the seventy-sixth article of this general treaty. The same disposition extends to the rights of sovereignty and *suzeraineté* over the county of Wernigerode, to that of high protection over the county of Hohen-Limbürg, and to all the other rights or pretensions whatsoever which his Prussian Majesty possessed and exercised, before the peace of Tilait, and which he has not renounced by other treaties, acts, or conventions.

Art. XXIV.—His Majesty the King of Prussia shall unite to his monarchy in Germany, on this side of the Rhine, to be possessed by him and his successors in full property and sovereignty, the following countries;—

The provinces of Saxony designated in article fifteen, with the exception of the places and territories ceded, in virtue of article twenty-nine, to his Highness the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar; the territories ceded to Prussia by his Britannic Majesty, King of Hanover, by article twenty-nine; part of the department of Fulda, and such of the territories comprehended therein as are specified in article forty; the town and territory of Wetlar, according to article twelve; the grand duchy of Berg, with the lordships of Hardenberg, Brock, Styrum, Scholler, and Odenthal, formerly belonging to the said duchy under the Palatine government; the districts of the ancient archbishopric of Cologne, lately belonging to the grand duchy of Berg; the duchy of Westphalia, as lately possessed by his Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Hesse; the county of Dortmund; the principality of Corbey; the mediatised districts specified in article forty-three. The ancient possessions of the House of Nassau-Dietz having been ceded to Prussia by his Majesty the King of the Netherlands, and a part of these possessions having been exchanged for the districts belonging to their Serene Highnesses the Duke and Prince of Nassau, the King of Prussia shall possess them, in sovereignty and property, and unite them to his monarchy.

1. The principality of Siegen, with the bailiwicks of Burbach and Neunkirchen, with the exception of a part containing 12,000 inhabitants, to belong to the Duke and Prince of Nassau.

2. The bailiwicks of Hohen-Solms, Greifenstein, Braunfels, Freusberg, Friedewald, Schonsten, Schonberg, Altenkirchen, Altenweid, Dierdorf, Neuerburg, Lintz, Hammerstein, with Engers and Heddesdorf; the town and territory of Neuwied; the parishes of Hamm, belonging to the bailiwick of Hackenberg; the parish of Horhausen, constituting part of the bailiwick of Horbach, and the parts of the bailiwicks of Vallendar and Ehrenbreitstein, on the right bank of the Rhine, designated in the convention concluded between his Majesty the King of Prussia, and their Serene Highnesses the Duke and Prince of Nassau, annexed to the present treaty.

Art. XXV.—His Majesty the King of Prussia shall also possess, in full property and sovereignty, the countries on the left bank of the Rhine, included in the frontier hereinafter designated:—

The frontier shall commence on the Rhine at Bingen: it shall thence ascend the course of the Nahe to the junction of this river with the Glan, and along the Glan to the village of Medarf, below Lauterecken; the towns of Kreutznach and Meisenheim, with their territories, to belong entirely to Prussia; but Lauterecken and its territory to remain beyond the Prussian frontier. From the Glan the frontier shall pass by Medarf, Merxweiler, Langweiler, Neideer, and Ober Fechenbach, Ellenbach, Chreunchenborn, Ausweiler, Cronweiler, Niederbrambach, Burbach, Boshweiler, Heubweiler, Hambach, and Rintzenberg, to the limits of the canton of Hermeskiel; the above places shall be included with the Prussian frontiers, and shall, together with their territories, belong to Prussia. From Rintzenberg to the Sarre the line of demarcation shall follow the cantonal limits, so that the cantons of Hermeskiel and Konz (in which latter, however, are excepted the places on the left bank of the Sarre) shall remain wholly to Prussia, while the cantons of Wadern, Merzig, and Sarrebourg, are to be beyond the Prussian frontier.

From the point where the limit of the canton of Konz, below Gomlingen, traverses the Sarre, the line shall descend the Sarre till it falls into the Moselle, thence it shall re-ascend the Moselle to its junction with the Sarre, from the latter river to the mouth of the Our, and along the Our to the limits of the ancient department of the Ourthe. The places traversed by these rivers shall not at all be divided, but shall belong, with their territories, to the power in whose state the greater part of these places shall be situated; the rivers themselves, in so far as they form the frontier, shall belong in common to the two powers bordering on them. In the old department of the Ourthe, the five cantons of Saint-Vith, Malmady, Cronembourg, Schleiden, and Eupen, with the advanced point of the canton of Aubel, to the south of Aix la Chapelle, shall belong to Prussia, and the frontier shall follow that of these cantons, so that a line, drawn from north to south, may cut the said point of the canton of Aubel, and be prolonged as far as the point of contact of the three old departments of the Ourthe, the Lower Meuse, and the Roer; leaving that point, the frontier shall follow the line which separates these two last departments till it reaches the river Worm, which falls into the Roer, and shall go along this river to the point where it again touches the limits of these two departments; when it shall pursue that limit to the south of Hillensberg, shall ascend from thence towards the north, and leaving Hillensberg to Prussia, and cutting the canton of Sittard in two parts, nearly equal, so that Sittard and Susteren remain on the left, shall approach the old Dutch territory; then following the old frontier of that territory, to the point where it touched the old Austrian principality of Gueldres, on the side of Ruremonde, and directing itself towards the most eastern point of the Dutch territory, to the north of Swalmen, it shall continue to inclose this territory.

Then, setting out from the most eastern point, it joins the other part of the Dutch territory in which Venloo is situated, without including the latter town and its district: thence to the old Dutch frontier near Mook, situated below Genep, it shall follow the course of the Meuse, at such a distance from the right bank, as that all the places situated within a thousand Rhenish yards (*Rheinländische Ruthen*) of this bank, shall, with their territories, belong to the kingdom of the Netherlands; it being well understood, however, in regard to the reciprocity of this principle, that no point of the bank of the Meuse shall constitute a portion of the Prussian territory, unless such point approach to within eight hundred Rhenish yards of it.

From the point where the line just described joins the old Dutch frontier, as far as the Rhine, this frontier shall remain essentially as it was in 1795, between Cleves and the United Provinces. It shall be examined by the commission, which shall be appointed without delay by the two governments, to proceed to the exact determination of the limits, both of the kingdom of the Netherlands, and the grand duchy of Luxembourg, designated in articles sixty-six and sixty-eight, and this commission shall regulate, with the aid of experienced persons, whatever concerns the hydrotechnical construction, and other analogous points, in the most equitable manner, and conformably to the mutual interests of the Prussian states and of those of the Netherlands. This same disposition extends to the regulation of the limits, in the districts of Kyfwaard, Lobith, and all the territory to Kekerdom.

The places named Huissen, Malburg, le Lyniers, with the town of Sevenaer, and the lordship of Weel, shall form a part of the kingdom of the Netherlands, and his Prussian Majesty renounces them in perpetuity, for himself, his heirs, and successors.

His Majesty the King of Prussia, in uniting to his states the provinces and districts designated in the present article, enters into all the rights and takes upon himself all the charges and engagements stipulated with respect to the countries dismembered from France, by the treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814.

The Prussian provinces upon the two banks of the Rhine, as far as above the town of Cologne, which shall also be comprised within this district, shall bear the name of Grand Duchy of the Lower Rhine, and his majesty shall assume the title of it.

Art. XXVI.—His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, having substituted for his ancient title of Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, that of King of Hanover, and this title having been acknowledged by all the powers of Europe, and by the princes and free towns of Germany, the countries which have till now composed the electorate of Brunswick Luneburg, according as their limits have been recognized and fixed for the future, by the following articles, shall henceforth form the kingdom of Hanover.

Art. XXVII.—His Majesty the King of Prussia cedes to his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King of Hanover, to be possessed by his majesty and his successors, in full property and sovereignty:—

1. The principality of Hildesheim, which shall pass under the government of his majesty, with all the rights and all the charges with which the said principality was transferred to the Prussian government.

2. The town and territory of Goslar.

3. The principality of East Friesland, including the country called Harlinger-Land, under the conditions reciprocally stipulated in the thirtieth article for the navigation of the Ems, and the commerce of the port of Embden. The states of the principality shall preserve their rights and privileges.

4. The lower country of Lingon, and the part of the principality of Prussian Munster, which is situated between this county and the part of Rheina Wolbeck occupied by the Hanoverian government; but as it has been agreed that the kingdom of Hanover shall obtain by this cession an accession of territory comprising a population of 22,000 souls, and, as the lower country of Lingon, and the part of the principality of Munster here mentioned, might not come up to the condition, his Majesty the King of Prussia engages to cause the line of demarcation to be extended into the principality of Munster, as far as may be necessary to contain that population. The commission, which the Prussian and Hanoverian governments shall name without delay, to proceed to the exact regulation of the limits, shall be particularly charged with the execution of this provision. His Prussian Majesty renounces in perpetuity, for himself, his descendants and successors, the provinces and territories mentioned in the present article, as well as all the rights which have any relation to them.

Art. XXVIII.—His Majesty the King of Prussia renounces in perpetuity, for himself, his descendants and successors, all right and claim whatever, that his majesty, in his quality of Sovereign of Eichsfeld, might advance to the chapter of St. Peter, in the borough of Norton, or to its dependencies, situated in the Hanoverian territory.

Art. XXIX.—His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King of Hanover, cedes to his Majesty the King of Prussia, to be possessed by him and his successors, in full property and sovereignty:—

Cessions made
by Hanover to
Prussia.

1. That part of the duchy of Lauenburg situated upon the right bank of the Elbe, with the villages of Luneburg situated on the same bank. The part of the duchy upon the left bank remains to the kingdom of Hanover. The states of that part of the duchy which passes under the Prussian government shall preserve their rights and privileges; especially those founded upon the provincial recess of the 15th of September, 1702, and confirmed by the King of Great Britain, now reigning, under the date of June 21st, 1765.

2. The bailiwick of Klotze.

3. The bailiwick of Elbingerode.

4. The villages of Rudegershagen and Ganseteich.

5. The bailiwick of Reckeberg.

His Britannic Majesty, King of Hanover, renounces, for himself, his descendants and successors for ever, the provinces and districts specified in the present article, and all the rights which have reference to them.

Art. XXX.—His Majesty the King of Prussia, and his Britannic Majesty, King of Hanover, animated with the desire of entirely equalizing the advantages of the commerce of the Ems and of the Port of Embden, and of rendering them common to their respective subjects, have agreed on this head to what follows:—

Equalization
of the advan-
tages of the
Commerce of
the Ems and
of the port of
Embden.

1. The Hanoverian government engages to cause to be executed, at its expense, in the years 1815 and 1816, the works which a commission, composed partly of artists, and to be immediately appointed by Prussia and Hanover, shall deem necessary to render navigable that part of the river Ems which extends from the Prussian frontier to its mouth, and to keep it, after the execution of such works, always in the same state in which those works shall have placed it, for the benefit of navigation.

2. The Prussian subjects shall be allowed to import and export, by the port of Embden, all kinds of provisions, productions, and goods, whether natural or artificial, and to keep in the town of Embden, warehouses, wherein to place the said goods for two years, dating from their arrival in the towns, without their being subject to any other inspection than that to which those of the Hanoverian subjects are liable.

3. The Prussian vessels, and merchants of the same nation, shall not pay for navigation, for exportation, or importation of merchandise, or for warehousing, any other tolls or duties than those charged upon the Hanoverian subjects. These tolls and duties shall be regulated by agreement between Prussia and Hanover, and no alteration shall be introduced into the tariff hereafter, but by mutual consent. The privileges and liberties just specified extend equally to those Hanoverian subjects who navigate that part of the river Ems which remains to the King of Prussia.

4. Prussian subjects shall not be compellable to employ the merchants of Embden for the trade they carry on with that port; they shall be at liberty to dispose of their commodities either to the inhabitants of the town or to foreigners, without paying any other duties than those to which the Hanoverian subjects are subjected, and which cannot be raised but by mutual consent.

His Majesty the King of Prussia, on his part, engages to grant to Hanoverian subjects the free navigation of the canal of the Stocknitz, so as not to exact from them any other duties than those which shall be paid by the inhabitants of the Duchy of Lauenburg. His Prussian Majesty engages, besides, to insure these advantages to Hanoverian subjects, should he hereafter cede the Duchy of Lauenburg to another sovereign.

Art. XXXI.—His Majesty the King of Prussia, and his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King of Hanover, mutually agree to three military roads through their respective dominions:—

Military
Roads in Han-
over and Prus-
sia.

1st. One from Halberstadt, through the country of Hildesheim, to Minden.

2d. A second from the Old March, through Gihorn and Neustadt, to Minden.

3d. A third from Osnabruck, through Ippenburen and Rheina, to Bentheim.

The two first in favour of Prussia and the third in favour of Hanover.

The two governments shall appoint, without delay, a commission, to prepare, by common consent, the necessary regulations for the establishment of the said roads.

Federative
Regulations.

Art. XXXII.—The bailiwick of Meppen, belonging to the Duke of Aremberg, as well as the part of Rheina Wolbeck belonging to the Duke of Looz-Gurswaren, which at this moment are provisionally occupied by the Hanoverian government, shall be restored to the Duke of Aremberg, and the Duke of Looz-Gurswaren, as soon as the necessary regulations for the establishment of the said roads shall have been completed.

BOOK V. verian government, shall be placed in such relations with the kingdom of Hanover, as the federative constitution of Germany shall regulate for the mediatized territories.

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The Prussian and Hanoverian governments having nevertheless reserved to themselves to agree hereafter, if necessary, to the fixing of another line of frontier with regard to the county belonging to the Duke of Looz-Corswaren; the said governments shall charge the commission they may name for fixing the limits of the part of the county of Lingen ceded to Hanover, to deliberate thereupon, and to adjust definitively the frontiers of that part of the county belonging to the Duke of Looz-Corswaren, which, as aforesaid, is to be possessed by the Hanoverian government.

The relations between the Hanoverian government and the county of Bentheim shall remain as regulated by the treaties of mortgage existing between his Britannic Majesty and the Count of Bentheim: and when the rights derived from this treaty shall have expired, the relations of the county of Bentheim towards the kingdom of Hanover shall be such as the federative constitution of Germany shall regulate for the mediatized territories.

Art. XXXIII.—His Britannic Majesty, King of Hanover, in order to meet the wishes of his Prussian Majesty to procure a suitable arrondissement of territory for his Serene Highness the Duke of Oldenburg, promises to cede to him a district containing a population of 5,000 inhabitants.

Art. XXXIV.—His Serene Highness the Duke of Holstein-Oldenburg shall assume the title of Grand Duke of Oldenburg.

Art. XXXV.—Their Serene Highnesses the Dukes of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Mecklenburg-Strelitz, shall assume the titles of Grand Dukes of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Strelitz.

Art. XXXVI.—His Highness the Duke of Saxe-Weimar shall assume the title of Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar.

Art. XXXVII.—His Majesty the King of Prussia shall cede from the mass of his states, as they have been fixed and recognized by the present treaty, to his Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, districts containing a population of 50,000 inhabitants, contiguous to, or bordering upon, the principality of Weimar. His Prussian Majesty engages also to cede to his royal highness out of that part of the principality of Fulda which has been given up to him in virtue of the same stipulations, districts containing a population of 27,000 inhabitants. His Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Weimar shall possess the above districts in full property and sovereignty, and shall unite them in perpetuity to his present states.

Art. XXXVIII.—The districts and territories which are to be ceded to his Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, in virtue of the preceding article, shall be determined by a particular convention; and his Majesty the King of Prussia engages to conclude this convention, and to cause the above districts and territories to be given up to his royal highness, within two months from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty concluded at Vienna, June 1st, 1815, between his Prussian Majesty and his Royal Highness the Grand Duke.

Art. XXXIX.—His Majesty the King of Prussia, however, cedes immediately, and promises to give up to his royal highness, in the space of a fortnight, reckoning from the signature of the above mentioned treaty, the following districts and territories; viz:—

The lordship of Blankenhayn, with the reservation of the bailiwick of Wandersleben, belonging to Unter-Gleichen, which is not to be comprised in this cession.

The lower lordship of Kranichfeld, the commanderies of the Teutonic order Zwaetsen, Lebesten, and Liebstedt, with their demesne revenues, which constituting a part of the bailiwick of Eckartsberga, are inclosed in the territory of Saxe-Weimar, as well as all the other territories inclosed within the principality of Weimar, and belonging to the said bailiwick; the bailiwick of Tautenburg, with the exception of Droisen, Gorachen, Wethalung, Wetterscheid, and Mollschutz, which shall remain to Prussia.

The village of Remysla, as well as the villages of Klein-Brembach and Berlstedt, inclosed within the principality of Weimar, and belonging to the territory of Erfurth.

The property of the villages of Bischoffroda and Probstzella, inclosed within the territory of Eisenach; the sovereignty of which already belongs to his Royal Highness the Grand Duke.

The population of these different districts is understood to form part of that of 50,000 souls, secured to his Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, by article thirty-seventh, and shall be deducted from it.

Art. XL.—The department of Fulda, together with the territories of the neighbouring ancient Noblesse, comprised, at this moment, under the provisional administration of this department, viz; Mansbach, Buchenau, Werda, Lensfeld, excepting, however, the following bailiwicks and territories, viz.; the bailiwicks of Hammelburg, with Thulba and Saleck, Bruckenaue, with Motten, Saalmunster, with Urzel and Sonnerz; also the part of the bailiwick of Biberstein, which contains the villages of Batten, Brand, Dietges, Findlos, Liebarts, Melperz, Ober-Bernharst, Saifferts, and Thaiden, as well as the domain of Holzkirchen, inclosed in the Grand Duchy of Wurzburg, is ceded to his Majesty the King of Prussia, and he shall be put in possession of it within three weeks from and after the 15th of June of this year.

His Prussian Majesty engages to take upon himself, in proportion to that part of the territory which he obtains by the present article, his share of the obligations which all the new possessors of the heretofore grand duchy of Frankfort will have to fulfil, and to transfer such engagements to the princes with whom his majesty may hereafter make exchanges or cessions of these districts and territories of the department of Fulda.

Art. XLI.—The domains of the principality of Fulda, and of the county of Hanau, having been sold to purchasers, who have not as yet made good all their instalments, a commission shall be named by the princes to whom the said domains are transferred, to regulate, in an uniform manner, whatever has any reference to this transaction, and to do justice to the claims of the purchasers of the said domains. This commission shall pay particular attention to the treaty concluded at Frankfort, December 2d, 1813, between the allied powers and his Royal Highness the Elector of Hesse; and it is laid down as a principle, that in case the sale of these domains should not be considered as binding, the purchasers shall receive back the sums already discharged, and they shall not be obliged to quit before such restitution shall have had its full and entire effect.

Art. XLII.—The town and territory of Wetzlar passes, in all property and sovereignty, to his Majesty the King of Prussia.

Cession by
Hanover
Oldenburg.

Ducal Titles.

Cessions by
Prussia to the
Grand Duke of
Saxe-Weimar.

Further Cessions to Prussia.

Art. XLIII.—The following mediatised districts, viz.; the possession which the Princes of Salm Salm, and Salm Kyrbourg, the counts called the Rheinmund-Wildgrafen, and the Duke of Croy, obtained by the principal rescript of the extraordinary deputation of the empire, of the 25th of February, 1803, in the old circle of Westphalia, as well as the lordships of Anholt and Gehmen, the possessions of the Duke of Looz-Corswaren, which are in the same situation (in so far as they are not placed under the Hanoverian government), the county of Steinfurt, belonging to the Count of Bentheim-Bentheim, the county of Recklingshausen, belonging to the Duke of Arenberg, the lordships of Rheda, Guterloh, and Gronau, belonging to the Count of Bentheim-Tecklenberg, the county of Rittberg, belonging to the Prince of Kaunitz, the lordships of Neustadt and Gimborn, belonging to the Count of Walmoden, and the lordship of Homburg, belonging to the Princes of Saxe-Wingenstein-Berleburg, shall be placed in such relations with the Prussian monarchy as the federative constitution of Germany shall regulate for the mediatised territories.

The possessions of the ancient and immediate nobility within the Prussian territory, and particularly the lordship of Wildenberg, in the Grand Duchy of Berg, and the barony of Schauen, in the principality of Halberstadt, shall belong to the Prussian monarchy.

Art. XLIV.—His Majesty the King of Bavaria shall possess, for himself, his heirs and successors, in full property and sovereignty, the Grand Duchy of Wurtzburg, as it was held by his Imperial Highness the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, and the principality of Aschaffenburg, such as it constituted part of the Grand Duchy of Frankfort, under the denomination of department of Aschaffenburg.

Art. XLV.—With respect to the rights and prerogatives, and the maintenance of the Prince Primate as an ancient ecclesiastical prince, it is determined ;

Rights and Prerogatives of the Prince Primate.

1st. That he shall be treated in a manner analogous to the articles of the rescript, which, in 1803, regulated the situation of the secularized princes, and to the practice observed with regard to them.

2dly. He shall receive for this purpose, dating from June 1st, 1814, the sum of 100,000 florins, by payments of three months, in good specie, at the rate of 24 florins to the mark, as an annuity.

This annuity shall be paid by the sovereigns under whose governments the provinces or districts of the Grand Duchy of Frankfort pass, in proportion to the part which each of them shall possess.

3dly. The advances made by the Prince Primate, from his private purse, to the general chest of the principality of Fulda, such as they have been liquidated and proved, shall be refunded to him, his heirs, and executors.

This expenditure shall be defrayed in proportions by the sovereigns who shall possess the provinces and districts composing the principality of Fulda.

4thly. The furniture and other objects which may be proved to belong to the private property of the Prince Primate, shall be restored to him.

5thly. The officers of the Grand Duchy of Frankfort, as well civil and ecclesiastical as military and diplomatic, shall be treated conformably to the principles of the fifty-ninth article of the protocol of the empire, dated the 25th of February, 1803, and from the 1st of June the pensions shall be proportionably paid by the sovereigns who enter on the possession of the states which formed the said grand duchy since the 1st of June, 1814.

6thly. A commission shall be established without delay, composed of members appointed by the said sovereigns, to regulate whatever relates to the execution of the dispositions comprised in this article.

7thly. It is understood, that in virtue of this arrangement, any claim that might be advanced against the Prince Primate, in his character of Grand Duke of Frankfort, shall be annulled, and that he shall not be molested on account of any reclamation of this nature.

Art. XLVI.—The city of Frankfort, with its territory, such as it was in 1803, is declared free, and shall constitute a part of the Germanic League. Its institutions shall be founded upon the principle of a perfect equality of rights for the different sects of the Christian religion. This equality of rights shall extend to all civil and political rights, and shall be observed in all matters of government and administration. The disputes which may arise, whether in regard to the establishment of the constitution, or in regard to its maintenance, shall be referred to the Germanic diet, and can only be decided by the same.

Frankfort declared a Free City.

Art. XLVII.—His Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Hesse, in exchange for the duchy of Westphalia, ceded to his Majesty the King of Prussia, obtains a territory on the left bank of the Rhine, in the ancient department of Mont Tonerre, comprising a population of 140,000 inhabitants. His royal highness shall possess this territory in full sovereignty and property. He shall likewise obtain the property of that part of the salt mines of Kreuznach which is situated on the left bank of the Nahe, but the sovereignty of them shall remain to Prussia.

Indemnities granted to the Grand Duke of Hesse.

Art. XLVIII.—The Landgrave of Homburg is re-instated in his possessions, revenues, rights, and political relations, of which he was deprived in consequence of the confederation of the Rhine.

Landgrave of Homburg re-instated.

Art. XLIX.—In the ci-devant department of the Sarre, on the frontiers of the states of his Majesty the King of Prussia, there is reserved a district, containing a population of 60,000 souls, to be disposed of in the following manner : the Duke of Saxe Cobourg, and the Duke of Oldenburg, shall obtain each a territory comprising 20,000 inhabitants ; the Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, and the Landgrave of Hesse-Homburg, each a territory comprising 10,000 inhabitants ; and the Count of Peppenheim a territory comprising 9,000 inhabitants. The territory of the Count of Peppenheim shall be under the sovereignty of his Prussian Majesty.

Department of the Sarre awarded to the Duke of Saxe-Cobourg, &c.

Art. L.—The acquisitions assigned by the preceding article to the Dukes of Saxe Cobourg, Oldenburg, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, and the Landgrave of Hesse-Homburg, not being contiguous to their respective states, their Majesties the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of all the Russias, and the Kings of Great Britain and Prussia, promise to employ their good offices, at the close of the present war, or as soon as circumstances shall permit, in order to procure for the said princes, either by exchanges or any other arrangements, the advantages that they are disposed to insure to them ; and that the administration of the said districts may be rendered less complicated, it is agreed that they shall be provisionally under the Prussian administration for the benefit of the new proprietors.

Art. LI.—All the territories and possessions, as well on the left bank of the Rhine, in the old departments of the Sarre and Mont Tonerre, as in the former departments of Fulda and Frankfort, or inclosed in the adjacent countries, placed at the disposal of the allied powers, by the treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814, and not disposed of by other

Extension of the Austrian Territory.

BOOK V.

CHAP. X.

1815

Germanic
Confederation.

Its Objects.

Equality of
Rights.Federative
Diet.

Votes.

Administra-
tion.General
Assembly.

Votes.

Regulations.

articles of the present treaty, shall pass in full sovereignty and property, under the government of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria.

Art. LII.—The principality of Isenburg is placed under the sovereignty of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, and shall belong to him, under such limitations as the federative constitution of Germany shall regulate for the mediatized states.

Art. LIII.—The sovereign princes and free towns of Germany, under which denomination, for the present purpose, are comprehended their Majesties the Emperor of Austria, the Kings of Prussia, of Denmark, and of the Netherlands: that is to say, the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia for all their possessions which anciently belonged to the German empire, the King of Denmark for the duchy of Holstein, and the King of the Netherlands for the grand duchy of Luxembourg, established among themselves a perpetual confederation, which shall be called "the Germanic Confederation."

Art. LIV.—The object of this confederation is the maintenance of the external and internal safety of Germany, and of the independence and inviolability of the confederated states.

Art. LV.—The members of the confederation, as such, are equal with regard to their rights; and they all equally engage to maintain the act which constitutes their union.

Art. LVI.—The affairs of the confederation shall be confided to a federative diet, in which all the members shall vote by their plenipotentiaries, either individually or collectively, in the following manner, without prejudice to their rank:—

1. Austria,	One Vote.
2. Prussia,	One —
3. Bavaria,	One —
4. Saxony,	One —
5. Hanover,	One —
6. Wurtemberg,	One —
7. Baden,	One —
8. Electoral Hesse,	One —
9. Grand Duchy of Hesse,	One —
10. Denmark for Holstein,	One —

11. The Netherlands, for Luxembourg,	One Vote.
12. Grand-Ducal and Ducal Houses of Saxony,	One —
13. Brunswick and Nassau,	One —
14. Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Strelitz,	One —
15. Holstein-Oldenburg, Anhalt and Schwartz- zenburg,	One —
16. Hohenzollern, Lichtenstein, Reuss, Schaum- burg-Lippe, Lippe and Waldeck,	One —
17. The free towns of Lubec, Frankfort, Bremen, and Hamburg,	One —

Art. LVII.—Austria shall preside at the federative diet. Each state of the confederation has the right of making propositions, and the presiding state shall bring them under deliberation within a definite time.

Art. LVIII.—Whenever fundamental laws are to be enacted, changes made in the fundamental laws of the confederation, measures adopted relative to the federative act itself, and organic institutions or other arrangements made for the common interest, the diet shall form itself into a general assembly, and, in that case, the distribution of votes shall be as follows, calculated according to the respective extent of the individual votes:—

Austria shall have	4 Votes.
Prussia	4 —
Saxony	4 —
Bavaria	4 —
Hanover	4 —
Wurtemberg	4 —
Baden	3 —
Electoral Hesse	3 —
Grand Duchy of Hesse	3 —
Holstein	3 —
Luxembourg	3 —
Brunswick	2 —
Mecklenburg-Schwerin	2 —
Nassau	2 —
Saxe-Weimar	1 —
Saxe-Gotha	1 —
Saxe-Cobourg	1 —
Saxe-Meiningen	1 —
Saxe-Hildburghausen	1 —
Mecklenburg-Strelitz	1 —

Holstein-Oldenburg	1 Vote
Anhalt-Dessau	1 —
Anhalt-Bernburg	1 —
Anhalt-Kothen	1 —
Schwartzburg-Sonderhausen	1 —
Schwartzburg-Rudolstadt	1 —
Hohenzollern-Hechingen	1 —
Lichtenstein	1 —
Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen	1 —
Waldeck	1 —
Reuss, (Elder Branch)	1 —
Reuss, (Younger Branch)	1 —
Schaumburg-Lippe	1 —
The free town of Lubec	1 —
Frankfort	1 —
Bremen	1 —
Hamburg	1 —

Total 69 Votes.

The diet, in deliberating on the organic laws of the confederation, shall consider whether any collective votes ought to be granted to the ancient mediatized states of the empire.

Art. LIX.—The question, whether a subject is to be discussed by the grand assembly, conformably to the principles above established, shall be decided in the ordinary assembly by a majority of votes. The same assembly shall prepare the drafts of resolutions which are to be proposed to the general assembly, and shall furnish the latter with all the necessary information, either for adopting or rejecting them.

The plurality of votes shall regulate the decisions, both in the ordinary and general assemblies, with this difference, however, that, in the ordinary assembly, an absolute majority shall be deemed sufficient, while, in the other, two-thirds of the votes shall be necessary to form the majority.

When the votes are even in the ordinary assembly the president shall have the casting vote; but when the assembly is to deliberate on the acceptance or change of any of the fundamental laws, upon organic institutions, upon individual rights, or upon affairs of religion, the plurality of votes shall not be deemed sufficient, either in the ordinary or in the general assembly.

The diet is permanent: it may, however, when the subjects submitted to its deliberation are disposed of, adjourn to a fixed period, which shall not exceed four months.

All ulterior arrangements relative to the postponement or the dispatch of urgent business, which may arise during the recess, shall be reserved for the diet, which will consider them when preparing the organic laws.

Art. LX.—With respect to the order in which the members of the confederation shall vote, it is agreed, that while the diet shall be occupied in framing organic laws, there shall be no fixed regulation; and whatever may be the order observed on such an occasion, it shall neither prejudice any of the members, nor establish a precedent for the future. After framing the organic laws, the diet will deliberate upon the manner of arranging this matter by a permanent regulation, for which purpose it will depart as little as possible from those which have been observed in the ancient diet, and more particularly according to the recess of the deputation of the empire in 1803. The order to be adopted shall in no way affect the rank and precedence of the members of the confederation, except in as far as they concern the diet.

Art. LXI.—The diet shall assemble at Francfort on the Maine. Its first meeting is fixed for the 1st of September, 1815.

Art. LXII.—The first object to be considered by the diet after its opening, shall be the framing of the fundamental laws of the confederation, and of its organic institutions, with respect to its exterior, military, and interior relations.

Art. LXIII.—The states of the confederation engage to defend not only the whole of Germany, but each individual state of the union, in case it should be attacked, and they mutually guarantee to each other such of their possessions as are comprised in this union.

When war shall be declared by the confederation, no member can open a separate negotiation with the enemy, nor make peace, nor conclude an armistice, without the consent of the other members.

The confederated states engage, in the same manner, not to make war against each other, on any pretext, nor to pursue their differences by force of arms, but to submit them to the diet, which will attempt a mediation by means of a commission. If this should not succeed, and a judicial sentence becomes necessary, recourse shall be had to a well-organized *Austregal* court (*Austregal instanz*), to the decision of which the contending parties are to submit without appeal.

Art. LXIV.—The articles comprised under the title of *Particular Arrangements*, in the act of the Germanic confederation, as annexed to the present general treaty, both in original and in a French translation, shall have the same force and validity as if they were textually inserted herein.

Art. LXV.—The ancient United Provinces of the Netherlands and the late Belgic Provinces, both within the limits fixed by the following article, shall form, together with the countries and territories designated in the same article, under the sovereignty of his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange Nassau, Sovereign Prince of the United Provinces, the kingdom of the Netherlands, hereditary in the order of succession already established by the act of the constitution of the said united provinces.

The title and the prerogatives of the royal dignity are recognized by all the powers of the house of Orange Nassau.

Art. LXVI.—The line comprising the territories which compose the kingdom of the Netherlands, is determined in the following manner:—

It leaves the sea, and extends along the frontiers of France on the side of the Netherlands, as rectified and fixed by article three of the treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814, to the Meuse; thence along the same frontiers to the old limits of the Duchy of Luxembourg. From this point it follows the direction of the limits between that Duchy and the ancient Bishopric of Liege, till it meets (to the south of Deiffelt) the western limits of that canton, and of that of Malmedy, to the point where the latter reaches the limits between the old departments of the Ourthe and the Roer; it then follows these limits, to where they touch those of the former French canton of Eupen, in the Duchy of Limburg, and following the western limit of that canton, in a northerly direction, leaving to the right a small part of the former French canton of Aubel, joins the point of contact of the three old departments of the Ourthe, the Lower Meuse, and the Roer; parting again from this point, this line follows that which divides the two latter departments, until it reaches the Worm (a river falling into the Roer), and goes along this river to the point where it again reaches the limit of these two departments, pursues this limit to the south of Hilkenberg (the old department of the Roer), from whence it re-ascends to the north, and leaving Hilkenberg to the right, and dividing the canton of Sittard into two nearly equal parts, so that Sittard and Susteren remain on the left, it reaches the old Dutch territory; from whence, leaving this territory to the left, it goes on following its eastern frontier to the point where it touches the old Austrian principality of Gueldres, on the side of Ruremonde, and directing itself towards the most eastern point of the Dutch territory, to the north of Swalmen, continues to inclose this territory.

Lastly, setting out from the most eastern point, it joins that part of the Dutch territory in which Venloo is situated: that town and its territory being included within it. From thence to the old Dutch frontier near Mook, situated above Genep, the line follows the course of the Meuse, at such a distance from the right bank, that all the places within a thousand Rhenish yards (*Rhenkändsche Ruthen*) from it shall belong, with their territories, to the kingdom of the Netherlands; it being understood, however, as to the reciprocity of this principle, that the Prussian territory shall not at any point touch the Meuse, or approach it within the distance of a thousand Rhenish yards.

From the point where the line just described reaches the ancient Dutch frontier, as far as the Rhine, this frontier shall remain essentially the same as it was in 1795, between Cleves and the United Provinces. This line shall be examined by a commission, which the governments of Prussia and the Netherlands shall name without delay, for the purpose of proceeding to the exact determination of the limits, as well of the kingdom of the Netherlands, as of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, specified in article sixty-eight; and this commission, aided by professional persons, shall regulate every thing concerning the hydrotechnical constructions, and other similar points, in the most equitable manner, and the most conformable to the mutual interests of the Prussian states, and of those of the Netherlands. This same arrangement refers to the fixing of limits in the districts of Rylward, Lobith, and in the whole territory as far as Keekerdon.

The *cلاعaves* of Huissen, Malburg, Lyners, with the town of Sevenaer, and lordship of Weel, shall form a part of the kingdom of the Netherlands; and his Prussian Majesty renounces them in perpetuity, for himself, his heirs and successors.

Art. LXVII.—That part of the old Duchy of Luxembourg which is comprised in the limits specified in the following article, is likewise ceded to the Sovereign Prince of the United Provinces, now King of the Netherlands, to be possessed in perpetuity by him and his successors, in full property and sovereignty. The Sovereign of the Netherlands shall add to his titles that of Grand Duke of Luxembourg, his majesty reserving to himself the privilege of making such family arrangement between the princes his sons, relative to the succession to the Grand Duchy, as he shall think conformable to the interests of his monarchy and to his paternal intentions.

Cession of the Duchy of Luxembourg.

BOOK V.

CHAP. X.

1815

The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, serving as a compensation for the principalities of Nassau Dillenburg, Siegen, Hadamar, and Dietz, shall form one of the states of the Germanic confederation: and the Prince, King of the Netherlands, shall enter into the system of this confederation, as Grand Duke of Luxembourg, with all the prerogatives and privileges enjoyed by the other German Princes.

The town of Luxembourg, in a military point of view, shall be considered as a fortress of the confederation: the Grand Duke shall, however, retain the right of appointing the governor and military commandant of this fortress, subject to the approbation of the executive power of the confederation, and under such other conditions as it may be judged necessary to establish, in conformity with the future constitution of the said confederation.

Art. LXVIII.—The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg shall consist of all the territory situated between the kingdom of the Netherlands, as it has been designated by article sixty-six, France, the Moselle, as far as the mouth of the Sure, the course of the Sure, as far as the junction of the Our, and the course of this last river, as far as the limits of the former French canton of St. Vith, which shall not belong to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.

Art. LXIX.—His Majesty the King of the Netherlands, Grand Duke of Luxembourg, shall possess in perpetuity for himself and his successors, the full and entire sovereignty of that part of the Duchy of Bouillon, which is not ceded to France by the treaty of Paris; and which, therefore, shall be united to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.

Disputes having arisen with respect to the Duchy of Bouillon, the competitor who shall legally establish his right, in the manner hereafter specified, shall possess, in full property, the said part of the duchy, as it was enjoyed by the last duke, under the sovereignty of his Majesty the King of the Netherlands, Grand Duke of Luxembourg.

This decision shall be made by arbitration, and be without appeal. For this purpose there shall be appointed a certain number of arbitrators, one by each of the two competitors, and others, to the number of three, by the courts of Austria, Prussia, and Sardinia. They shall assemble at Aix-la-Chapelle, as soon as the state of the war and other circumstances may admit of it, and their determination shall be made known within six months from their first meeting.

In the interim, his Majesty the King of the Netherlands, Grand Duke of Luxembourg, shall hold in trust the property of the said part of the duchy of Bouillon, in order that he may restore it, together with the revenues of the provincial administration, to the competitor in whose favour the arbitrators shall decide; and his said majesty shall indemnify him for the loss of the revenues arising from the rights of sovereignty, by means of some equitable arrangement. Should the restitution fall to Prince Charles of Rohan, this property, when in his possession, shall be regulated by the laws of the substitution which constitutes his title thereto.

Art. LXX.—His Majesty the King of the Netherlands renounces, in perpetuity, for himself, his heirs and successors, in favour of his Majesty the King of Prussia, the sovereign possessions which the house of Nassau Orange held in Germany, namely, the principalities of Dillenburg, Dietz, Segen, and Hadamar, with the lordships of Beilstein, such as those possessions have been definitively arranged between the two branches of the house of Nassau, by the treaty concluded at the Hague on the 14th of July, 1814. His majesty also renounces the principality of Fulda, and the other districts and territories which were secured to him by the twelfth article of the principal recess of the extraordinary deputations of the empire of the 25th of February, 1803.

Art. LXXI.—The right and order of succession, established between the two branches of the house of Nassau, by the act of 1783, called *Nassauischer Erbverein*, is confirmed, and transferred from the four principalities of Orange Nassau, to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.

Art. LXXII.—His Majesty the King of the Netherlands, in uniting under his sovereignty the countries designated in the sixty-sixth and sixty-eighth articles, enters into all the rights, and takes upon himself all the charges and all the stipulated engagements, relative to the provinces and districts detached from France by the treaty of peace concluded at Paris, the 30th of May, 1814.

Art. LXXIII.—His Majesty the King of the Netherlands, having recognized and sanctioned, under date of the 21st of July, 1814, as the basis of the union of the Belgic Provinces with the United Provinces, the eight articles contained in the document annexed to the present treaty, the said articles shall have the same force and validity as if they were inserted, word for word, in the present instrument.

Art. LXXIV.—The integrity of the nineteen cantons, as they existed in a political body, from the signature of the convention of the 29th of December, 1813, is recognized as the basis of the Helvetic system.

Art. LXXV.—The Vallais, the territory of Geneva, and the principality of Neuchâtel, are united to Switzerland, and shall form three new cantons. The valley of Dappes, having formed part of the canton of Vaud, is restored to it.

Art. LXXVI.—The bishopric of Basle, and the city and territory of Bienne, shall be united to the Helvetic confederation, and shall form part of the canton of Berne. The following districts, however, are excepted from this last arrangement:—

1. A district of about three square leagues in extent, including the communes of Altschweiler, Schonbuch, Oberweiler, Terweiler, Ettingen; Furstenstein, Plotten, Pfeffingen, Aesch, Bruck, Reinach, Arlesheim; which district shall be united to the canton of Basle.

2. A small *enclave*, situated near the village of Neufchâtel de Lignieres, which is at present, with respect to civil jurisdiction, dependent upon the canton of Neufchâtel, and with respect to criminal jurisdiction, upon that of the bishopric of Basle, shall belong in full sovereignty to the principality of Neufchâtel.

Art. LXXVII.—The inhabitants of the bishopric of Basle and those of Bienne, united to the cantons of Berne and Basle, shall enjoy, in every respect, without any distinction of religion (which shall be maintained in its present state) the same political and civil rights which are enjoyed, or may be enjoyed, by the inhabitants of the ancient parts of the said cantons; they shall, therefore, be equally competent to become candidates for the places of representatives, and for all other appointments, according to the constitution of the cantons. Such municipal privileges as are compatible with the constitution and the general regulations of the canton of Berne, shall be preserved to the town of Bienne, and to the village that formed part of its jurisdiction.

The sale of the national domains shall be confirmed, and the feudal rights and tithes cannot be re-established.

The respective acts of the union shall be framed conformably to the principles above declared, by commissions, composed of an equal number of deputies from each of the directing parties concerned. Those from the bishopric of Basle shall be chosen by the canton, from

Of the Duchy of Bouillon to the King of the Netherlands.

Renunciation of certain German Principalities in favour of Russia.

Regulations regarding the Duchy of Luxembourg;

The ceded Provinces of France;

And the Belgic Provinces.

Basis of the Helvetic System.

New Cantons.

Augmentation of the Canton of Berne.

Rights of the Inhabitants.

among the most eminent citizens of the country. The said acts shall be guaranteed by the Swiss confederation. All points upon which the parties cannot agree, shall be decided by a court of arbitration, to be named by the diet.

Art. LXXXVIII.—The cession, made by the third article of the treaty of Vienna, of the 14th of October, 1809, of the lordship of Razuna, inclosed in the country of the Grisons, having expired; and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, being restored to all the rights attached to the said possessions, confirms the disposition which he made of it, by a declaration, dated the 20th of March, 1815, in favour of the canton of the Grisons.

Art. LXXXIX.—In order to insure the commercial and military communications of the town of Geneva with the canton of Vaud, and the rest of Switzerland; and with a view to fulfil, in that respect, the fourth article of the treaty of Paris, of the 30th of May, 1814, his most Christian Majesty consents to place the line of custom-houses, that the road which leads from Geneva into Switzerland by Versoy, shall, at all times, be free, and that neither the post nor travellers, nor the transport of merchandise, shall be interrupted by any examination of the officers of the customs, nor subjected to any duty. It is equally understood, that the passage of Swiss troops on this road, shall not, in any manner, be obstructed.

In the additional regulations to be made on this subject, the execution of the treaties relative to the free communication between the town of Geneva and the jurisdiction of Peney, shall be assured in the manner most convenient to the inhabitants of Geneva. His most Christian Majesty also consents that the gendarmerie and militia of Geneva, after having communicated on the subject with the nearest military post of the French gendarmerie, shall pass on the high road of Meyrin, to and from the said jurisdiction, and the town of Geneva.

Art. LXXX.—His Majesty the King of Sardinia cedes, that part of Savoy which is situated between the river Arve, the Rhone, the limits of that part of Savoy ceded to France, and the mountain of Salive, as far as Veiry inclusive, together with that part which lies between the high road called that of the Simplon, the Lake of Geneva, and the present territory of the canton of Geneva, from Venezas to the point where the river of Hermance crosses the said road, and from thence, following the course of that river to where it enters the lake of Geneva, to the east of the village of Hermance (the whole of the road of the Simplon continuing to be possessed by his Majesty the King of Sardinia) in order that these countries shall be re-united to the canton of Geneva; with the reservation, however, of determining more precisely, by commissioners respectively, their limits, particularly of that part which relates to the demarcation above Veiry and on the mountain of Salive; his said majesty, renouncing for himself and his successors, in perpetuity, without exception or reservation, all rights of sovereignty, or other rights which may belong to him in the places and territories comprised within this demarcation.

His Majesty the King of Sardinia also agrees, that the communication between the canton of Geneva and the Vallais, by the road of the Simplon, shall be established, in the same manner as it has been agreed to by France, between Geneva and the canton of Vaud, by the route of Versoy. A free communication shall also be at all times granted for the Genevess troops, between the territory of Geneva and the jurisdiction of Jussy, and such facilities shall be allowed as may be necessary for proceeding by the lake to the road of the Simplon.

On the other hand, an exemption from all duties of transit shall be granted for all merchandise and goods which, coming from the states of his Majesty the King of Sardinia and the free port of Genoa, shall traverse the road called the Simplon in its whole extent through the Vallais and the state of Geneva. This exemption shall, however, be confined to the transit, and shall extend neither to the tolls established for the maintenance of the road, nor to duties levied on merchandise or goods intended to be sold or consumed in the interior. The same reservation shall apply to the communication granted to the Swiss between the Vallais and the canton of Geneva; and the different governments shall, for this purpose, take such measures as, by common agreement, they shall judge necessary, either for taxation or for preventing contraband trade in their territories, respectively.

Art. LXXXI.—With a view to the establishing of reciprocal compensations, the cantons of Argovia, Vaud, Tessin, and St. Gall, shall furnish to the ancient cantons of Schwitz, Unterwald, Uri, Glarus, Zug, and Appenzell (*Rhode Interior*) a sum of money to be applied to purposes of public instruction, and to the expenses of general administration, but principally to the former object, in the said cantons. The quota, manner of payment, and division of this pecuniary compensation, are fixed as follows:—

The cantons of Argovia, Vaud, and St. Gall, shall furnish to the cantons of Schwitz, Unterwald, Uri, Zug, Glaris, and Appenzell (*Rhode Interior*) a fund of 500,000 Swiss livres.

Each of the former cantons shall pay the interest of its quota, at the rate of five per cent. per annum, or have the option of discharging the principal either in money or funded property.

The division, either of the payment or receipt of these funds, shall be made according to the scale of contributions laid down for providing the federal expenses.

The canton of Tessin shall pay every year to the canton of Uri, a moiety of the produce of the tolls in the Levantine valley.

Art. LXXXII.—To put amend to the discussions which have arisen, with respect to the funds placed in England by the cantons of Zurich and Berne, it is determined:—

1. That the cantons of Berne and Zurich shall preserve the property of the funded capital as it existed in 1805, at the period of the dissolution of the Helvetic government, and shall receive the interest thereof from January 1st, 1815.

2. That the accumulated interest due since the year 1798, up to the year 1814, inclusive, shall be applied to the payment of the remaining capital of the national debt, known under the denomination of the Helvetic debt.

3. That the surplus of the Helvetic debt shall remain at the charge of the other cantons, those of Berne and Zurich being exonerated by the above arrangement. The quota of each of the cantons, which remain charged with this surplus, shall be calculated and paid according to the proportion fixed for the contributions destined to defray federal expenses. The countries incorporated with Switzerland since 1813 shall not be assessed on account of the old Helvetic debt.

If it shall happen that an overplus remains after discharging the above debt, that overplus shall be divided between the cantons of Berne and Zurich, in the proportion of their respective capitals.

The same regulations shall be observed with regard to those other debts the documents concerning which are deposited in the custody of the president of the diet.

Art. LXXXIII.—To conciliate disputes respecting *lauds* abolished without indemnification, an indemnity shall be given to persons who are owners of such *lauds*; and for the purpose of avoiding all further differences on this subject

BOOK V.

CHAP. VIII.

1815

Establishment of a communication between Geneva and Switzerland.

Cessions made by Sardinia to the Canton of Geneva.

Communication by the Road of Simplon.

Compensations.

Disposition of the Funds placed in England by the Cantons of Zurich and Berne.

Indemnities to the Proprietors of *Lands*.

BOOK V. between the cantons of Berne and Vaud, the latter shall pay to the government of Berne the sum of 300,000 Swiss livres, which shall be shared between the Bernese claimants, proprietors of *lauds*. The payments shall be made at the rate of a fifth part each year, commencing from January 1st, 1816.

CHAP. X.

1815

Confirmation of the Declaration of the 20th of March.

Frontiers of Sardinia.

Art. LXXXIV.—The declaration of the 20th of March, addressed by the allied powers who signed the treaty of Paris, to the diet of the Swiss confederation, and accepted by the diet through the act of adhesion of May 27th, is confirmed in the whole of its tenor; and the principles established, as also the arrangements agreed upon, in the said declaration, shall be invariably maintained.

Art. LXXXV.—The frontiers of the states of his Majesty the King of Sardinia shall be :—

On the side of France, such as they were on the 1st of January, 1792, with the exception of the changes effected by the treaty of Paris, of the 30th of May, 1814.

On the side of the Helvetic Confederation, such as they existed on the 1st of January, 1792, with the exception of the change produced by the cession in favour of the canton of Geneva, as specified by the eightieth article of the present act.

On the side of the states of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, such as they existed on the 1st of January, 1702; and the convention concluded between their Majesties the Empress Maria Theresa, and the King of Sardinia, on the 4th of October, 1731, shall be reciprocally confirmed in all its stipulations.

On the side of the states of Parma and Placentia, the frontiers, as far as concerns the ancient states of the King of Sardinia, shall continue to be the same as they were on the 1st of January, 1792.

The borders of the former states of Genoa, and the countries called Imperial Fiefs, united to the states of his Majesty the King of Sardinia, according to the following articles, shall be the same as those which, on the 1st of January, 1792, separated those countries from the states of Parma and Placentia, and from those of Tuscany and Massa.

The island of Capraja, having belonged to the ancient republic of Genoa, is included in the cession of the states of Genoa to his Majesty the King of Sardinia.

Genoa united to Sardinia.

Art. LXXXVI.—The states which constituted the former republic of Genoa are united in perpetuity to those of his Majesty the King of Sardinia; to be, like the latter, possessed by him in full sovereignty and hereditary property, and to descend in the male line, in the order of primogeniture, to the two branches of his house, viz. the royal branch and the branch of Savoy Carignan.

Art. LXXXVII.—The King of Sardinia shall add to his present titles that of Duke of Genoa.

Art. LXXXVIII.—The Genoese shall enjoy all the rights and privileges, specified in the act intitled "Conditions which are to serve as the bases of the union of the Genoese States to those of his Sardinian Majesty;" and the said act, such as is annexed to this general treaty, shall be considered as an integral part thereof, and shall have the same force and validity as if it were textually inserted in the present article.

Art. LXXXIX.—The countries called Imperial Fiefs, formerly united to the ancient Ligurian Republic, are definitively united to the states of his Majesty the King of Sardinia, in the same manner as the rest of the Genoese states; and the inhabitants of these countries shall enjoy the same rights and privileges as those of the states of Genoa, specified in the preceding article.

Art. XC.—The right that the powers who signed the treaty of Paris, of the 30th of May, 1812, reserved to themselves by the third article of that treaty, of fortifying such points of their states as they might judge proper for their safety, is equally reserved without restriction to his Majesty the King of Sardinia.

The Districts of Savoy ceded to Geneva.

Art. XCI.—His Majesty the King of Sardinia cedes to the canton of Geneva the districts of Savoy, designated in the eightieth article above recited, according to the conditions specified in the act intitled "Cession made by his Majesty the King of Sardinia to the canton of Geneva." This act shall be considered as an integral part of this general treaty, to which it is annexed, and shall have the same force and validity as if it were textually inserted in the present treaty.

Art. XCII.—The provinces of Chablais and Faucigny, and the whole of the territory of Savoy to the north of Ugine, belonging to his Majesty the King of Sardinia, shall form a part of the neutrality of Switzerland, as it is recognized and guaranteed by the powers.

Whenever, therefore, the neighbouring powers to Switzerland are in a state of open or impending hostility, the troops of his Majesty the King of Sardinia which may be in those provinces, shall retire, and may for that purpose pass through the Vallais if necessary. No other armed troops of any other power shall have the privilege of passing through or remaining in the said territories and provinces, excepting those which the Swiss confederation shall think proper to place there; it being well understood that this state of things shall not in any manner interrupt the administration of these countries, in which the civil agents of his Majesty the King of Sardinia may likewise employ the municipal guard for the preservation of good order.

Recognition of the ancient Sovereignty of the House of Austria in Italy, &c.

Art. XCIII.—In pursuance of the renunciations agreed upon by the treaty of Paris, of the 30th of May, 1814, the powers who sign the present treaty recognize his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, his heirs and successors, as legitimate sovereigns of the provinces and territories which had been ceded, either wholly or in part, by the treaties of Campo Formio, of 1797; of Luneville, of 1801; of Presburg, of 1805; by the additional convention of Fontainebleau, of 1807; and by the treaty of Vienna, of 1809; the possession of which provinces and territories his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty obtained in consequence of the last war; such as Istria, (Austrian as well as heretofore Venetian) Dalmatia, the ancient Venetian isles of the Adriatic, the mouths of the Cattaro, the city of Venice, with its waters, as well as all the other provinces and districts of the formerly Venetian States of the Terra Firma, upon the bank of the Adige, the duchies of Milan and Mantua, the principalities of Brixen and Trento, the county of Tyrol, the Voralberg, the Austrian Frioul, the ancient Venetian Frioul, the territory of Montefalcone, the government and town of Trieste, Carniola, Upper Carinthia, Croatia on the right of the Save, Fiume, and the Hungarian Littoral, and the district of Gastua.

Art. XCIV.—His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty shall unite to his monarchy, to be possessed by him and his successors, in full property and sovereignty:

1. Besides the portions of the Terra Firma in the Venetian states mentioned in the preceding article, the other part of those states, as well as all other territory situated between the Tessin, the Po, and the Adriatic sea.

2. The vallies of the Valteline, of Bormio, and of Chiavenna.

3. The territories which formerly composed the republic of Ragusa.

Art. XCV.—In consequence of the stipulations agreed upon in the preceding articles, the frontiers of the states of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, in Italy, shall be:—

1. On the side of the states of his Majesty the King of Sardinia, such as they were on the 1st of January, 1702.

2. On the side of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, the course of the Po, the line of demarcation following the *Thalweg* of the river.

3. On the side of the states of Modena, such as they were on the 1st of January, 1792.

4. On the side of the Papal states, the course of the Po, as far as the mouth of the Goro.

5. On the side of Switzerland, the ancient frontier of Lombardy, and that which separates the vallies of the Valteline, of Bormio, and Chiavenna, from the cantons of the Grisons, and the Tessino.

In those places where the *Thalweg* of the Po forms the frontier, it is agreed, that the changes which the course of the river may undergo shall not, in future, in any way affect the property of the islands therein contained.

Art. XCVI.—The general principles adopted by the congress at Vienna for the navigation of rivers, shall be applicable to that of the Po. Navigation of the Po.

Commissioners shall be named by the states bordering on rivers, within three months at latest after the termination of the congress, to regulate all that concerns the execution of the present article.

Art. XCVII.—As it is indispensable to preserve to the establishment known by the name of the Mont-Napoleon at Milan, the means of fulfilling its engagements towards its creditors; it is agreed, that the landed and other immoveable property of this establishment, in countries which formed part of the ancient kingdom of Italy, and have since passed under the government of different princes of Italy, as well as the capital belonging to the said establishment placed out at interest in these different countries, shall be appropriated to the same object. Engagements of the Mont-Napoleon at Milan recognized.

The unfunded and unliquidated debts of the Mont-Napoleon, such as those arising from the arrears of its charges, or from any other increase of the outgoings of this establishment, shall be divided between the territories which composed the late kingdom of Italy; and this division shall be regulated according to the joint bases of their population and revenue.

The sovereigns of the said countries shall appoint commissioners, within the space of three months, dating from the termination of the congress, to arrange with Austrian commissioners whatever relates to this object. This commission shall assemble at Milan.

Art. XCVIII.—His Royal Highness the Archduke Francis d'Este, his heirs and successors, shall possess, in full sovereignty, the duchies of Modena, Reggio, and Mirandola, such as they existed at the signature of the treaty of Campo Formio. Italian Duchies re-established in their ancient integrity.

The Archduchess Maria Beatrice d'Este, her heirs and successors, shall possess in full sovereignty and property, the duchy of Massa, and the principality of Carrara, as well as the Imperial Fiefs in La Lunigiana.

The latter may be applied to the purpose of exchanges, or other arrangements made by common consent, and according to mutual convenience, with his Imperial Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

The rights of succession and reversion, established in the branches of the archducal houses of Austria, relative to the duchies of Modena, Reggio, and Mirandola, and the principalities of Massa and Carrara, are preserved.

Art. XCIX.—Her Majesty the Empress Maria Louisa shall possess, in full property and sovereignty, the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, with the exception of the districts lying within the states of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty on the left bank of the Po. Claims of the Empress Maria Louisa recognized.

The reversion of these countries shall be regulated by common consent with the courts of Austria, Russia, France, Spain, England, and Prussia; due regard being had to the rights of reversion of the house of Austria, and of his Majesty the King of Sardinia, to the said countries.

Art. C.—His Imperial Highness the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, is re-established, himself, his heirs and successors, in all the rights of sovereignty and property, in the grand duchy of Tuscany and its dependencies, which he possessed previous to the treaty of Luneville. Duchy of Tuscany re-established in its ancient integrity.

The stipulations of the second article of the treaty of Vienna, of the 3d of October, 1735, between the Emperor Charles VI. and the King of France, to which the other powers acceded, are fully renewed in favour of his imperial highness and his descendants, as well as the guarantees resulting from those stipulations.

There shall be likewise united to the said grand duchy, to be possessed in full property and sovereignty by the Grand Duke Ferdinand, his heirs and descendants:—

1. The state of the Presidii.

2. That part of the island of Elba, and its appurtenances, which were under the *suzzeraineté* of his Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies before the year 1801.

3. The *suzzeraineté* and sovereignty of the principalities of Piombino and its dependencies.

Prince Ludovisi Buoncompagni shall retain for himself and his legitimate successors, all the property which his family possessed in the principality of Piombino, and the island of Elba and its dependencies, previously to the occupation of those countries by the French troops in 1799, together with the mines, founderies, and salt mines.

The Prince Ludovisi shall likewise preserve his right of fishery, and enjoy an entire exemption from duties, as well for the exportation of the produce of his mines, founderies, salt mines, and domains, as for the importation of wood and other articles necessary for the working of mines: he shall be also indemnified by his Imperial Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany, for all the revenues the family of the latter derived from the crown duties before the year 1801. In case any difficulties should arise in the valuation of this indemnity, the parties concerned shall refer the decision to the courts of Vienna and Sardinia.

4. The late Imperial Fiefs of Vernio, Montanto, and Monte Santa Maria, lying within the Tuscan states.

Art. CI.—The principality of Lucca shall be possessed in full sovereignty by her Majesty the Infant Maria Louisa, and her descendants in the direct male line. Principality of Lucca created into a Duchy.

BOOK V.

CHAP. X.

1815

Revenue.

Reversion.

Restorations
to the Holy
See.Restoration of
Ferdinand IV.
to the Throne
of Naples.
Proposed resti-
tutions to Por-
tugal.Abrogation of
the Tenth Ar-
ticle of the
Treaty of Paris.Restoration of
French Guiana.Regulations
regarding navi-
gable Rivers.

The principality is erected into a duchy, and shall have a form of government founded upon the principles of that which it received in 1805.

An annuity of 500,000 francs shall be added to the revenue of the principality of Lucca, which his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, and his Imperial Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany, engage to pay regularly, as long as circumstances do not admit of procuring another establishment for her Majesty the Infant Maria Louisa, her son, and his descendants. This annuity shall be specially mortgaged upon the lordships in Bohemia, known by the name of Bavaro-Palatine; which, in case of the duchy of Lucca reverting to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, shall be freed from this charge, and shall again form a part of the private domain of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty.

Art. CII.—The duchy of Lucca shall revert to the Grand Duke of Tuscany; either in case of its becoming vacant by the death of her Majesty the Infant Maria Louisa, or of her son Don Carlos, and of their male descendants; or in case the Infant Maria Louisa or her heirs should obtain any other establishment, or succeed to any other branch of their dynasty.

The Grand Duke of Tuscany, however, engages, should the said reversion fall to him, to cede to the Duke of Modena, as soon as he shall have entered into possession of the principality of Lucca, the following territories:—

1. The Tuscan districts of Tivizzano, Pietra Santa, and Barga.

2. The Lucca districts of Castiglione, and Galliciano, lying within the states of Modena, as well as those of Minusciano and Monte-Ignose, contiguous to the country of Massa.

Art. CIII.—The Marches, with Camerino, and their dependencies, as well as the duchy of Benevento and the principality of Ponte-Corvo, are restored to the Holy See.

The Holy See shall resume possession of the legations of Ravenna, Bologna, and Ferrara, with the exception of that part of Ferrara which is situated on the left bank of the Po.

His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty and his successors shall have the right of placing garrisons at Ferrara and Commachio.

The inhabitants of the countries who return under the government of the Holy See, in consequence of the stipulations of congress, shall enjoy the benefit of the sixteenth article of the treaty of Paris, of the 30th of May, 1814.

All acquisitions made by individuals in virtue of a title acknowledged as legal by the existing laws, are to be considered as good, and the arrangements necessary for the guarantee of the public debt and the payment of pensions, shall be settled by a particular convention between the courts of Rome and Vienna.

Art. CIV.—His Majesty King Ferdinand IV. for himself, his heirs and successors, is restored to the throne of Naples, and his majesty is acknowledged by the powers as King of the Two Sicilies.

Art. CV.—The powers, recognizing the justice of the claims of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal and the Brazils, upon the town of Olivença, and the other territories ceded to Spain, by the treaty of Badajoz, of 1801, and viewing the restitution of the same as a measure necessary to insure that perfect and constant harmony between the two kingdoms of the peninsula, the preservation of which in all parts of Europe, has been the constant object of their arrangements, formally engage to use their utmost endeavours, by amicable means, to procure the retrocession of the said territories, in favour of Portugal. And the powers declare, as far as depends upon them, that this arrangement shall take place as soon as possible.

Art. CVI.—In order to remove the difficulties which oppose the ratification on the part of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of the kingdoms of Portugal and the Brazils, of the treaty signed on the 30th of May, 1814, between Portugal and France; it is determined, that the stipulations contained in the tenth article of that treaty, and all those which relate to it, shall be of no effect, and that, with the consent of all the powers, the provisions contained in the following article shall be substituted for them, and which shall alone be considered as valid: with this exception, all the other clauses of the above treaty of Paris shall be maintained, and regarded as mutually binding on the two courts.

Art. CVII.—His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of the kingdoms of Portugal and the Brazils, wishing to give an unequivocal proof of his high consideration for his most Christian Majesty, engages to restore French Guiana to his said majesty, as far as the river Oyapock, the mouth of which is situated between the fourth and fifth degree of north latitude, and which has always been considered by Portugal as the limit appointed by the treaty of Utrecht.

The period for giving up this colony shall be determined, as soon as circumstances shall permit, by a particular convention between the two courts; and they shall enter into an amicable arrangement, as soon as possible, with regard to the definitive demarcation of the limits of Portuguese and French Guiana, conformably to the precise meaning of the eighth article of the treaty of Utrecht.

Art. CVIII.—The powers whose states are separated or crossed by the same navigable river, engage to regulate, by common consent, all that regards its navigation. For this purpose they will name commissioners, who shall assemble, at latest, within six months after the termination of the congress, and who shall adopt, as the bases of their proceedings, the principles established by the following articles.

Art. CIX.—The navigation of the rivers, along their whole course referred to in the preceding article, from the point where each of them becomes navigable, to its mouth, shall be entirely free, and shall not, in respect to commerce, be prohibited to any one; it being understood, that the regulations established with regard to the police of this navigation shall be respected; as they will be framed alike for all, and as favourable as possible to the commerce of all nations.

Art. CX.—The system that shall be established both for the collection of the duties and for the maintenance of the police, shall be, as nearly as possible, the same along the whole course of the river; and shall also extend, unless particular circumstances prevent it, to those of its branches and junctions, which, in their navigable course, separate or traverse different states.

Art. CXI.—The duties on navigation shall be regulated in an uniform and settled manner, and with as little reference as possible to the different quality of the merchandise, in order that a minute examination of the cargo may be rendered unnecessary, except with a view to prevent fraud and evasion. The amount of the duties, which shall in no case exceed those now paid, shall be determined by local circumstances, which scarcely allow of a general rule in this respect. The tariff shall, however, be prepared in such a manner as to encourage commerce by facilitating navigation; for which purpose, the duties established upon the Rhine, and now in force on that river, may serve as an approximating rule for its construction.

The tariff once settled, no increase shall take place therein, except by the common consent of the states bordering on the rivers; nor shall the navigation be burthened with any other duties than those fixed in the regulation.

Art. CXII.—The offices for the collection of duties, the number of which shall be reduced as much as possible, shall be determined upon in the above regulation, and no change shall afterwards be made, but by common consent, unless any of the states bordering on the rivers should wish to diminish the number of those which exclusively belong to the same.

Art. CXIII.—Each state bordering on the rivers is to be at the expense of keeping in good repair the towing paths which pass through the territory, and of maintaining the necessary works through the same extent in the channels of the river, in order that no obstacle may be experienced to the navigation.

The intended regulation shall determine the manner in which the states bordering on the rivers are to participate in these latter works, where the opposite banks belong to different governments.

Art. CXIV.—There shall no where be established store-house, port, or forced harbour duties. Those already existing shall be preserved for such time only as the states bordering on rivers (without regard to the local interest of the place or the country where they are established) shall find them necessary or useful to navigation and commerce in general.

Art. CXV.—The custom-houses belonging to the states bordering on rivers shall not interfere in the duties of navigation. Regulations shall be established to prevent officers of the customs, in the exercise of their functions, throwing obstacles in the way of the navigation; but care shall be taken, by means of a strict police on the bank, to preclude every attempt of the inhabitants to smuggle goods, through the medium of boatmen.

Art. CXVI.—Every thing expressed in the preceding articles shall be settled by a general arrangement, in which there shall be comprised whatever may need an ulterior determination.

The arrangement once settled, shall not be changed, but by and with the consent of all the states bordering on rivers, and they shall take care to provide for its execution with due regard to circumstances and locality.

Art. CXVII.—The particular regulations relative to the navigation of the Rhine, the Necker, the Maine, the Moselle, the Meuse, and the Scheldt, such as they are annexed to the present act, shall have the same force and validity as if they were textually inserted herein.

Art. CXVIII.—The treaties, conventions, declarations, regulations, and other particular acts which are annexed to the present act, viz :—

Enumeration
of the Treaties.

1. The treaty between Russia and Austria of the 21st of April, (3d May,) 1815;
 2. The treaty between Russia and Prussia of the 21st of April, (3d May,) 1815;
 3. The additional treaty relative to Cracow, between Austria, Prussia, and Russia, of the 21st of April, (3d May,) 1815;
 4. The treaty between Prussia and Saxony of the 18th of May, 1815;
 5. The declaration of the King of Saxony respecting the rights of the house of Schöenburg, of the 18th of May, 1815;
 6. The treaty between Prussia and Hanover, of the 29th of May, 1815;
 7. The convention between Prussia and the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, of the 1st of June, 1815;
 8. The convention between Prussia and the Duke and Prince of Nassau, of the 31st of May, 1815;
 9. The act concerning the Federative Constitution of Germany, of the 8th of June, 1815;
 10. The treaty between the King of the Netherlands, and Prussia, England, Austria, and Russia, of the 31st of May, 1815;
 11. The declaration of the powers on the affairs of the Helvetic Confederation of the 20th of March, and the act of Accession of the Diet, of the 28th of May, 1815;
 12. The protocol of the 29th of March, 1815, on the cessions made by the King of Sardinia to the Canton of Geneva;
 13. The treaty between the King of Sardinia, Austria, England, Russia, Prussia, and France, of the 21st of May, 1815;
 14. The act intitled "Conditions which are to serve as the bases of the Union of the states of Genoa with those of his Sardinian Majesty;"
 15. The declaration of the Powers on the Abolition of the Slave Trade, of the 8th of February, 1815;
 16. The regulations respecting the free navigation of rivers;
 17. The regulation concerning the precedence of diplomatic agents;
- Shall be considered as integral parts of the arrangements of the congress, and shall have, throughout, the same force and validity as if they were inserted word for word in the general treaty.

Art. CXIX.—All the persons assembled in congress, as well as the princes and free towns, who have concurred in the arrangements specified, and in the acts confirmed in this general treaty, are invited to accede to it.

To which all
the Powers are
invited to ac-
cede.

Art. CXX.—The French language having been exclusively employed in all the copies of the present treaty, it is declared by the powers who have concurred in this act, that the use made of that language shall not be construed into a precedent for the future; every power, therefore, reserves to itself the adoption, in future negotiations and conventions, of the language it has heretofore employed in its diplomatic relations; and this treaty shall not be cited as a precedent contrary to the established practice.

The use of the
French Lan-
guage in this
Treaty not to
be drawn into
a precedent.

Art. CXXI.—The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged in six months, and by the court of Portugal in a year, or sooner, if possible.

Period for
Ratifications.

BOOK V.

CHAP. X.

1815

General Treaty
to be lodged in
the Archives at
Paris.

A copy of this general treaty shall be deposited in the archives of the court and state of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, at Vienna, in case any of the courts of Europe shall think proper to consult the original text of this instrument.

In faith of which the respective plenipotentiaries have signed this act, and have affixed therunto the seals of their arms.

Done at Vienna the 9th of June, in the year of our Lord 1815.

(The signatures follow in the alphabetical order of the courts.)

<i>Austria</i>	(L.S.)	THE PRINCE DE METTERNICH.
	(L.S.)	THE BARON DE WESSENBURG.
<i>Spain</i>		
<i>France</i>	(L.S.)	THE PRINCE DE TALLEYRAND.
	(L.S.)	THE DUKE DE DALBERG.
	(L.S.)	THE COUNT ALEXIS DE NOAILLES.
<i>Great Britain</i>	(L.S.)	CLANCARTY.
	(L.S.)	CATHCART.
	(L.S.)	STEWART, L. G.
<i>Portugal</i>	(L.S.)	THE COUNT DE PALMELLA.
	(L.S.)	ANTONIA DE SALDANHA DA GAMA.
	(L.S.)	D. JOAQUIM LOBO DA SILVEIRA.
<i>Prussia</i>	(L.S.)	THE PRINCE DE HARDENBERG.
	(L.S.)	THE BARON DE HUMBOLDT.
<i>Russia</i>	(L.S.)	THE PRINCE DE RASOUMOFFSKY.
	(L.S.)	THE COUNT DE STACKELBERG.
	(L.S.)	THE COUNT DE NESSELRODE.
<i>Sweden</i>	(L.S.)	THE COUNT CHARLES AXEL DE LOWENHIELM.

Save and except the reservation made to the articles one hundred and one, one hundred and two, and one hundred and four, of the treaty.

APPENDIX.

EXPEDITION AGAINST ALGIERS.

During the deliberations of the Congress at Vienna, a memorial was presented by Sir Sidney Smith to that august body, on the expediency and the means of putting an end to the piracies of the Barbary States. The time he considered as propitious for rooting out a nest of pirates, who not only oppressed the natives in their vicinity, but trepanned and bought them as slaves, to employ them in vessels fitted out as privateers for the purpose of tearing honest cultivators from their homes, and the peaceable inhabitants from the shores of Europe. This system of robbery, so revolting to humanity, operated as a very formidable restraint on commerce, and subjected the mariners of christian states navigating the Mediterranean and the Adriatic seas, to be seized by the pirates, and carried as slaves into Africa. The government of Algiers, he represents as composed of the officers of an orta or regiment of Janizaries—a rebellious soldiery, who do not, even in appearance, acknowledge the authority of the Ottoman Porte, though that power claims from them allegiance. The head of the government, or the dey, as he is called, is always the officer most distinguished among them for cruelty, and his situation at the head of the divan or regency is held by enriching his associates, by permitting them to indulge in every sort of violence in Africa, and by carrying on a piratical warfare, on the seas, against the weaker states of Europe. The military means hitherto employed by the christian princes to hold the Barbary States in check, had been found not only inadequate to that purpose, but they had generally had the effect to strengthen and consolidate the dangerous power of these barbarians.

Sir Sidney
Smith's Memo-
rial.

To overthrow a power so inimical to the well-being of society, seemed to be a *desideratum* in the policy of christian princes; and the laudable object of Sir Sidney Smith was to secure Europe for ever from the outrages of the African corsairs, and to cause governments favourable to commerce, and in peace and amity with civilized nations, to succeed to states radically and necessarily piratical ever since the days of Barbarossa.

The close study and investigation of thirty years, much of which time had been spent in an official situation, as the representative of his native country at the court of the Ottoman Porte, or in the camp and fleets of the same power, and in close intercourse with the natives and tribes of Africa and Asia, had impressed upon the mind of Sir Sidney Smith a firm conviction of the possibility of crushing the system of robbery and outrage acted upon by the Barbary states, and induced him to make to the congress an offer to undertake the direction of the expedition for that purpose, provided the necessary means might be placed at his disposal. Animated by the recollection of his oaths of knighthood, and being anxious to excite the same ardour in other christian knights, he proposed to the nations most interested in the success of this noble enterprise, to engage themselves by a treaty to furnish their respective contingents to a military, or as it might be called, an amphibious force, which, without compromising any flag, and without being influenced by wars, or any political crisis incident to nations, should constantly guard the shores of the Mediterranean, and have confided to it the important duty of watching, stopping, and following the.

pirates, both on the seas and on land. A power so constituted, and recognized and protected by all Europe, would not only render commerce perfectly secure, but would eventually civilize the coasts of Africa, by prohibiting the inhabitants from continuing their piratical depredations, to the prejudice of industry and lawful commerce. The ulterior details would, he said, be easily developed, when the sovereigns should have adopted the principle, and when they should deign to grant to the memorialist that confidence and authority which might be requisite for the success of the enterprise.

Lord Exmouth's Negotiations.

To this spirited memorial, so consonant with the chivalrous mind of its author, no public answer was returned, nor any congressional proceedings adopted thereon. Early in the year 1816, instructions were, however, given to Lord Exmouth, the commander of the British squadron on the Mediterranean station, to negotiate treaties with the Barbary states, for prohibiting the making of christian slaves—and stipulating that such prisoners as might be taken in war should only be considered as prisoners of war. To these proposals the Deys at Tunis and Tripoli readily consented; but when the abolition of slavery was urged upon the Dey of Algiers, he requested that six months might be allowed him to obtain the advice and sanction of the Grand Signior on the question. After much discussion, the term of six was reduced to three months, and through the intervention of the British admiral, a treaty of peace was ultimately concluded between the Kings of Naples and Sardinia and the Dey of Algiers, by which these sovereigns stipulated to pay a ransom to the dey for the release of the Neapolitan and Sardinian slaves at that time in captivity.*

His Expedition.

Soon after the treaties were concluded, and while Lord Exmouth was on his return to England, a dreadful massacre of the subjects of christian states took place at Bona, an African port under the government of the Dey of Algiers. This sanguinary atrocity was committed on the day of Ascension, on which occasion seven hundred mariners, belonging to the crews of the coral fishing boats, under English and French colours, having landed at Bona to perform their devotions, a vast assemblage of Turks and Bedouins broke into the church, and sacrificed about two hundred of the christian worshippers to their insatiable fury.

The murders at Bona, which probably originated in an impulse of popular fanaticism over which the government had no control, were succeeded by acts of open piracy, sanctioned by the dey, and directed against the British flag.† Roused to indignation by these enormities, and determined at length to put an end to a system which had so long harassed and scandalized civilized society, the British government determined to visit the lawless barbarians with signal and plenary punishment. For this purpose the most active preparations were set on foot, and on Sunday, the 28th of July, Lord Exmouth set sail from Plymouth for the Mediterranean, with a formidable fleet under his command.‡ While Lord Exmouth remained at Gibraltar, on his way to the African coast, the Dutch admiral, Capellen, with six frigates under his command, asked and obtained permission to unite his squadron with the British fleet, and this revival of an union offensive and defensive with an ancient ally, was hailed as the harbinger of success:—

On the 27th of August the British fleet, with its Dutch auxiliaries, arrived before the city of Algiers, and the following documents, written with the spirit of a hero, and the pen of a scholar, will serve to acquaint posterity with the nature and the result of these operations.

* Letter from Lord Exmouth to the King of Naples, dated Algiers, April 6, 1816.

† Letter from P. C. Tupper, His Majesty's Consul-general at Barcelona, dated May 29, 1816.

‡ List of the British Fleet dispatched against Algiers.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Names.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Names.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Names.</i>
Queen Charlotte.....	110	Glasgow.....	40	Jaseur.....	18	Hecla.....a bomb
Impregnable.....	98	Severn.....	40	Mutine.....	18	Infernal.....do.
Superb.....	74	Granicus.....	36	Heron.....	18	Belzebub.....do.
Minden.....	74	Hebrus.....	36	Britomart.....	16	Fury.....do.
Albion.....	74	Thames.....	32	Cordelia.....	10	Camel.....do.
Leander.....	50	Dover.....	32	Jasper.....	10	And a brig.

A company of royal sappers and miners, under Major Gossett and Captain Reid, embarked on board the Queen Charlotte and the Minden. Fireship boxes were also prepared for each of the ships from Plymouth. The rockets amounted to 3,000. All ships under his lordship's orders, had their magazines fitted on Sir W. Congreve's plan; and the whole was in every respect suitably fitted for this particular service. It was also expected that Sir Charles Penrose would join Lord Exmouth, with as many ships as could be spared from the services on the Mediterranean station.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Admiralty-Office, September 15, 1816.

Captain Brisbane, of his Majesty's ship *Queen Charlotte*, arrived at this office last night, with the following dispatches from Admiral Lord Exmouth, G. C. B. addressed to John Wilson Croker, Esq. Official Dis-
patches.

Queen Charlotte, Algiers Bay, August 28, 1816.

Sir,—In all the vicissitudes of a long life of public service, no circumstance has ever produced on my mind such impressions of gratitude and joy as the event of yesterday. To have been one of the humble instruments, in the hands of Divine Providence, for bringing to reason a ferocious government, and destroying for ever the insufferable and horrid system of christian slavery, can never cease to be a source of delight and heartfelt comfort to every individual happy enough to be employed in it. I may, I hope, be permitted, under such impressions, to offer my sincere congratulations to their lordships on the complete success which attended the gallant efforts of his majesty's fleet in their attack upon Algiers yesterday, and the happy result produced from it on this day by the signature of peace.

Thus has a provoked war of two days' existence been attended by a complete victory, and closed by a renewed peace for England and her ally, the King of the Netherlands, on conditions dictated by the firmness and wisdom of his majesty's government, and commanded by the vigour of their measures.

My thanks are justly due for the honour and confidence his majesty's ministers have been pleased to repose on my zeal on this highly important occasion. The means were by them made adequate to my own wishes, and the rapidity of their measures speak for themselves. Not more than one hundred days since I left Algiers with the British fleet, unsuspecting and ignorant of the atrocities which had been committed at Bona: that fleet, on its arrival in England, was necessarily disbanded, and another, with proportionate resources, created and equipped; and, although impeded in its progress by calms and adverse winds, has poured the vengeance of an insulted nation, in chastening the cruelties of a ferocious government, with a promptitude beyond example, and highly honourable to the national character, eager to resent oppression or cruelty, whenever practised upon those under their protection.

Would to God that, in the attainment of this object, I had not deeply to lament the severe loss of so many gallant officers and men; they have profusely bled in a contest which has been peculiarly marked by proofs of such devoted heroism as would arouse every noble feeling, did I dare indulge in relating them.

Their lordships will already have been informed, by his majesty's ship *Jasper*, of my proceedings up to the 14th instant, on which day I broke ground from Gibraltar, after a vexatious detention by a foul wind of four days.

The fleet, complete in all its points, with the addition of five gun-boats fitted at Gibraltar, departed in the highest spirits, and with the most favourable prospect of reaching the port of their destination in three days; but an adverse wind destroyed the expectation of an early arrival, which was the more anxiously looked for by myself, in consequence of hearing, the day I sailed from Gibraltar, that a large army had been assembled, and that very considerable additional works were throwing up, not only on both flanks of the city, but also immediately about the entrance of the mole; from this I was apprehensive that my intention of making that point my principal object of attack, had been discovered to the dey by the same means he had heard of the expedition. This intelligence was, on the following night, greatly confirmed by the *Prometheus*, which I had dispatched to Algiers some time before, to endeavour to get away the consul. Captain Dashwood had with difficulty succeeded in bringing away, disguised in midshipmen's uniform, his wife and daughter, leaving a boat to bring off their infant child, coming down in a basket with the surgeon, who thought he had composed it; but it unhappily cried in the gateway, and in consequence, the surgeon, three midshipmen, in all eighteen persons, were seized, and confined as slaves in the usual dungeon. The child was sent off next morning by the dey, and as a solitary instance of his humanity, it ought to be recorded by me.

Captain Dashwood further confirmed, that about 40,000 men had been brought down from the interior, and all the Janissaries called in from distant garrisons, and that they were indefatigably employed in their batteries, gun-boats, &c. and every-where strengthening the sea-defences.

The dey informed Captain Dashwood he knew perfectly well the armament was destined for Algiers, and asked him if it was true; he replied, if he had such information he knew as much as he did, and probably from the same source—the public prints.

The ships were all in port, and between forty and fifty gun and mortar boats ready, with several more in forward repair. The dey had closely confined the consul, and refused either to give him up or promise his personal safety; nor would he hear a word respecting the officers and men seized in the boats of the *Prometheus*.

From the continuance of adverse winds and calms, the land to the westward of Algiers was not made before the 26th, and the next morning, at day-break, the fleet was advanced in sight of the city, though not so near as I had intended. As the ships were becalmed, I embraced this opportunity of dispatching a boat, under cover of the Severn, with a flag of truce, and the demands I had to make in the name of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent on the Dey of Algiers (of which the accompanying are copies); directing the officer to wait two or three hours for the dey's answer, at which time, if no reply was sent, he was to return to the flag-ship. He was met

near the mole by the captain of the port, who, on being told the answer was expected in one hour, replied, that it was impossible. The officer then said he would wait two or three hours; he then observed, two hours were quite sufficient.

The fleet at this time, by the springing up of the sea-breeze, had reached the bay, and were preparing the boats and flotilla for service, until near two o'clock, when, observing my officer was returning, with the signal flying that no answer had been received, after a delay of upwards of three hours, I instantly made the signal to know if the ships were all ready, which being answered in the affirmative, the Queen Charlotte bore up, followed by the fleet, for their appointed stations; the flag, leading in the prescribed order, was anchored in the entrance of the mole, at about fifty yards distance. At this moment not a gun had been fired, and I began to suspect a full compliance with the terms, which had been so many hours in their hands. At this period of profound silence, a shot was fired at us from the mole, and two at the ships to the northward, then following. This was promptly returned by the Queen Charlotte, who was then lashing to the main-mast of a brig, fast to the shore in the mouth of the mole, and which we had steered for, as the guide to our position.

Thus commenced a fire as animated and well supported, as, I believe, was ever witnessed, from a quarter before three o'clock until nine, without intermission, and which did not cease altogether until half-past eleven.

The ships immediately following me were admirably and coolly taking their stations, with a precision even beyond my most sanguine hope; and never did the British flag receive, on any occasion, more zealous and honourable support. To look further on the line than immediately around me, was perfectly impossible; but so well grounded was my confidence in the gallant officers I had the honour to command, that my mind was left perfectly free to attend to other objects, and I knew them in their stations only by the destructive effect of their fire upon the walls and batteries to which they were opposed.

I had about this time the satisfaction of seeing Vice-admiral Van Capellen's flag in the station I had assigned to him, and soon after, at intervals, the remainder of his frigates, keeping up a well-supported fire on the flanking batteries he had offered to cover us from, as it had not been in my power, for want of room, to bring him in the front of the mole.

About sun-set I received a message from Rear-admiral Milne, conveying to me the severe loss the Impregnable was sustaining, having then one hundred and fifty killed and wounded, and requesting I would, if possible, send him a frigate to divert some of the fire he was under.

The Glasgow, near me, immediately weighed, but the wind had been driven away by the cannonade, and she was obliged to anchor again, having obtained rather a better position than before.

I had at this moment sent orders to the explosion vessel, under the charge of Lieutenant Fleming and Mr. Parker, by Captain Reade, of the Engineers, to bring her into the mole; but the rear-admiral having thought she would do him essential service if exploded under the battery in his front, I sent orders to this vessel to that effect, which were executed. I desired also the rear-admiral might be informed, that many of the ships being now in flames, and certain of the destruction of the whole, I considered I had executed the most important part of my instructions, and should make every preparation for withdrawing the ships, and desired he would do so as soon as possible with his division.

There were awful moments during the conflict, which I cannot now attempt to describe, occasioned by firing the ships so near us, and I had long resisted the eager entreaties of several around me, to make the attempt upon the outer frigate, distant about one hundred yards, which at length I gave in to, and Major Gossett, by my side, who had been eager to land his corps of miners, pressed me most anxiously for permission to accompany Lieutenant Richards in this ship's barge. The frigate was immediately boarded, and in ten minutes in a perfect blaze. A gallant young midshipman, in rocket-boat, No. 8, although forbidden, was led by his ardent spirit to follow in support of the barge, in which he was desperately wounded, his brother officer killed, and nine of his crew. The barge, by rowing more rapidly, had suffered less, and lost but two.

The enemy's batteries around my division were about ten o'clock silenced, and in a state of perfect ruin and dilapidation; and the fire of the ships was reserved as much as possible, to save powder and reply to a few guns now and then bearing upon us, although a fort upon the upper angle of the city, on which our guns could not be brought to bear, continued to annoy the ships by shot and shells during the whole time.

Providence at this interval gave to my anxious wishes the usual land wind, common in this bay, and my expectations were completed. We were all employed warping and towing off, and, by the help of the light air, the whole were under sail, and came to an anchor out of the reach of shells about two in the morning, after twelve hours' incessant labour.

The flotilla of mortar, gun, and rocket-boats, under the direction of their respective artillery officers, shared, to the full extent of their power, in the honours of this day, and performed good service; it was by their fire that all the ships in the port (with the exception of the outer frigate) were in flames: which extended rapidly over the whole arsenal, store-houses, and gun-boats, exhibiting a spectacle of awful grandeur and interest no pen can describe.

The sloops of war which had been appropriated to aid and assist the ships of the line, and prepare for their retreat, performed not only that duty well, but embraced every opportunity of firing through the intervals, and were constantly in motion.

The shells from the bombs were admirably well thrown by the royal marine artillery; and though thrown directly across and over us, not an accident that I know of occurred to any ship.

The whole was conducted in perfect silence, and such a thing as a cheer I never heard in any part of the

line; and that the guns were well worked and directed, will be seen for many years to come, and remembered by these barbarians for ever.

The conducting this ship to her station, by the masters of the fleet and ship, excited the praise of all. The former has been my companion in arms for more than twenty years.

Having thus detailed, although but imperfectly, the progress of this short service, I venture to hope, that the humble and devoted services of myself, and the officers and men of every description I have the honour to command, will be received by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent with his accustomed grace. The approbation of our services by our sovereign, and the good opinion of our country, will, I venture to affirm, be received by us all with the highest satisfaction.

If I attempted to name to their lordships the numerous officers, who, in such a conflict, had been at different periods more conspicuous than their companions, I should do injustice to many; and I trust there is no officer in the fleet I have the honour to command, who will doubt the grateful feelings I shall ever cherish for their unbounded and unlimited support. Not an officer nor a man confined his exertions within the precise limits of their own duty; all were eager to attempt services which I found more difficult to restrain than excite; and no where was this feeling more conspicuous than in my own captain, and those officers immediately about my person. My gratitude and thanks are due to all under my command, as well as to Vice-admiral Capellen, and the officers of the squadron of his Majesty the King of the Netherlands; and I trust they will believe, that the recollection of their services will never cease but with my life. In no instance have I ever seen more energy and zeal: from the youngest midshipman to the highest rank, all seemed animated by one soul, and of which I shall with delight bear testimony to their lordships, whenever that testimony can be useful.

I have confided this dispatch to Rear-admiral Milne, my second in command, from whom I have received, during the whole service intrusted to me, the most cordial and honourable support. He is perfectly informed of every transaction of the fleet, from the earliest period of my command, and is fully competent to give their lordships satisfaction on any points which I may have overlooked or have not time to state. I trust I have obtained from him his esteem and regard, and I regret I had not sooner been known to him.

The necessary papers, together with the defects of the ships, and the return of killed and wounded, accompany this dispatch; and, I am happy to say, Captains Ekins and Coode are doing well, as also the whole of the wounded. By accounts from the shore, I understand the enemy's loss, in killed and wounded, is between six and seven thousand men.

In recommending my officers and fleet to their lordships' protection and favour,

I have the honour to be, &c.

EXMOUTH.

A General Abstract of the Killed and Wounded, in the Squadron under Admiral Lord Exmouth's command, in the Attack of Algiers, the 27th of August, 1816.

Total.—15 officers, 88 seamen, 19 marines, 1 marine artillery, 1 rocket troop, 4 boys killed; 59 officers, 450 seamen, 106 marines, 5 marine artillery, 14 sappers and miners, 4 rocket troops, 31 boys, 12 supernumeraries, wounded.
Total killed and wounded.—128 killed, 690 wounded.

DUTCH SQUADRON.—*Total.*—13 killed, 52 wounded.

Flotilla, consisting of 5 gun-boats, 10 mortar-boats, launches, 8 rocket-boats, flats, 3 gun-boats, barges, and yawls; total 55:—the whole commanded by Captain F. T. Mitchell, assisted by Lieutenant John Davies, of the Queen Charlotte, and Lieutenant Thomas Revans, flag lieutenant to Rear-admiral Milne.

Memorandum of the Destruction in the Mole of Algiers, in the Attack of the 27th of August, 1816.

Four large frigates, of 44 guns; five large corvettes, from 24 to 30; all the gun and mortar boats, except 7; 30 destroyed; several merchant brigs and schooners; a great number of small vessels of various descriptions; all the pontoons, lighters, &c.; storehouses and arsenal, with all the timber and various marine articles destroyed in part; a great many gun-carriages, mortar-beds, casks, and ships' stores of all descriptions.

His Britannic Majesty's ship Queen Charlotte, Algiers Bay, August 28, 1816.

Sir,—For your atrocities at Bona on defenceless christians, and your unbecoming disregard to the demands I made yesterday, in the name of the Prince Regent of England, the fleet under my orders has given you a signal chastisement, by the total destruction of your navy, storehouses, and arsenal, with half your batteries.

Lord Exmouth's Letter to the Dey.

As England does not war for the destruction of cities, I am unwilling to visit your personal cruelties upon the inoffensive inhabitants of the country, and I therefore offer you the same terms of peace which I conveyed to you yesterday, in my sovereign's name; without the acceptance of these terms, you can have no peace with England.

If you receive this offer as you ought, you will fire three guns; and I shall consider your not making this signal as a refusal, and shall renew my operations at my own convenience.

I offer you the above terms, provided neither the British consul, nor the officers and men so wickedly seized by you from the boats of a British ship of war, have met with any cruel treatment, or any of the christian slaves in your power; and I repeat my demand, that the consul, and officers and men, may be sent off to me, conformable to ancient treaties.

(Signed)

EXMOUTH.

To his Highness the Dey of Algiers.

Arrival at
Madeira.

"On our approach to Madeira," continues Mr. Warden, "the hazy state of the atmosphere precluded the possibility of seeing the island, until we got close between Puerto Santo and the Deserts. The latter rocky island is almost perpendicular; and has some slight resemblance to St. Helena. This circumstance I mentioned to De las Cases, and he instantly communicated it to Napoleon, who had quitted the dinner-table sooner than usual, and joined a few of us on the poop: but the comparison of what he now saw with his gloomy notions of the place where he was shortly to abide, produced not a single word. He gave an energetic shrug, and a kind of contemptuous smile; and that was all. The sloping front and luxuriant aspect of the island of Madeira could not but excite an unpleasant sensation, when contrasted with the idea he had entertained of the huge black rock of St. Helena."

Crossing the
Line.

"The ceremony of crossing the line, a day of jubilee to the voyagers of every maritime nation, is so well known, that it would be superfluous to give a minute description of it; though more than usual ceremony was displayed on the present occasion: and it must be acknowledged that the French party submitted with the best grace, that is to say, with the most perfect good humour, to the novel freedoms of the marine saturnalia: nor had the Neptune and Amphitrite of the day any cause of complaint. They were seated in a boat filled with water, the throne a match-tub, and the sceptre a painter's brush. They were surrounded by their tritons, consisting of fifty or sixty of the most athletic men in the ship, naked to the waist, and bedawbed with various colours, each bearing a pail of salt water, to drench more or less, the subjects of the briny god. The licence of the pastime may be imagined, when Captain Ross, who commanded the ship, received the contents of one of them with perfect pleasantry."

"Bertrand, Montholon, Gourgon, and De las Cases, with all the domestics, presented themselves to the temporary, but potent Neptune, and received with the necessary cheerfulness their share of his ablutions. The two former led their children forward, each of them presenting, from their extended little hands, a double Napoleon, as their offering to the presiding deity of the deep. A seaboysung the song of "The snug little Island," some of whose lines were not very complimentary to the enemies of Great Britain, but not an unpleasant look was produced by them. The ladies viewed the scene from an elevated position, and appeared to be equally amused and astonished at the festivities of it. Neptune was rather disappointed that Napoleon did not make his appearance, though he acknowledged the sovereign dignity by sending his tribute. In short, harmony prevailed to the close of this festal medley."

Arrival off
St. Helena.

"After crossing the line, the south-west winds occasioned our making a sweep off the Gulph of Guinea, before we were enabled to shape a course for our destined port. The declining sun of the 14th of October, 1815, shot out a parting ray ere it sunk beneath the horizon. Under this small illumined space, was obscurely perceived the lofty peak of St. Helena; and the memorable morning soon dawned which was to usher in the commencement of Napoleon's exile."

Arrival at
St. Helena.

"The sensation excited in the little interesting colony of St. Helena on the arrival of this extraordinary guest, may be more easily imagined than described. Curiosity, astonishment, and interest, combined to rouse the inhabitants from their habitual tranquillity, into a state of busy activity and inquisitive solicitude."

"Napoleon did not leave his cabin for a full hour after the ship had anchored in the bay; however, when the deck became clear, he made his appearance, and ascended the poop ladder, from which he could examine every gun that bristles at the mouth of James Valley; in the centre of which the town of that name, and the only one in the island, is situate.—While he stood there I watched his countenance with the most observant attention, and it betrayed no particular sensation: he looked as any other man would look at a place which he beheld for the first time.—I shall also take this opportunity to mention, that, during the whole voyage; from the moment the Northumberland set sail from England to its arrival at St. Helena, I never saw any change in the placid countenance and unassuming manners of our distinguished shipmate; nor did I hear of a discontented look, or a peevish expression, being remarked by any other person in the ship. The ladies, indeed, discovered some distress on the first view of their rocky cage; but their general conduct on the occasion, displayed a degree of self-possession which was not expected of them."

Napoleon's
temporary Re-
sidence.

"The first object of the admiral was to make the necessary arrangements for the accommodation of Napoleon and his suite; and the lieutenant-governor's house was appropriated for that purpose, till a proper place could be prepared for his fixed residence. It was not, therefore, till the 17th, that they disembarked.—After sun-set, on that day, when the inhabitants, of the town, wearied out in waiting for the spectacle of Bonaparte's landing, had retired to their houses, that he, according to the wish he had expressed, passed unobserved to the house where he was to pass the first night as an inhabitant of St. Helena."

"At an early hour of the following morning the general was on horseback, accompanied by Sir George Cockburn. They ascended the mountain to Longwood, which was to be the tranquil residence

of a man on an insulated rock in Africa, who had possessed gorgeous palaces in so many of the splendid cities of Europe.

"About a mile from the town, and midway up the mountain, stands the country-house of a most respectable man and a merchant of the island, Mr. Balcombe: it is named *The Briars*, and is situated on a level spot, which might almost be imagined to have been formed by art in the steep ascent. It occupies about two acres, and is bountifully supplied with water, by whose irrigating influence a pleasing and contrasted scene of vegetation, enriched by fruit-trees, has been produced; and seems, as it were, suspended between the heights above, and the depths below.—Here Napoleon, on his descent from Longwood, was induced to call; and such was the hospitable importunity of the amiable master of the mansion, that he relinquished his intention of returning to the valley, and thereby avoided the public gaze that was waiting his appearance.

"On an elevated mound, about fifty yards from the house, is a Gothic building, having one room below, and two small apartments above. This Maisonette Napoleon chose for his residence, till Longwood could be completed. There was no choice in the arrangement of this confined abode: the ground-floor was, of course, occupied by him, while De las Cases, with his son, who was a page, and the valet in waiting, were to possess the upper story.

"A few days after he had fixed his residence at *The Briars*, I called to pay him a complimentary visit, when I found him reclining upon a sofa, apparently incommode by the heat. He had been, he said, amusing himself with a walk in the garden; but that towards noon he found it necessary to shelter himself from the sun, beneath his little roof. He appeared to be in very good spirits, and expressed himself with great civility to me, as well as in his inquiry after the officers of the Northumberland. After some general questions respecting the restrictions on visiting him, he said, "I find there is a considerable force on the island: full as many as the produce of the place is capable of maintaining. What could induce your government to send out the fifty-third regiment? There was, surely, a sufficient force before for my security; but this is the way you English people get rid of your money."—To this observation I did not hesitate to reply.—"When a measure is once resolved upon, you, general, will acknowledge it to be the best policy to employ all the means that may secure its being carried into effect." The manner in which he received this answer convinced me that he was better pleased with my frankness, than if I had hammered out a compliment."

"*The Briars* had derived, and will ever retain, a certain degree of celebrity, from its having been the unexpected residence of Napoleon; and this circumstance will, I doubt not, bring to your recollection, the various instances where remote and obscure situations, which never formed the smallest speck on a map, have, by accidental events, become important points in the geography of the historian. Napoleon frequently makes one of Mr. Balcombe's family parties, where he is neither troublesome nor intrusive, but conducts himself with the manners of a gentleman, and a lively demeanor that promotes the general vivacity of the domestic circle.* I have not heard of any instance of his discontent but on the following occasion: Since he has been at *The Briars*, an officer of captain's rank is constantly in attendance there, and becomes answerable for his person. This, I understand, has occasioned remonstrances to the admiral, who has not thought proper to answer them with any relaxation of this duty.

"Napoleon having complained of the intrusion of visitors, during his stay at *The Briars*, it afforded the admiral an opportunity of executing the orders transmitted from England with a degree of delicacy, which, whoever has the pleasure of knowing him, must be satisfied that he would prefer. It was accordingly ordered, that no one should be permitted to visit Longwood, without a passport from the admiral or the governor.

"On his removal thither, certain limits were assigned him for exercise, around which a cordon of sentinels were stationed. While he continues within the circle he experiences no additional vigilance: but when he ventures beyond, an officer is on duty to attend him. The latter circumstance, which he considers as irksome, disposes him to limit his excursions beyond the grounds of his mansion."

On the authority of Count De las Cases Mr. Warden states, that Napoleon is seriously and laboriously engaged in writing the *Annals of his Life*; and that the campaigns of Egypt and Italy, and what he styles, *My Reign of an Hundred Days*, or some such title, are completed, and the intermediate periods are in a progressive state.

During the voyage to St. Helena, and after the arrival of the Northumberland at that island, Mr. Warden held numerous conversations, at some times with Napoleon, and at other times with his suite, on subjects closely connected with the foregoing history, and the following were some of the topics on which these conversations turned:—

* I have seen, in the English news-papers, accounts of his playing at cards for sugar-plums, being impetuous with a child, and engaging in something like monkey tricks; for which there is not the least foundation of any kind.

Death of Captain Wright.

In the midst of a conversation with Mr. Warden, Napoleon one day asked him, "if he remembered the history of Captain Wright?" "Perfectly well," was the reply, "and it is a prevailing opinion in England, that you ordered him to be murdered in the Temple." With the utmost rapidity of speech, he replied—"For what object? Of all men he was the person whom I should have most desired to live. Whence could I have procured so valuable an evidence as he would have proved on the trial of the conspirators in and about Paris. The heads of it he himself had landed on the French coast." "My curiosity," says Mr. Warden, "was at this moment such as to be betrayed in my looks." "Listen," continued Napoleon, "and you shall hear. The English brig of war, commanded by Captain Wright, was employed by your government in landing traitors and spies on the West coast of France. Seventy of the number had actually reached Paris; and, so mysterious were their proceedings, so veiled in impenetrable concealment, that although General Ryal, of the police, gave me this information, the name or place of their resort could not be discovered. I received daily assurances that my life would be attempted, and though I did not give entire credit to them, I took every precaution for my preservation. The brig was afterwards taken near L'Orient, with Captain Wright, its commander, who was carried before the prefect of the department of Morbeau, at Vannes: General Julian, then prefect, had accompanied me in the expedition to Egypt, and recognized Captain Wright on the first view of him. Intelligence of this circumstance was instantly transmitted to Paris; and instructions were expeditiously returned to interrogate the crew, separately, and transfer their testimonies to the minister of police. The purport of their examination was at first very unsatisfactory; but, at length, on the examination of one of the crew, some light was thrown on the subject. He stated that the brig had landed several Frenchmen, and among them he particularly remembered one, a very merry fellow, who was called Pichegru. Thus a clue was found that led to the discovery of a plot, which, had it succeeded, would have thrown the French nation, a second time, into a state of revolution.—Captain Wright was accordingly conveyed to Paris, and confined in the Temple; there to remain till it was found convenient to bring the formidable accessories of this treasonable design to trial. The law of France would have subjected Wright to the punishment of death: but he was of minor consideration. My grand object was to secure the principals, and I considered the English captain's evidence of the utmost consequence towards completing my object."—He, again and again, most solemnly asserted, that Captain Wright died, in the Temple, by his own hand, as described in the *Moniteur*, and at a much earlier period than has been generally believed.—At the same time, he stated, that his assertion was founded on documents which he had since examined. The cause of this inquiry arose from the visit, I think he said, of Lord Ebrington to Elba, and he added, "that nobleman appeared to be perfectly satisfied with the account which was given him of this mysterious business."^{*}

Execution of the Duc d'Enghien.

"And now, to my utter astonishment, he entered upon the event of the Duc d'Enghien's death.[†] This was a topic that could not be expected; and particularly by me, as there appeared, even among his followers, who were always on tip-toe to be his apologists, an evasive silence or contradictory statements, whenever this affecting event became the subject of inquiry, which had occasionally happened, during the course of our voyage. Here Napoleon became very animated, and often raised himself on the sofa, where he had hitherto remained in a reclining posture. The interest attached to the subject, and the energy of his delivery, combined to impress the tenor of his narrative so strongly on my mind, that you need not doubt the accuracy of this repetition of it.—He began as follows:—

"At this eventful period of my life, I had succeeded in restoring order and tranquillity to a kingdom torn asunder by faction, and deluged in blood. That nation had placed me at their head. I came not as your Cromwell did, or your Third Richard. No such thing.—I found a crown in the kennel; I cleansed it from its filth, and placed it on my head. My safety now became necessary, to preserve that tranquillity so recently restored; and, hitherto, so satisfactorily preserved, as the leading characters of the nation well know. At the same time, reports were every night brought me," (I think, he said, by General Ryal,) "that conspiracies were in agitation; that meetings were held in particular houses in Paris, and names even were mentioned; at the same time, no satisfactory proofs could be obtained, and the utmost vigilance and ceaseless pursuit of the police was evaded. General Moreau, indeed, became suspected, and I was seriously importuned to issue an order for his arrest; but his character was such, his name stood so high, and the estimation of him so great in the public mind, that, as it appeared to me, he had nothing to gain and every thing to lose, by becoming a conspirator against me: I, therefore, could not but exonerate him from such a suspicion.—I accordingly refused an order for the proposed arrest, by the following intimation to the minister of police. You have named Pichegru, Georges, and Moreau: convince me that the former is in Paris, and I will immediately cause the latter to be arrested.—Another and a very singular circumstance led to the developement of the plot. One night, as I lay agitated and wakeful, I rose from my bed, and examined the list of suspected traitors; and chance, which rules the world, occasioned my stumbling, as it were, on the name of a surgeon, who had lately returned from an English prison. This man's age, education, and ex-

^{*} See Vol. I. Book III. pp. 457.

[†] See Vol. I. Book III. pp. 458.

perience in life, induced me to believe, that his conduct must be attributed to any other motive than that of youthful fanaticism in favour of a Bourbon: as far as circumstances qualified me to judge, money appeared to be his object.—I accordingly gave orders for this man to be arrested; when a summary mock trial was instituted by which he was found guilty, sentenced to die, and informed he had but six hours to live. This stratagem had the desired effect: he was terrified into confession. It was now known that Pichegru had a brother, a monastic priest, then residing in Paris. I ordered a party of gens d'armes to visit this man, and if he had quitted his house, I conceived there would be good ground for suspicion. The old monk was secured, and, in the act of his arrest, his fears betrayed what I most wanted to know.—‘Is it,’ he exclaimed, ‘because I afforded shelter to a brother that I am thus treated?’—The object of the plot was to destroy me; and the success of it would, of course, have been my destruction. It emanated from the capital of your country, with the Count d’Artois at the head of it. To the west he sent the Duc de Berri, and to the east the Duc d’Enghien. To France your vessels conveyed underlings of the plot, and Moreau became a convert to the cause. The moment was big with evil: I felt myself on a tottering eminence, and I resolved to hurl the thunder back upon the Bourbons, even in the metropolis of the British empire. My minister vehemently urged the seizure of the duke, though in a neutral territory. But I still hesitated, and Prince Benevento brought the order twice, and urged the measure with all his powers of persuasion: it was not, however, till I was fully convinced of its necessity, that I sanctioned it by my signature. The matter could be easily arranged between me and the Duke of Baden. Why, indeed, should I suffer a man residing on the very confines of my kingdom, to commit a crime which, within the distance of a mile, by the ordinary course of law, justice herself would condemn to the scaffold? And now answer me;—did I do more than adopt the principle of your government, when it ordered the capture of the Danish fleet, which was thought to threaten mischief to your country? It had been urged to me again and again, as a sound political opinion, that the new dynasty could not be secure, while the Bourbons remained. Talleyrand never deviated from this principle: it was a fixed, unchangeable article in his political creed.—But I did not become a ready or a willing convert. I examined the opinion with care and with caution: and the result was a perfect conviction of its necessity.—The Duc d’Enghien was accessary to the confederacy; and although the resident of a neutral territory, the urgency of the case, in which my safety and the public tranquillity, to use no stronger expression, were involved, justified the proceeding. I accordingly ordered him to be seized and tried: he was found guilty, and sentenced to be shot.—The sentence was immediately executed; and the same fate would have followed had it been Louis the Eighteenth. For I again declare, that I found it necessary to roll the thunder back on the metropolis of England, as from thence, with the Count d’Artois at their head, did the assassins assail me.”

“Your country also accuses me of the death of Pichegru.”*—I replied, “It is most certainly and universally believed throughout the whole British empire, that he was strangled in prison by your orders.” He rapidly answered, “What idle, disengenuous folly! a fine proof, how prejudice can destroy the boasted reasoning faculties of Englishmen! Why, I ask you, should that life be taken away in secret which the laws consigned to the hands of a public executioner? The matter would have been different with respect to Moreau. Had he died in a dungeon, there might have been grounds to justify the suspicion that he had not been guilty of suicide. He was a very popular character, as well as much beloved by the army; and I should never have lost the odium, however guiltless I might have been, if the justice of his death, supposing his life to have been forfeited by the laws, had not been made apparent by the most public execution.”

Death of General Pichegru.

“Here he paused; and I replied.—“There may, perhaps, be persons in England, who are disposed to acknowledge the necessity of rigorous measures at this important period of your history; but none, I believe, are to be found, who would attempt to justify the precipitate manner in which the young prince was seized, tried, sentenced, and shot.”—He instantly answered, “I was justified in my own mind; and I repeat the declaration which I have already made, that I would have ordered the execution of Louis XVIII. At the same time, I solemnly affirm, that no message or letter from the duke reached me after sentence of death had been passed upon him.”

“Talleyrand, however,” continues Mr. Warden, “was said to be in possession of a letter from the royal prisoner, addressed to Napoleon, which they who are well qualified to know, declared he took upon himself not to deliver, till it was too late to be of any service to the writer. I saw a copy of this letter in possession of Count de las Cases, which he calmly represented to me as one of the mass of documents, formed or collected to authenticate and justify certain mysterious parts of the history which he was occasionally employed in writing, under the dictation of the hero of it. The letter was to beg his life; and to this effect: it stated his opinion that the Bourbon dynasty was terminated. That was the settled opinion of his mind, and he was about to prove the sincerity of it. He now considered France no otherwise than as his country, which he loved with the most patriotic ardour, but merely as a private citizen. The crown was no longer in his view: it was now beyond the possibility of recovery: it would not, it could not be restored. He therefore requested to be

Letter from the Duc d’Enghien to Napoleon.

* See Vol. I. Book III. pp. 457.

allowed to live and devote his life and services to France, merely as a native of it. He was ready to take any command or any rank in the French army, to become a brave and loyal soldier, subject to the will and orders of the government, in whose hands soever it might be, to which he was ready to swear fealty; and that, if his life were spared, he would devote it with the utmost courage and fidelity to support France against all its enemies. Such was the letter which, as it was represented to me, Talleyrand took care not to deliver till the hand that wrote it was unnerved by death."

Alleged murder of the sick and wounded at Jaffa.

"Your country," continued Napoleon, "has accused me of having murdered the sick and wounded of my army at Jaffa.* Be assured that if I had committed such a horrid act, my very soldiers themselves would have execrated me; and I might have looked to their ceasing to obey me. There is no occurrence of life to which I gave more publicity than this. You have an officer, a Sir Robert Wilson, who has written very copiously on the subject of my campaign in Egypt." As he repeated the last sentence, he assumed an air and tone of sarcastic jocularly; and then asked me, if I had read Sir Robert's publication? I replied in the affirmative:—"It is possible," he said, "that he wrote from the testimony of other people, equally prone to error as himself: he cannot pretend to have done it from his own observation.—Can you tell me," continued Napoleon, "whether Sir Sidney Smith, in any official communications to your government, attempted, in any way, to corroborate the testimony of Sir Robert Wilson?" I could not, at the moment, sufficiently recollect the purport of his dispatches to determine the point, but I replied, as I felt, "That he had not." This reply however, indecisive as it was, appeared to afford him considerable satisfaction, as he instantly repeated—"I believe so: for Sir Sidney Smith is a brave and just man."—I here observed that "There are many in England who imagine your jealousy and hatred of Sir Sidney Smith influenced your conduct towards Captain Wright."—He smiled with astonishment at such an idea—the thought of coupling the two names appeared never to have entered his imagination. "Ridiculous nonsense!" was his reply. He then entered on the following narrative:—

"On raising the siege of St. Jean d'Acre, the army retired upon Jaffa. It had become a matter of urgent necessity. The occupation of this town for any length of time was totally impracticable, from the force that Jegga Pacha was enabled to bring forward. The sick and wounded were numerous; and their removal was my first consideration. Carriages the most convenient that could be formed, were appropriated to the purpose. Some of them were sent by water to Damietta, and the rest were accommodated in the best possible manner, to accompany their comrades in their march through the desert. Seven men, however, occupied a quarantine hospital, who were infected with the plague; whose report was made me by the chief of the medical staff; (I think it was Degenette). He further added, that the disease had gained such a stage of malignancy, there was not the least probability of their continuing alive beyond forty-eight hours."—I here exclaimed in a dubious tone, the word—*seven*! and immediately asked whether I was to understand that there were no more than seven.—"I perceive," he replied, "that you have heard a different account."—"Most assuredly, general, Sir Robert Wilson states fifty-seven or seventy-seven; and speaking more collectively—your whole sick and wounded." He then proceeded.—"The Turks were numerous and powerful, and there cruelty proverbial throughout the army. Their practice of mutilating and barbarously treating their christian prisoners in particular, was well known among my troops, and had a preservative influence on my mind and conduct; and I do affirm, that there were only seven sufferers whom circumstances compelled me to leave as short-lived sufferers at Jaffa. They were in that state of disease which rendered their removal utterly impracticable, exclusive of the dissemination of the disease among the healthy troops. Situated as I was, I could not place them under the protection of the English: I therefore desired to see the senior medical officer, and observing to him, that the afflictions of their disease would be cruelly aggravated by the conduct of the Turks towards them; and that it was impossible to continue in possession of the town, I desired him to give me his best advice on the occasion. I said, tell me what is to be done! He hesitated for some time, and then repeated, that these men, who were the objects of my very painful solicitude, could not survive forty-eight hours.—I then suggested, (what appeared to be his opinion, though he might not chuse to declare it, but wait with the trembling hope to receive it from me,) the propriety, because I felt it would be humanity, to shorten the sufferings of these *seven men* by administering *opium*. Such a relief, I added, in a similar situation, I should anxiously solicit for myself.—But, rather contrary to expectation, the proposition was opposed, and consequently abandoned. I accordingly halted the army one day longer than I intended; and, on my quitting Jaffa, left a strong rear-guard, who continued in that city till the third day. At the expiration of that period, an officer's report reached me, that the men were dead."—"Then general," I could not resist exclaiming, "no *opium* was given." The emphatic answer I received was—"No: none!—A report was brought me that the men died before the rear-guard had evacuated the city."

"I again interrupted him, by mentioning that Sir Sidney Smith, when he afterwards entered Jaffa, found one or two Frenchmen alive. "Well," he answered, "that, after all, may be possible!" It was, I think, at this period of the conversation, that he stated his being in possession of a letter from Sir

* See Vol. I. Book II. pp. 271.

Sidney Smith, written in very complimentary language, which expressed the writer's astonishment as well as praise, on the accommodations which were contrived and executed to transport the French sick and wounded from Acre to Jaffa, and thence across the Desert.

"I here took occasion to observe, "that a late English traveller, a distinguished scholar and learned professor of the University of Cambridge, had excited a very general doubt respecting the accuracy of this particular part of Sir Robert Wilson's narrative. Doctor Clarke, the person to whom I had alluded, had," I "said, travelled through Turkey, and as I believed, by the route of Aleppo and Damascus, to Jerusalem, and from thence to Jaffa, where he remained some time. This gentleman, whose character stands high in the world, may be said to contradict the testimony of his countryman Sir Robert, respecting the charge which the former may be said to have brought forward against you. Though he merely states that he never heard of the cruel transaction; but very naturally observes, that if such an extraordinary event had occurred as the murder of such a number of Frenchmen by their own general, some traces or recollection of so horrid an event, and of such recent occurrence, must have transpired and been communicated to him during his residence there." A question instantaneously followed—"Has this traveller said any thing of El Arisch?" My memory did not serve me sufficiently to give an answer.

"Well," he continued, "you shall also hear the particulars of El Arisch and the garrison of Jaffa. You have read, without doubt, of my having ordered the Turks to be shot at Jaffa." "Yes, indeed," I replied, "I have often heard of that massacre in England: it was a general topic at the time, and treated as a British mind never fails to consider subjects of that description."—He then proceeded—"At the period in question General Dessaix was left in Upper Egypt; and Kleber in the vicinity of Damietta. I left Cairo and traversed the Arabian Desert, in order to unite my force with that of the latter at El Arisch. The town was attacked and a capitulation succeeded. Many of the prisoners were found, on examination, to be natives of the mountains, and inhabitants of Mount Tabor, but chiefly from Nazareth. They were immediately released, on their engaging to return quietly to their homes, children, and wives: at the same time, they were recommended to acquaint their countrymen the Napolese, that the French were no longer their enemies, unless they were found in arms assisting the pacha. When this ceremony was concluded the army proceeded on its march towards Jaffa. Gaza surrendered on the route.—That city, on the first view of it, bore a formidable appearance, and the garrison was considerable. It was summoned to surrender: when the officer, who bore my flag of truce, no sooner passed the city wall, than his head was inhumanly struck off, instantly fixed upon a pole, and insultingly exposed to the view of the French army. At the sight of this horrid and unexpected object, the indignation of the soldiers knew no bounds: they were perfectly infuriated; and, with the most eager impatience, demanded to be led on to the storm. I did not hesitate, under such circumstances, to command it. The attack was dreadful; and the carnage exceeded any action I had then witnessed. We carried the place, and it required all my efforts and influence to restrain the fury of the enraged soldiers. At length, I succeeded, and night closed the sanguinary scene. At the dawn of the following morning, a report was brought me, that five hundred men, chiefly Napolese, who had lately formed a part of the garrison of El Arisch, and to whom I had a few days before given liberty, on condition that they should return to their homes, were actually found and recognized among the prisoners. On this fact being indubitably ascertained, I ordered the hundred men to be drawn out and instantly shot."

Garrison of
El Arisch.

"Every one," says Mr. Warden, "remembers the threatened invasion of England in 1805, and the various conjectures which were formed on this momentous subject. It was not, according to my recollection, by any means generally considered as practicable; nor did any very great apprehensions prevail that it would be attempted. Bonaparte, however, positively avers it was. He says, that he had two hundred thousand men on the coast of France opposite to England; and that it was his determination to head them in person. The attempt he acknowledged to be very hazardous, and the issue equally doubtful. His mind, however, was bent on the enterprise, and every possible arrangement was made to give effect to its operations. It was hinted to him, however, that his flotilla was altogether insufficient; and that such a ship as the Northumberland would run down fifty of them. This he readily admitted: but he stated that his plan was to rid the Channel of English men of war; and for that purpose he had directed Admiral Villeneuve, with the combined fleets of France and Spain, to sail apparently for Martinique, for the express purpose of distracting our naval force, by drawing after him a large portion of it, if not all, our best ships. Other squadrons of observation would follow; and England might, by these manœuvres, be left sufficiently defenceless for his purpose. Admiral Villeneuve was directed, on gaining a certain latitude, to take a baffling course back to Europe, and having eluded the vigilance of Nelson, to enter the English Channel. The flotilla would then have sallied forth from Ostend, Dunkirk, and Boulogne, and the adjoining ports. The intention was to have dashed at the capital by the way of Chatham. He well knew, he added, that he should have had to encounter many difficulties; the object, however, was so great as to justify him in making the attempt. But Villeneuve was met on his return by Sir Robert Calder; and, having suffered a defeat, took refuge in Ferrol. From that harbour he

Invasion of
England.

was peremptorily ordered to sea according to his original instructions; but, contrary to their most imperative and explicit intent, he steered his course for Cadiz: "He might as well," exclaimed Napoleon—raising his voice, and increasing his impetuosity, "he might as well have gone to the East Indies."—Two days after Villeneuve had quitted his anchorage before Cadiz, a naval officer arrived there to supersede him. The glorious victory of Trafalgar soon followed, and the French Admiral died a few days after his arrival in France: report says—by his own hand.

Death of the
Empress Josephine.

The name of the Empress Josephine having been mentioned, she became the subject of very animated eulogiums; and "was represented as possessing a sweetness of disposition, an elegance of manners, and a certain melody of voice, that irresistibly charmed every one, without any exception as to situation or capacity, who were admitted to her presence.—The sudden death of this excellent lady was very generally lamented, and is attributed to a very extraordinary circumstance, and a very exalted personage. I will relate the event to you in the words, as far as memory serves, in which the Count De las Cases conveyed it as an undeniable fact to me.—Josephine, it seems, had so far won the admiration and high esteem of the Emperor Alexander, that his imperial majesty used to dedicate many of his leisure hours to the pleasure of her fascinating conversation. His visits were not only frequent but continual during his stay at Paris.—Her state of health was but indifferent, and on some particular occasion, her physician had prescribed medicines of a nature that required the utmost care and precaution, and an absolute confinement to her chamber: but, at this time, the emperor paid one of his visits, when her respect for him rendered her incautious, and she received the imperial guest in the usual manner. They walked, during the time of his stay, in the gardens of Malmaison; and the consequence of this promenade was fatal:—she was seized with a violent inflammation in the lungs, which defied all medical assistance, and in a few days she was no more."

The following account of her marriage with Napoleon was given by his suite:—"An order which was issued by the convention to disarm the citizens, occasioned the introduction of Bonaparte, then a general, and high in military command, to Josephine. Her husband was said to have suffered eighteen months before the circumstance about to be mentioned. He had left a son, Eugene Beauharnois, at this time a most interesting youth, who took an opportunity to address the general on the parade, and solicit his father's sword; which, according to the late order, had been removed from his mother's residence. Bonaparte, charmed by the request, and the animated modesty with which it was made, instantly granted it. The mother wrote a letter the following day to thank the general for his kindness to her son. This grateful attention produced a visit on his part, and the lady not being at home, she sent a note of apology and particular invitation. An interview of course followed: he was instantly captivated, and in six weeks they were married.—It has been generally thought, I believe, that the second marriage did not obliterate his regard for her: and it is here asserted, by those who were qualified to form a correct opinion of the matter, that he would have given more evident proofs of his regard, if the jealousy of the second empress had not interposed to prevent them."

Numbers at
Waterloo.

Causes of the
loss of the Battle of Waterloo

On the subject of the numbers in the battle of Waterloo, Napoleon stated to Mr. Warden, that the French army consisted of 71,000. One hundred and eleven thousand French troops crossed the Sambre. In the battles of Ligny and Quatre Bras, they lost 10,000 men; and Grouchy's division, dispatched to follow Blucher, consisted of 30,000; leaving an effective force, on the morning of the 18th, of 71,000. The causes of the loss of that battle were thus stated by General Gourgond to Mr. Warden. "Napoleon, it seems, was completely ignorant of the movement made from Frasnes, by Count Erelon, (Drouet) on the 16th. For when he appeared near Ligny, Napoleon actually deployed a column of French to oppose him, mistaking his force, at the time, for a division of the Prussian army. Erelon was now made acquainted with the defeat of the Prussians; and, without thinking it necessary to have any communication with Napoleon, as to future operations, returned to his original position. That division of the army, therefore, became totally useless for that day both to the Emperor and to Marshal Ney.—Grouchy, losing sight of Blucher, and taking the circuitous route which he pursued, was represented as having committed a most fatal error.—While the right wing of the French, in the battle of the 18th, was engaged in defeating the flank movement of Bulow, of which they were perfectly apprised, Marshal Ney had orders to engage the attention of the English during this part of the action; but by no means to hazard the loss of his troops, or to exhaust their strength. Ney, it appears, did not obey the order, or met with circumstances that rendered it impracticable for him to adhere to it. He was stated to have contended for the occupation of a height, and thus weakened his corps, so that when the imperial guards were brought to the charge, he was unable to assist them.

Causes of Napoleon's Abdication in favour of his Son.

"From the information I received in my conversations with our French guests," says Mr. Warden, "it appears that the emperor's abdication in favour of his son, as a matter, which, as far, at least, as my knowledge extends, has been altogether misconceived in England; I mean as referring to the immediate and proximate causes of it. If the communications made to me were correct, and I am not willing to imagine that they were invented merely to impose upon me, a grand political scheme was contrived by Fouché to outwit his master, and it proved successful. The name of that crafty politician and ready revolutionist is never men-

tioned by the members of our little cabin Utica without the accompaniment of execrations, which it is not necessary for you to hear, as it would be ridiculous for me to repeat. Not Talleyrand himself is so loaded with them as the arch-betrayer, who has been just mentioned. The *historiette* to which I have alluded, was thus related :—

“On Napoleon’s return to Paris, after his disastrous defeat at Waterloo, and when he may be supposed to have been agitated by doubt and perplexity, as to the conduct he should pursue in that extraordinary crisis; a letter was offered to his attention by the Duke of Otranto, as having been received by the latter from Prince Metternich, the Austrian minister. It was dated in the preceding April, and the diplomatic writer stated the decided object of his imperial master to be the final expulsion of Napoleon the First from the throne of France; and that the French nation should be left to their uninterrupted decision, whether they would have a monarchy under Napoleon the Second, or adopt a republican form of government.—Austria professed to have no right, and consequently felt no intention, to dictate to the French nation. The final and ratified expulsion of the traitor, (such was the expression) is all the Austrian Emperor demands of France. Napoleon seized the bait; and immediately abdicated in favour of his son: but he had no sooner taken this step, than he discovered the double game that Fouché was playing. The letter was a forgery, and it soon appeared that the Emperor of Austria had it not in his power, if he had ever indulged the contemplation, to clothe his grandson with political character.

“The name of Talleyrand happening to occur in the course of conversation, with our French shipmates, the high opinion entertained of his talents by the Bonapartists was acknowledged, without reserve. On my asking at what period he was separated from the councils and confidence of Napoleon; it was replied—at the invasion of Spain. I then observed, that the reports in England, respecting that circumstance, were correct as to time, and I presumed were equally so as to the cause; his unreserved disapprobation of that bold and adventurous enterprise. This met with an instant contradiction; which was followed by a most decisive assertion, that the Prince of Benevento approved of the Spanish war, and founded his recommendation of that measure on his unalterable opinion, which he boldly communicated to the emperor, that his life was not secure while a Bourbon reigned in Europe.”†

Talleyrand’s
approbation of
the War in
Spain.

“I give the account,” says Mr. Warden, “of Bonaparte’s return to France, as it was casually and briefly related to me :—The Duke de Bassano was the chief actor. Individuals had gone from several departments in France to Elba, and the then emperor had been induced to suspect that the allies determined to send him to the island to which he is now destined. On what authority this apprehension was grounded, not the most distant idea was communicated. It is certain, however, that he entertained it with such seriousness, as to induce him to make the resolute attempt in meditation before the connecting plot was ripe for overt measures in France. Even after his little army was embarked, a dispatch arrived from his friends, which contained the most earnest entreaties to postpone his enterprise if it were only for one month.—Whether, if he had received them before he had quitted the island, they would have been sufficient to check his impatience and quiet his alarms, was not a subject of conjecture: but be that as it may, whatever the counsels were, they arrived too late to be followed;—the die was cast.”

Immediate
cause of Na-
poleon’s sud-
den return from
Elba to France

Of the health, habits, and disposition of the imperial exile, Mr. Warden gives the following account :—“When it is considered to how many various climates he has exposed himself, and what a succession of toil he has undergone during the last twenty-five years, the state of health he has enjoyed, and still enjoys, is altogether astonishing.—He declares that he has been but twice, throughout his life, in such a state as to demand medical aid. He took a dose of physis for the first complaint; and the second, being a pulmonic affection, required a blister. Mr. O’Meara, his own surgeon, speaks with admiration of his temperament, and says, that his pulse never exceeds sixty-two. His own spontaneous account of himself is, that he is very passionate; but that the violence of his disposition soon subsides, not only into tranquillity, but into coldness and indifference.—I have never heard that, in speaking of his constitution and uncommon state of health, he ever hinted at the advances of age, or calculated the probabilities of his enjoying length of life. He has indeed been known to say, and to repeat the opinion, that he ought to have died on the day when he entered Moscow; as he then had arrived at the summit of his military glory. It has been even said by some of his few surrounding friends, that he should himself have determined not to survive it.”

Health, habits
and disposition
of Napoleon.

Speaking of his own health, Napoleon said, “I certainly enjoy very good health, which I attribute to a rigorous observance of regimen. My appetite is such that I feel as if I could eat at any time of the day: but I am regular in my meals; and always leave off eating with an appetite; besides, I never, as you know, drink strong wines.”

† At page 74, Vol. II. the following passage was, by an oversight, omitted in the history of the Spanish campaign :—“On the entrance of Napoleon into Madrid he issued a decree, dated December 4, 1808, by which the council of Castile was dissolved—the convents in Spain reduced to one-third their former number—the tribunal of the inquisition abolished—and all feudal rights abrogated.”

Napoleon on
Saicide.

In another conversation, he said, "he had now attained sufficient knowledge of the English language to be able to read the newspapers with ease, and must allow that they afforded him considerable amusement. They are however," continued he, "occasionally inconsistent, and sometimes abusive. In one paper I am called a *lear*, in another a *tyrant*, in a third a *monster*, and in one of them, which really I did not expect, I am described as a *coward*; but it turned out, after all, that the writer did not accuse me of avoiding danger in the field of battle, or flying from an enemy, or fearing to look at the menaces of fate and fortune: he did not charge me with wanting presence of mind in the hurry of battle, and the suspense of conflicting armies.—No such thing; I wanted courage, it seems, because I did not coolly take a dose of poison, or throw myself into the sea, or blow out my brains.—The editor most certainly misunderstands me; I have, at least, too much courage for that."

Characteris-
tics.

"The following," says Mr. Warden, "is a correct abstract of a conversation I had with General Bertrand; when, and particularly at the commencement of it, his feelings appeared to be strongly excited.—He acknowledged very fully, and lamented very sensibly, the too extended grasp of Napoleon's ambition.—It was in itself a grand and noble principle, and, left to its own original objects, and confined to its natural operations, might have proved a source of extensive good, and untarnished glory. But evil councils, and who can, at all moments, and under all circumstances, repel their insinuating or momentary influence? provoked the excesses, which have been so often seen to strip the most commanding of all passions, of its associate virtues."—"Here his opinion seemed to point to Maret, Duke of Bassano, as the cause of unspeakable mischief, and an example that inferior spirits are sometimes permitted to influence minds of a far higher order; and not unfrequently to their dishonour, if not to their ruin."—"Napoleon," he added, "is a most extraordinary and wonderful man."—The conversation proceeded, and I replied,

"That is not to be doubted: but I wish to see more of the ordinary man in him. Could I but observe him endearingly caressing children, as you, general, do your Hortensia and your Henry: or playing with a dog, or patting his horse, I should consider him with very different sentiments from those which I now feel."—"Believe me, dear doctor, he is a man totally different from all others."

"That may be: but I want him to possess certain qualities in common with ordinary men, and I wish you would tell me that he discovers, at any time, the feelings of affection and tenderness; the capacity to be a kind husband and a fond parent."

"That I can most assuredly do. He is not without a heart, in your sense of the expression. But he does not, cannot, will not, make a parade of it. Is it possible that you should expect any thing of a frivolous or trifling appearance from him? and, in a character like his, the amiable playfulness of private, domestic life, might have such a semblance: besides, the individual feelings of the man must, after all, be lost to those who only view him in the blaze of his public life."

"But that blaze, General Bertrand, is now extinguished; and I wish, for his sake, and the honour of human nature, that the symptoms of love, tenderness, and attachment, might appear, in some direction or other, to beam from him."

A day at the
Thuilleries.

"You may believe me, when I assure you, that though they may not have appeared to you, they are by no means wanting in him. By way of example, imagine a day as it used to be passed at the Thuilleries: I will describe it to you.—At six in the morning he would be examining a Russian dispatch; at seven, the same from Vienna; at eight, he might visit a work of art; at ten, a review succeeded; at twelve, the reception of some department; at one, the affairs of the army; at four, a prefect demanded audience; at six, perhaps, he had appointed to meet the empress, whom he would treat with every mark of kindness and affection; admire, with a Parisian gallantry, the embroidery of her gown, the folds of her robe, the flowers on her hair, or the display of jewels on her person: while he would continue devoted to her, till public business again required his attention; for which he was ever in a state of preparation. He was never sensual, never gross, but in an unceasing state of action."—Count De las Cases continued the subject.

Modesty.

"He never speaks of himself; he never mentions his achievements. Of money he is totally regardless; and he was not known to express a regret for any part of his treasure but the diamond necklace, which he wore constantly in his neckcloth, because it was the gift of his sister, the Princess Hostense, whom he tenderly loved." This he lost after the battle of Waterloo.

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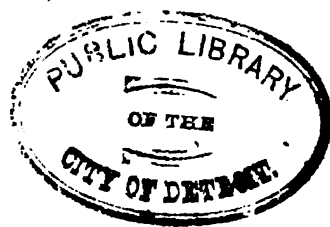
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THE END.



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